

Abstracts of Papers / *Résumés des communications*

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Jean-Christophe **Abramovici** (Sorbonne Université) Assignation de genre et traitement des hermaphrodites au tournant des Lumières

Panel / *Session* 96, 'Violence(s) et constructions identitaires de sexe et de genre 2 : Identités violentes, identités violentées'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Florence Lotterie (Université Paris-Diderot)

D'Anne Grandjean (1765) à Jaqueline Foroni (1802), la médecine prétend porter un regard neuf sur les cas d'« hermaphrodisme ». Au travers d'un protocole d'examen et d'interrogation fouillé, sur fond d'invention de la clinique, le médecin considère avec compassion et humanité les produits malheureux de ces « erreurs de la nature » autrefois rejetés comme « monstres ». Mais cette prise en considération neuve débouche dans la plupart des cas sur des diagnostics convergents assignant un genre « biologique » différent de celui que s'était choisi les malades. Quels traits recouvre cette violence d'un nouveau genre, moderne et protocolaire ?

Barbara **Abrams** (Suffolk University) Conversion and Clausturation: A Jewish Woman's Narrative in Eighteenth-Century France

Panel / *Session* 366, 'Evolution and Revolution: Identity and Gendered Resistance in Eighteenth-Century France'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexandra Cook (University of Hong Kong)

The broad aim of my current work is to study the code that defined the academy of literature in the 18th century and to expand the boundaries of what constitutes literature then and now. I conclude that certain letters from women imprisoned in the convent demonstrate literary qualities, and, especially in the 18th century, constitute a feminine form of writing which should be accorded recognition as a discrete literary genre. I also look at the specific circumstances that led women to be consigned to the convent. In mid-18th Century France, a Jewish woman called Angelique Schwab, is forced into the convent of "Les Nouvelles Catholiques." Her family is involved in the famous Schwab affair involving money lenders and acts of antisemitism in Paris. As her letters show, Angelique is forced to remain in the convent for the better part of her life. In this presentation, I discuss the issue of Jewish women like Angelique, who were often forced to convert to Catholicism, (prisoners, postulants and nuns,) in eighteenth-century

France and who were often confined against their will to spend their lives in convents. My work is informed by a modern feminist perspective which allows us to hear the unfettered voices of the cloistered prisoners. This work is grounded in the historical, sociological, literary-critical and feminist perspectives, and specifically focuses on gendered forensic storytelling.

Julia Abramson (University of Oklahoma) Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours and the Social Culture of Business

Panel / *Session 121*, 'Practicing Physiocracy: Utopian Visions, Economic Realities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennifer Tsien (University of Virginia)

Analysis of personal alongside business documents in the hand of Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours reveals essential concerns beyond Physiocracy that nuance his biography while giving a more complete picture of the embeddedness of commercial and economic activity in social and cultural life. Of late, a revival of interest in his biography has sparked new inquiries into the relationship between his activities and Physiocratic conceptions traceable to the early association with the "secte des Économistes." Clearly, the degree to which any undertaking realized, reacted to, or modified Physiocratic principles is a central question for this figure. But du Pont was not always or merely a creature of Physiocracy, for other forces shaped his deeds and thoughts. To capitalize a trans-Atlantic commercial venture beginning in the late 1790s, du Pont petitioned sophisticated investors initially unwilling to commit to a shaky undertaking. Surprisingly, despite sound financial insight, they finally extended both credit and capital. Du Pont's solicitations and their responses maintained social ties, realized the shared value of mutual accountability, and fortified a web of interlocking private and public connections uniting founder with capitalists. The episode reveals the persistence of pre-Revolutionary financial networks beyond 1789, the maintenance of French Protestant minoritarian connections over both time and space, and the effects of hewing to 'old regime' conceptions of honor and friendship even as conditions for doing business narrowed in on expertise and single-minded focus on an end result—as his son Eluthère-Irénée understood so well.

Julianne Adams (Vanderbilt University) 'Successful in my negotiation': Violetta as Arbitress of Self and Reader in Eliza Haywood's 'Love in Excess'

Panel / *Session 233*, 'Mediating Fictions'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (Mansfield College, Oxford)

This paper will consider the idea of mediation as identification, intercession, and reflection through the character of Violetta in Eliza Haywood's "Love in Excess" (1719). Scholars have examined how Haywood's texts invite a relationship with the (woman) reader by providing experiential tales of seduction that readers can identify with and learn through. This paper will propose an alternative identificatory subject outside of the seductor/seduced binary and instead with a subsidiary character—in this instance Violetta. Violetta neither advances nor arrests the main plot of Melliora and D'Elmont. Her main function is to arbitrate a secondary love plot of Frankville and Camilla. Depicted alternatively as physically distant, emotionally sympathetic, and amorous yet unthreatening, Violetta mimics the role of the reader, who is invested but not embedded in the story. Violetta is a model not only for reading the text but for living beyond it. She is the ideal reader as one who does not become overly emotionally involved and who supports virtuous love, yet mourns the downfall of villains. Her response to her love for D'Elmont provides a model for maintaining love as an innocent passion. She disguises herself as a male page on the quest to recover Melliora, allowing her proximity to but precluding relations with her love object, D'Elmont. Violetta, continually aware of her passion, constructs a barrier to her desire that allows her to retain virtue. This consideration of Violetta will pivot on a spatialized reading of amatory fiction that prioritizes the physical and emotional placement of character and reader. In doing so, this paper will focus on moments in which Violetta is nominally present through theories of reading, letter-writing, and place.

Amélie Addison (University of Leeds) 'Border Tunes': Music from the 'debateable lands' in the Works of William Shield

Panel / *Session* 422, 'British Music'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Patricia Debly (Brock University)

In 1815, William Shield (1748-1829), former house composer of Covent Garden Theatre and Musician in Ordinary to King George III, published a treatise on musical accompaniment entitled 'Rudiments of Thoroughbass.' Alongside extracts from the works of canonical composers including Handel, Bach and Haydn, Shield presented various arrangements of traditional 'national airs' from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and further afield. Among these are a substantial and intriguing selection of 'Border Tunes' remembered from Shield's childhood on Tyneside, in North East England. His treatment of these airs reveals the lifelong passion and respect for the characteristic qualities of traditional melodies to which he himself attributed his success as a popular theatre composer.

Shield's commentary on these Border Tunes demonstrates his familiarity with local performance practice related to village dances and traditional instruments such as the Northumbrian smallpipes, while song lyrics reference the Anglo-Scottish Border region's rural landscape and history of conflict, hardship and heroism. Maps of the area dating from Shield's teenage years show 'disputed grounds' between England and Scotland, and Shield's association of the melodies of his youth with the Border itself, rather than with either of the nations it divided, hints at a consciousness that this region possessed a distinctive, independent cultural identity despite – or perhaps because of – its ambiguous and contentious position between geographical and political territories. In this paper I will consider whether Shield's perception of the Border's distinct musical heritage reflects a more widely-held contemporary concept of a Border identity. I will also explore how Shield's early exposure to and identification with music of the Border shaped his compositional voice, and equipped him throughout his professional career to navigate the ambiguous territory along boundaries between social classes, political camps and musical genres.

Daehoe **Ahn** (Sungkyunkwan University) The Story of Tobacco: Cultural Discourse on Smoking in Eighteenth-Century East Asia

Panel / *Session* 290, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Eun Kyung Min (Seoul National University)

East Asia witnessed active cultural interaction among men of letters during the eighteenth century. They exchanged ideas and thoughts via various cultural networks. Korean envoys to Beijing in China and Edo (present-day Tokyo) in Japan played a significant role in making close connections among three countries' intellectuals and in opening a vibrant era of cultural curiosity. Chinese, Korean, and Japanese scholars were curious about neighboring countries' landscape and customs and exchanged letters with one another to acquire knowledge of what they were interested in. One of the things that fascinated them most was tobacco that had been introduced and cultivated extensively by 1700. As the smoking population increased and tobacco became an important item in trade, each country developed its own tobacco-growing and flavoring methods and invented numerous smoking tools and paraphernalia. As a result, three countries' tobacco products and smoking culture came to diverge. Korean envoys' travelogues, diaries, and letters are a mine of information on the similarities and differences among three countries' smoking culture. In this talk, I will examine how eighteenth-century East Asian men of letters expressed their ideas about the culture of smoking and created interesting accounts of tobacco and smoking customs and how their discussions of smoking played a key role in making China, Korea, and Japan tightly interconnected.

Junko **Akamatsu** (Bunkyo Gakuin University) Negotiating Marital Breakdown: The Case of Penelope and James Cholmondeley c. 1731–1748

Panel / *Session* 210, 'Law and Literature'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

Marriage breakdown in eighteenth-century England was a long-drawn-out process from which there was almost no means of exit because, unlike today, divorce was extremely difficult to obtain. Historians of marriage and separation have used the records of church court cases to examine gender and power relations between the parties. However, few studies have examined the details of a negotiation process between a wife and husband whose marital breakdown involved litigation. This case study analyses Penelope (?-1786) and James Cholmondeley (1708-1775) from a Cheshire aristocratic family, who entered into a legal battle because of Penelope's adultery and were separated at

the Consistory Court of London in 1736. Based on the family letters and the church court records, this paper discusses how each side adopted legal and emotional strategies to achieve her/his own goals in the stages before, during and after the litigation. Penelope's negotiating power over her property and alimony consisted of multiple elements: the property settlements made by her father, the fourth Earl of Barrymore; the use of male advisors; and her ability (with a certain amount of audacity) to assess and control critical situations and to express her emotions in written form, through letters, so as to achieve her strategic goals. Though he had the privileges of a husband, James Cholmondeley was careful not to assert his power and rights too directly. His careful approach towards Penelope, inducing her to cooperate in a parliamentary divorce, required him to make emotional and financial concessions. This negotiation process undertaken by the couple provides one example of eighteenth-century marriage breakdown in a propertied family where the wife and husband had to seek an unconventional relationship before they eventually found one based on unsettled trust.

Miriam **Al Jamil** (Burney Society) What's in a Face? The Portraits of Frances Burney

Panel / *Session* 36, 'Burneys and Identity'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Crystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Engel (Duquesne University)

We learn so much about Frances Burney from her journals and letters. What more can the drawings and paintings of her reveal? Do the artists who created them and the circumstances in which they were made tell us anything about the writer? This paper will compare Burney's portraits with those of other members of her family such as her father Charles Burney and of other contemporary female writers such as Charlotte Smith and Mary Wollstonecraft to examine issues of agency and status, privacy and reputation. Her portrait is now displayed within a constructed context in the National Portrait Gallery in London and I will discuss how this reflects and shapes current understanding of her identity as a writer.

This paper will focus particularly on portraits painted by Burney's cousin, Edward Francisco Burney, who never became an Academician but who arguably provides us with an image at least as intuitive as many portraits painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Does it matter that we do not have a portrait of the ageing Frances Burney because ultimately her words give us all we really need to know?

Christian **Albertan** (Université de Valenciennes) La censure de la presse dans la France du milieu du siècle des Lumières : le cas des *Mémoires de Trévoux* (1758–1766)

Panel / *Session* 459, 'Identités politiques'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Eick (Grand Valley State University)

La censure dans la France des Lumières a depuis longtemps les faveurs des chercheurs. Le sujet – l'interdit et ce qu'il révèle d'un régime et d'une époque – intrigue et il a suscité de nombreuses études. Pour autant, il reste encore beaucoup à apprendre sur cette question. Ce que l'on connaît du mécanisme de l'approbation, c'est essentiellement, en effet, la censure à postériori, celle qui sent la flamme des bûchers. Mais cette censure n'est qu'une facette d'un phénomène beaucoup plus étendu. A ne s'intéresser qu'à elle, on passe à côté de ce que l'on pourrait appeler la censure "ordinaire", celle qui s'applique à la plupart des ouvrages, ceux qui passent par les voies légales et dont les auteurs sont à la recherche d'un privilège ou d'une quelconque permission. Cette surveillance pour être moins bruyante moins documentée aussi, n'en est pas moins intense et intéressante à plus d'un égard.

C'est ce que l'on découvre en se penchant sur le cas des *Mémoires de Trévoux*, Nous sommes bien renseignés sur la dernière période de l'histoire du journal par les billets que s'adressent entre 1763 et 1766 l'éditeur du journal, Hugues-Daniel Chaubert, et un de ses journalistes, le célèbre bibliographe Mercier de Saint-Léger. Il y est abondamment question du travail de deux censeurs en charge du périodique, l'abbé André Salmon et son successeur Alexis-Joseph Genet.

En étudiant cette correspondance inédite, à laquelle se rattachent divers autres documents dont certains remontent à 1758, nous nous efforcerons de dégager les principales caractéristiques de ce que nous appelons la "censure ordinaire". C'est l'occasion d'en découvrir le caractère paradoxal : les périodiques religieux, ne sont sans doute pas les ouvrages les moins surveillés par l'Administration. Ceci nous contraint à revenir sur plusieurs points relatifs à la censure d'Ancien Régime que l'on croyait acquis et à relire autrement la presse ancienne.

Marianne **Albertan-Coppola** (Université Paris-Nanterre) A la recherche d'une identité personnelle, le pauvre pris aux rets d'une identité socio-économique dans les romans français du XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session 271*, 'Identité personnelle et universalité 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Brunet-Fontaine (Université d'Ottawa / Université Paris-Nanterre)

Relevant d'une catégorie universelle, le pauvre se définit pour les penseurs des Lumières sous un angle bien spécifique : est pauvre celui qui ne travaille pas, manière de distinguer bons pauvres des mauvais. Mais cette forme d'identité socio-économique, mâtinée de morale et imposée par autrui, n'est qu'une facette de l'identité mouvante et complexe des personnages de pauvres dans nos romans, qu'il conviendra de questionner.

La pauvreté apparaît dans les romans du XVIIIe siècle comme une tare de l'identité. Le pauvre du peuple fait souvent figure de l'Autre social, il est ainsi doté d'une identité négative en ce qu'il suscite la méfiance et surtout parce qu'il représente l'étrange, ce qu'on ne connaît pas (par exemple dans *Le Neveu de Rameau* de Diderot). Dénomination incomplète ou officieuse, l'identité du pauvre du peuple est donc problématique.

Ainsi, l'indigence est analysée comme la nature des gens de peu tels que mendiants, vagabonds et « populace » (*Guzman d'Alfarache* de Lesage, *L'Aveugle parvenu* de Guer, *Le Mendiant boiteux* de Castilhon) tandis que l'appauvrissement de la noblesse apparaît comme un accident scandaleux (*Manon Lescaut* de Prévost, *La Vie de Marianne* de Marivaux). Essence ou état de fait, selon la condition des personnages, elle partage le personnel romanesque et les attentes qui y sont attachées. Il sera intéressant de voir si, au cours du siècle, ces lignes de partage ne se déplacent pas, offrant de nouvelles perspectives dans la définition de l'identité du pauvre, collective et singulière mais aussi sociale et personnelle.

Sylviane **Albertan-Coppola** (University of Amiens) La morale des prêtres selon Diderot

Panel / *Session 326*, 'Diderot et la Morale 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Odile Richard-Pauchet (University of Limoges)

Il s'agira, à partir de quelques figures de prêtres bien campés dans l'œuvre romanesque de Diderot, de dessiner l'image que se fait le philosophe de la vertu chrétienne. L'aumônier du *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, l'archidiacre de *La Religieuse*, le Père Hudson dans *Jacques le fataliste* ou encore l'abbé de La Porte dans *Le Neveu de Rameau*, au-delà de leur fonction comique ou dramatique, posent tous à leur manière le problème de la validité de la morale chrétienne. En rapprochant ces représentations concrètes des idées anticléricales et antichrétiennes développées par Diderot dans ses écrits théoriques, nous tenterons de déterminer le rôle que jouent les personnages de prêtres dans l'élaboration progressive d'une « morale de l'honnête », dans laquelle la vertu ne coïncide pas nécessairement avec la foi, pire lui est incompatible, dans laquelle en somme l'homme de bien se substitue à l'homme de foi. La représentation fictionnelle du clergé apporte ainsi sa pièce chez Diderot à l'édification d'une morale laïque.

Marianne **Alenius** (Museum Tusulanum Press) Otto Sperling the Younger and his Collection of 1,399 Learned Women

Panel / *Session 8*, 'Collections and Libraries'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Florutau (University of Oxford)

Otto Sperling the younger (1634–1715) was a learned Danish historian and numismatist. Influenced by European humanism, he was also interested in the history of learning and in particular in a contemporary phenomenon: *Feminae Doctae* (Learned Women) – a concert which arose in early Renaissance Italy, where humanists like Boccaccio and Petrarca showed interest in the talents and intellectual prowess of women, making descriptions and their works publicly available. Interest in these learned women grew in Europe, and between 1500 and 1800, a series of highly respectful works were published in various European countries by men (and a few by learned women themselves) about intelligent, artistically and musically gifted women.

In time, this interest reached Northern Europe, and especially Denmark is home to an array of works from this period, in both Latin and Danish, on learned women from the Nordic countries. About 150 women from Scandinavia were thus registered in and became known through a new genre within the history of learning called the Gynaeceum (lit. a Greek term for women's chambers).

Among these, Otto Sperling's masterpiece *De foeminis doctis* ('On the Learned Women') stands out as unique. Over a period of approximately forty years, he gathered information on learned women from all over Europe, and some even from further afield. In *De foeminis doctis* he presented the world's greatest collection of learned women: 1,399 of them. This gynaeceum was never published, but is known to us from his manuscript comprising two large quarto volumes in well-preserved, but not easily legible, brown ink. Since the 1700s, the manuscript has been kept at the Manuscript Collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, along with various of Sperling's draft sheets containing useful supplementary information. In Sperling's gynaeceum and remaining papers is also some correspondence with contemporary learned women.

Laura Alexander (High Point University) *Abjected Identities in Alexander Pope's *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady* and *Eloisa to Abelard**

Panel / *Session* 385, 'Alexander Pope'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Schoenberger (College of the Holy Cross)

Two of Alexander Pope's early poems feature characters with dark identities leading to their death, despondency, or near-suicidal grief, and this paper examines Pope's most tragic figures by comparing them to Julia Kristeva's *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Pope's *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady* (1717) and *Eloisa to Abelard* (1717) feature conflicted figures in varying states of abjection. *Eloisa to Abelard* in particular had a lasting influence during the eighteenth century. Peggy Kamuf explains that interest in the real life lovers began during their lifetime, with admirers of the tragic couple desiring to see the corpses. The bodies of the lovers were repeatedly dug up and reburied over the centuries as each succeeding generation formed a fascination with them (Kamuf xi-xvi).] An entire cult-like following grew as a result of reading Pope's *Eloisa*, and many writers wrote versions of *Eloisa* or *Abelard* that concentrated attention on psycho-sexual anguish. Each of the figures examined in this chapter—the mysterious lady in Pope's *Elegy* and Pope's *Eloisa*—experience "violent, dark revolts" (Kristeva 1) as they reject religious consolation and cannot confess their sins to God. They are impure and unclean according to their religious and social orders, which they ultimately reject, crossing boundaries in their biblical abomination (Kristeva 91).

Bryan Alkemeyer (The College of Wooster) *The Enlightenment Scandal of Social Insects in Hobbes, Swammerdam, and La Fontaine*

Panel / *Session* 199, 'Critical Insect Studies in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00.
Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Srividhya Swaminathan (Long Island University Brooklyn)

Social insects pose special problems for nature-culture distinctions in politics, science, and literature, the domains traversed by Bruno Latour's "quasi-objects." The generalization holds as early as Aristotle and as late as E. O. Wilson, founder of sociobiology and author of the novel *Anthill* (2010). Contributing to that broader story, this essay features examples of special moment for the Enlightenment, with its new determination to separate culture from nature, human from animal, words from things. Hobbes worries over and tries to sharpen Aristotle's distinction between "gregarious" animals, like honeybees, and truly "political" human beings. Swammerdam vacillates between leveling human-insect distinctions and crediting the social insects with only instinct, not reason. La Fontaine rejects Cartesian dualism yet suppresses ants' communal existence, which threatens human reason's uniqueness. Lessons to be drawn from these cases include anthropocentrism's deep entrenchment, even in writers who claim to reject it, and the distinctive potential of social insects for helping human beings not to understand culture in terms of biology (as sociobiology would have it) but rather to expose the inevitable cross-contaminations between "nature" and "culture," so that posthumanist knowledges may emerge.

Valentina Altopiedi (University of Turin) Comment se construit l'identité féminine à travers la littérature : la Nouvelle Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans

Panel / *Session* 17, 'Le roman français'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

Le roman a été considéré longtemps le genre littéraire féminin par excellence. L'écriture de dedans, la thématique amoureuse, le support autobiographique ont été identifiés, par Raymond Trousson ou Beatrice Didier, comme les caractéristiques principales des romans de femmes. Mais d'où vient l'idée d'un roman féminin concentré exclusivement sur la dimension privée de l'amour et de la famille ? La collection littéraire, Nouvelle Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans, publiée à Paris entre 1798 et 1804, a sûrement joué un rôle important (au moins dans le milieu francophone) pour l'établissement de cette équation, qui exclut complètement la réflexion politique et publique de l'écriture des femmes. En analysant les 112 tomes de la collection, qui avait pour but de faire connaître au public français les romans les plus méritoires, on voit très clairement les traces d'une sélection assez étroite qui exclut tous les romans de femmes qui vont au-delà de la narration intime d'un amour outragé. En comparant, en fait, les romans publiés par des femmes dans la même période de la collection, on découvre un considérable nombre de romans qui traitent de politique, qui expriment une opinion très claire sur l'histoire récente de la Révolution ou, encore, qui misent en scène une femme libre d'agir dans l'espace public, comme *La femme grenadier* de Marie Armande Gacon-Dufor. Le but de ma présentation sera celui de montrer le canon de romans féminins proposé par la collection analysant ces qui en sont exclus. La réflexion est tant plus intéressante parce que la Nouvelle Bibliothèque s'adressait explicitement à un public de femmes. Étudier le choix éditorial de la collection littéraire permettra pas seulement de combler un vide historiographique sur le sujet, mais aussi de réfléchir sur la construction d'une identité féminine éloignée de la politique, dont les conséquences demeurent jusqu'aujourd'hui.

David Alvarez (DePauw University) Indian Religion and Imperialism in John Dryden's *The Indian Emperor*

Panel / *Session* 43, 'Enlightenment Religious Identities'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura M. Stevens (University of Tulsa)

In John Dryden's *The Indian Emperor*, religious tolerance and imperialism seem to go hand in hand. What kind of re-definition of religion is required for "religiously tolerant imperialism" to work in Dryden's play? The answer to this question can be found in the story the play tells about Indian religion and priestcraft. At first, both the Indians and the Spanish are plagued by greedy, tyrannical priests who use religious fear to gain money and power. Montezuma's resistance to priestcraft later in the play depends upon overcoming fear, both by exposing "holy Avarice" as hypocrisy—thus showing that priests but not true religion are the cause of fear—and more fundamentally by defining religion in terms of private belief and not ritual and idolatry (V.ii.116). This redefinition of religion in Protestant terms as a universal, global concept not only liberates the Mexicans and Spanish from priestcraft but also allows for the practice of toleration since the sincere religious beliefs of the Aztecs cannot be changed through persecution. In the character of Montezuma, the play links this privatization of religion to neo-stoicism: his endurance of torture not only testifies to the truthfulness of "religion as belief"—torture cannot make him change his beliefs—but also to his self-discipline as a King who never "once unmanly groan'd" while on the rack (V.ii.121). The inviolability of his mind, which "No Pains, No Tortures shall unlock," buttresses both the play's construction of religion and his monarchical authority (V.ii.20). Ultimately, the battle for Mexico liberates both Montezuma and Cortez from priestcraft and subordinates religion to the state. It's a whole new world. This leaves self-discipline, civilizing "Honour," as the value that determines the fate of Mexico. Instead of being dupes of their own superstitions and of Spanish priestcraft, the Indians are raised in the play to the status of honorable foes, which legitimizes their defeat as an honorable conquest.

Jocelyn Anderson (University of Toronto, Mississauga) Finely Engraved Embellishments: Eighteenth-Century Magazine Illustration in Britain and the United States

Panel / *Session* 387, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 4'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nathalie Collé (Université de Lorraine, CLSH de Nancy)

Magazines have long been recognized as critical to the public sphere in eighteenth-century Europe, but few studies have examined magazines as cultural products that included pictures as well as texts. This paper will explore the emergence of magazine illustrations in Britain and the United States.

In Britain, illustrations were well-established in magazines by the middle of the eighteenth century, and they were critical to appeals to readers. As consumer goods, magazine illustrations were some of the most inexpensive printed images available, and they circulated widely. Most magazine illustrations were small, but publishers also experimented with larger, fold-out images. The subject matter was diverse: popular types of illustrations included portraits, topographical views, natural history specimens and depictions of machines; representations of current events were not common, but many illustrations had a clear contemporary relevance. For example, several illustrations featured cultural celebrities, and these plates offered readers access to a virtual cosmopolitanism. Magazine illustrations also depicted subjects closely related to politics, and those plates made visual contributions to public discourses on national identity. Many early magazine illustrations were adapted from art works displayed in London or from previously-published images; there were also artists who specialised in original compositions for magazines.

The political potential of magazine illustrations was particularly important for early American magazines. In many respects these publications were influenced by British precedents, but American publishers used illustrations to help differentiate their works. Early American magazine illustrations often took the land, leaders and symbols of the United States as their subjects, tying their literary content to a distinctly American visual culture.

Misty **Anderson** (University of Tennessee, Knoxville) Staging *The Mysterious Mother*

Panel / *Session* 133, 'Gothic Horrors, Catholic Undertones, and Political Caricature: Archival Riches of the Lewis Walpole Library'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Clarke (University of Liverpool)

When I was asked to stage Horace Walpole's 1768 *The Mysterious Mother* in 2018 as part of the events planned by the Lewis Walpole Library to mark the tercentenary of Horace Walpole's birth, I hesitated at first. Like Walpole himself, who "did not think it would do for the stage," I nonetheless realized that I too "wish to see it acted." The *Mysterious Mother's* incestuous "secret sins" led both Walpole and friends to claim it was too "disgusting," too "dreadful" for the London stage. Yet Walpole made surreptitious efforts to stage it, while its text circulated in private before publication in 1791, fueling many private readings and an eventual adaptation in 1821 in Surrey. My ambivalence about the LWL's offer mirrored the ambivalence of the author and early readers: was this, as Walpole feared, "a tragedy that can never appear on any stage?" Reader, we did it, and video clips and stills will illustrate this talk to bring the experience back to life.

The production was an elaborate staged reading, a year in preparation but with less than three days to work together in person. The embodiment of the play was always, therefore, an "as if" proposition. In it, we endeavored to produce a version of the hypertheatricality that stage tech after Walpole reflects, with the help of a digital set design of 26 discrete animated slides with sound cues, including Gregorian and Orthodox chant, ghostly orphans, rolling fog, and shocking thunderclaps, all designed to be projected on the Louis Kahn poured concrete walls of the Yale Center for British Art. Lady Diana Beauclerk's illustrations for the play guided costume selections from area opera companies and professional theatres. The campiness of the gothic, with its exaggeration of horror, the in-joke of its material bed-trick, and its queerness *avant la lettre* came out in our initial laughter, our gestural exaggerations, and the embodiment of the perverse passion at the center of the story in the person of the Countess. She defies the terms of both gender and piety in this imagined pre-modern past in favor of a modernity that embodies the tension between spiritual and secular accounts of the human condition. The production att

Misty **Anderson** (University of Tennessee) *Transcendent Revenge: The Languages of Sex, God, and Power in Restoration Comedy*

Panel / *Session* 308, 'Performing Enlightenment Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Rosenthal (University of Maryland)

It is abundantly clear that early Restoration comedy was hostile to Puritans. Plays like Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1661) and Howard's *The Committee* (1662) were functionally victory dances for Royalists, mocking Puritans for sexual, economic, and ideological duplicity. The suppression of theatrical modes of thought and the restriction of performance to a few private events and masques had put a generation of actors and playwrights out of work, and they returned to destroyed or unusable spaces, in which men were competing against women for parts. Resentment was cultural, personal, and economic. To make one's enemies so recently vanquished perform their contradictions, hidden lusts, and craven plots in public enacted cultural revenge, and to discover that such plays sold tickets sweetened it. Their triumphalism was phallic, irreverent, and intertwined with religious and political history.

But a curious pattern of religiously laden language emerges when we attend to the language of these plays, a pattern J. Douglas Canfield identified as both ironic and persistent. I argue that "fucking" with Puritans through Restoration comedy went beyond obvious forms of revenge and touched on a longing for transcendence within the immanent frame. What I would further propose is that religious language in its many forms in these plays saturates the libertine project of embodied pleasure and makes of sex a suitable religion. The godless libertine qua sex god is the high priest of plays like *The Libertine*, *The Country Wife*, and *The Man of Mode*, where the explosive libertinism and its baroque aesthetic barely bothers to mask its religious longing for knowledge after the fall, "ripping through the fabric of figurative reality" (Parker 20) and constructing a vision of revolt through sex that becomes its own (and our own) mysticism.

Linda **Andersson Burnett** (Linnaeus University) *Instructing Enlightenment: Scotland, Sweden, and the Colonial Ambitions of Natural History*

Panel / *Session* 285, 'The Humanity of Enlightenment: from Humankind to Human Kindness'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Ahnert (University of Edinburgh)

In March 1786, Dr Somervell Wilson, bound on a voyage in the East India ship *Lord North* to Madras and China, wrote to the Professor of natural history at the University of Edinburgh, the Rev. John Walker: 'write me some instructions relating to my voyage'. Walker sent his instructions the following month. This intellectual exchange, prompted by colonisation, exemplifies a Swedish-British tradition of instructed natural history travel in the late eighteenth century. Walker was steeped in Linnaean natural history and was inspired by Linnaeus's sets of instructions for natural historians travelling to various colonial locations. In his instructions, Linnaeus instructed budding natural historians not only how to collect and classify plants but also how to observe and catalogue nature and human variety. In this presentation I will examine the place that humanity occupies in this tradition of instructed travel – as both a fitting subject for enquiry, and a suitable object for classification. I will chart how Walker, who blended Linnaean natural history and Scottish stadial theory, primed a generation of colonial natural historians.

Valérie **André** (Université Libre de Bruxelles) *Être roux au siècle des Lumières*

Panel / *Session* 129, 'Couleurs et identités à l'époque des Lumières 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Aurélia Gaillard (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

« Il est si naturel de penser que c'est la couleur qui constitue l'essence de l'humanité, que les peuples d'Asie, qui font les eunuques, privent toujours les noirs du rapport qu'ils ont avec nous d'une façon plus marquée. On peut juger de la couleur de la peau par celle des cheveux, qui, chez les Égyptiens, les meilleurs philosophes du monde, étaient d'une si grande conséquence, qu'ils faisaient mourir tous les hommes roux qui leur tombaient entre les mains ». La citation de *L'Esprit des lois* est célèbre. Montesquieu ne laisse subsister aucun doute quant à la véracité des faits qu'il rapporte. À l'en croire, dans l'ancienne Égypte, la prévention contre les individus convaincus de délit de rousseur confinerait au génocide ! Or notre philosophe n'est pas homme à traiter l'érudition avec désinvolture. Consignée au titre d'exemplum a contrario, la cruauté absurde des « meilleurs philosophes du monde » semble être tenue pour argent comptant, et l'extermination systématique des personnes rousses pour pratique avérée. La prévention qui touche la rousseur est ancestrale : méchanceté, lubricité, félonie, odeur nauséabonde, caractère démoniaque, on ne compte plus les avatars du préjugé. Cette étrange fascination faite d'attraction et de répulsion s'est perpétuée de siècle en siècle, un peu partout dans l'Occident chrétien. Comme une rumeur qui se construit et enflé, jusqu'à la démesure, au point de devenir une vérité unanimement reconnue, et finalement indiscutable. Les hommes des Lumières en héritent, sans jamais la remettre en question. Dans le cadre de cette communication, on reviendra sur l'origine du

préjugé afin de relire les textes des auteurs — philosophes, savants ou écrivains — qui ont contribué à l'ancrer durablement dans la conscience collective.

David Andress (University of Portsmouth) Sovereign Terror: Extremes of Political Action in Two Parallel Revolutionary Empires

Panel / *Session* 124, 'The Enlightened State and Political Justice: Political Trials in Britain and France in the 1790s'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Munck (University of Glasgow)

This paper will aim to contextualise the more detailed work of its co-panelists within a series of overlapping historical and conceptual positions. Reviewing the recent historical literature on the concept of 'terror' in the 1790s and beyond, it will frame the emergence of 'terrorising' urges within both the rhetoric of sovereign (and divine) power, and the transition towards concepts of explicitly popular sovereignty, in the French case. In the British case, it will reflect on the juxtapositions of 'Burkean' antirevolutionary panic in the 1790s with the heritage of limited sovereignty encoded in the historic 'revolution settlement', and with the pragmatic context of imperial defence and reconstruction continuously underway through the era of radical dissent. In reflecting finally on the French understanding of their 'empire' as a term both for their metropolitan territory and its global outreach, the paper will conclude by realigning some of the dramatic differences in the two national situations under an umbrella of significant longer-term parallels.

Irene Andreu-Candela (University of Alicante) The Debate about Environmental Determinism in the Creation of National Identities: Feijoo, Du Bos, and Tiraboschi

Panel / *Session* 402, 'Lumières espagnoles'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Le Guellec (Université de Lille)

Enlightenment had as its main issue the control of man over nature, setting the difference between the civilized and the wild. In this sense, the controversy about the influence of climate on identities and theories about the differentiation of races increased its interest. The role of climate in the physical, moral and intellectual development, both the individual and the national one, rose in a broad debate in which enlightened people from all over Europe took part, stating whether they were in favour or against this thesis. Thus, we will show the three prevailing positions in the 18th Century about the influence of climate on humans.

In his work *Teatro Crítico Universal*, Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, a religious and representative erudite of the Spanish Enlightenment, denies that the physical conditions of each country affect the ingenuity of its inhabitants. Contrarily, in his work *Reflections critiques sur la poesie et sur la peinture*, the French abbot Jean Baptiste Du Bos gives to climate the maximum influence in the development of national identities. According to him, climate influence was more powerful than blood and origin and it was able to change the character of people who were established in new regions. Finally, there is an intermediate position, like the one defended by Girolamo Tiraboschi, an Italian scholar who, in *Storia della Letteratura italiana*, participates in this discussion and argues that climatic causes are not the only ones that determine ingenuity, although they can influence and promote its growth.

A debate was opened with these three currents of thoughts that tried to scientifically justify the existence of differences between national identities. Many other authors contributed with their own arguments to these positions. This paper is complementary to the proposal made by Professors Cayetano Mas and Armando Alberola named «Climat et identité nationale. La "Historia critica de España" de l'abbé Masdeu (1783)».

Rebekah Andrew (University of Birmingham) Samuel Richardson: Orthodox Anglican or Non-Conforming Dissenter?

Panel / *Session* 467, 'Orthodoxy and Dissent'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Roger D. Lund (Le Moyne College)

While rationalism and secularism may have been discussed widely within educated circles during the eighteenth century, orthodox theology had most influence over the everyday readers of the 1740s. The religious landscape was changing throughout the decade: deism and Methodism were on the rise and Anglican writers spent much time and paper worrying about the perceived threat from irreligion. It is the purpose of this paper to explore the popular Samuel Richardson's religious affiliation and theological beliefs. Scholars of Samuel Richardson disagree as to his religious affiliation; most state he was an Anglican and a few call him a dissenter. Not a church attendee due to his 'nervous malady' and never overtly stating his religious beliefs, Richardson provides clues within his fiction, non-fiction and the output of his press as to his religious affiliations, enabling a picture to be built of the renowned man of faith and promoter of Christian morality. As this paper will demonstrate, Richardson's presses produced works from the orthodox Anglican tradition, but also defenses of accused Catholics and works by George Whitefield, a founder of the Methodist movement. I will argue in this presentation that in the inspiration for Richardson's first written work was his opposition to the deist movement, which he vehemently attacked in *Apprentice's Vade Mecum* (1734). Doctrinally, Richardson's non-fiction reveals his disbelief in original sin and predestination, both acceptable within mainstream Anglicanism. He appears as a highly tolerant Anglican in these works, seeking to commend his faith through his fiction and non-fiction, which are all permeated with seemingly unshakeable faith and devotion.

Gianpaolo **Angelini** (Università degli Studi di Pavia) Enlightenment and Neoclassicism: Milan in the age of Pietro Verri and Cesare Beccaria (Milan 1998)

Panel / *Session* 351, 'The Italian Eighteenth Century: Exhibitions between Complexities and Identities (1911–1998)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Massimiliano Caldera (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Piemonte (Italy))

In 1991 the Milanese exhibition, "Il Settecento Lombardo", was a crucial moment for the presentation of a great, important era in the history of the Milanese Duchy. However, scrolling through the catalogue, it is possible to notice that scholars' interests were decidedly on the late Baroque period, which determined through its events and personalities an extraordinary season of political and administrative reforms and cultural debate after the middle of the century and thanks to the commitment of the Viennese authorities (Maria Theresa and then Joseph II) and to the activities of cultural circles, such as the Accademia dei Trasformati (founded in 1743), the Accademia dei Pugni (founded in 1761), and finally to the magazine "Il Caffè", which emulated "The Spectator". The protagonists of this season were the Verri brothers, Cesare Beccaria and the poet Giuseppe Parini. The iconography of this cultural period and the artistic tastes of these personalities did not emerge nonetheless in the collective imaginary; they did not have an accreditation as a decisive moment of the Italian Enlightenment identity, perhaps because of the prevailing interest in Rococo. At the end of the XX c. some research contributed to match together the reflections on civil rights and the poetic research of classicism with mythological and allegorical images. They converged in an exhibition set up in Milan in 1998, the year after the second centenary of Pietro Verri's death and the Treaty of Tolentino, which marked the birth of the Cisalpine Republic. This exhibition abandoned the 'encyclope-dic' model of "Il Settecento Lombardo" (1991) and focused on portraits and artistic commissions in order to convey ideas and concepts. The proposal aims to reconstruct the exhibition (which had no catalogue), based on photographic evidence, contextualizing it in the panorama of XX-c. studies about Italian Enlightenment.

Carolina **Antonucci** (Università La Sapienza, Rome) La légalité pour la sécurité. Les Lumières et le long chemin des droits fondamentaux

Panel / *Session* 434, 'Liberté et sécurité dans la pensée pénale des Lumières 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Philippe Audegean (Université Côte d'Azur)

Doit-on considérer comme achevé le parcours qui a conduit des réflexions des Lumières à l'affirmation des droits fondamentaux ? Ne doit-on pas plutôt observer que la révolution des droits, toujours en devenir de par sa nature même (Hunt), est animée par un mouvement ondulatoire en forme de dialectique des opposés, avec des expansions et des contractions qui affectent non seulement les titulaires de ces droits, mais aussi la reconnaissance culturelle de leur caractère inaliénable ? Le processus d'affirmation des droits fondamentaux a toujours laissé des exclus sur le bord de la route. Est-il possible de dire que ce processus est traversé par différents régimes d'historicité (Hartog) caractérisés par une coexistence de la contrainte et de la négation, autrement dit de « différentes contemporanéités »

(Koselleck, Genovesi) à la faveur desquelles certains droits sont simultanément reconnus pour certains et niés pour d'autres, devenant de fait de simples privilèges (Ferrajoli) ? L'affirmation contemporaine d'un paradigme sécuritaire semble remettre en cause non seulement le droit à la liberté – sacrifié sur l'autel d'une tentative d'immunisation contre le risque et d'élimination du danger –, mais aussi le principe même d'égalité du droit à la sécurité. La philosophie de l'action des Lumières peut-elle encore alimenter la réflexion sur les droits fondamentaux ? La rationalité qui anime la démarche juridique et politique des Lumières est-elle au contraire en train de vivre une nouvelle période de déclin ?

Yasuyoshi Ao (Université du Kyushu) Les recherches épistémologiques et le théâtre au XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session 275*, 'Le théâtre et l'épistémè du XVIIIe siècle'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

Au XVIIIe siècle, les partisans du théâtre s'efforcent de déplacer le centre des discussions pour protéger ce genre contre les préjugés. Pour expliquer l'utilité des drames, on met ainsi en avant la notion de catharsis, théorie selon laquelle le théâtre permettrait de purifier les violentes passions des spectateurs. Dans cette communication, je voudrais précisément évoquer les principes épistémologiques qui fonctionnent au-delà du domaine théâtral.

Au milieu du XVIIIe siècle, le roman et le théâtre tendent à s'éloigner des normes classiques pour s'orienter vers la recherche d'une esthétique nouvelle reposant sur la notion de "tableau". Le tableau est un moment privilégié sur scène, au même titre qu'un paysage miraculeusement représenté sur la toile par le peintre. Il convient ici de souligner que le concept de tableau se fonde sur le développement de la philosophie sensualiste depuis le début du XVIIIe siècle, qui accorde une importance particulière aux fonctions de la vue.

Or, au XVIIIe siècle, cette façon de penser ne se limite pas au domaine littéraire. Elle est applicable dans tous les domaines. Quand apparaissent des situations inconnues, c'est souvent au théâtre qu'on recourt pour tenter de les comprendre. Il permet ainsi d'offrir un cadre interprétatif à divers événements tels que l'affaire Calas et l'attentat de Damiens. Pour ceux qui s'occupent de ces affaires, l'important est d'aboutir à un dénouement "heureux" où tous les mystères pourraient être finalement levés. On ne cherche plus seulement un résultat mais aussi un dénouement dramatique et pathétique.

Si au XVIIIe siècle, on vise à comprendre divers phénomènes selon le modèle théâtral, c'est que ce modèle semblait pouvoir offrir un dénouement dans lequel les mystères seraient tous résolus. Comme les spectateurs qui assistent au "dénouement" d'un drame et au rétablissement de "l'ordre", ceux qui essaient de saisir les phénomènes réels selon le modèle théâtral espèrent arriver à un espace commun où le public partagerait leur opinion pour parvenir à un accord plus global. Les activités théâtrales peuvent ainsi offrir le moyen de développer l'action politique.

Diana Arauz Mercado (Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas) Identity and Female Representation: Transformative Ideas of Mary Wollstonecraft, through *Education of the Daughters* and *Vindication of the Rights of Women*

Panel / *Session 160*, 'Women of Power in the Eighteenth Century: Identity and Representation'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Claire Boulard-Jouslin (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 3)

From the period that marks the "Complaint of Women" and until the French Revolution, we find varied and important topics of interest in female writing: access to knowledge; equal education between sexes; possibility of performing different jobs in the household receiving an financial remuneration; the voice of women in relation to their marital status and the emancipation of prejudices.

The young English Mary Wollstonecraft would break into the illustrated space through a challenging script with her *Education of the daughters* (1787) and consolidate her status as a philosopher women with the work *Vindication of the rights of women* (1795-1797). Her transformative ideas opened the reflection in the identity consciousness of the women of her time and allowed to begin to consider a relative change of mentalities, in order to balance the presence of men and women in the spaces of political representation. More than two centuries later with some of our causes already won, the thinking of Wollstonecraft remains in force and many of her proposals are still pending.

Rebeca **Araya Acosta** (Humboldt University Berlin) Entangled Objects of Lives: Biographical Sketches of Warrington Dissent

Panel / *Session* 452, 'Embeddings, Neighbourings, Webs of Lives: Transformations and Migrations of Brief Biographies'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Lisa O'Connell (The University of Queensland, Brisbane)

This paper will be an attempt to reinstate ephemeral technologies of brief? textual composition and entanglement as key features of Enlightenment intellectual output. It undertakes a case study drawn from Warrington, the northern provincial centre, which with its academy (1756-86), printing press and circulating library lay at the nodal centre of English dissenting academic transactions for the space of almost thirty years. The protagonists all belonged to the so-called Warrington Circle: the physician and academy tutor John Aikin, his sister, the poet, essayist and biographer Anna-Laetitia Barbauld, the natural philosopher and dissenting minister Joseph Priestley and the celebrated philanthropist and penal reformer John Howard. By plotting their lives in terms of specific instances of their textual production, along with the formats, genres and topics chosen for this, the idea is to lay open the intricate webs of connectivity otherwise opaqued by more conventional discrete categories of criticism. In the sense that none of these actors operated as isolated 'sources of production' but rather as 'performative links' in an enclosed circuit of civil and political exclusion, the paper concludes with a methodological point. It suggests seeing their lives as constitutive of one collective "sketch" of intellectual Dissent.

Thomas **Archambaud** (University of Glasgow) A British or European Highlander? Sir John Macpherson, Roving Intelligence, and Enlightenment Cosmopolitanism in Revolutionary Europe (1789–1815)

Panel / *Session* 269, 'Highland Identities 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Georgia Vullingsh (University of Edinburgh / National Museums Scotland)

This paper explores the post-Indian life of the Skye-born Sir John Macpherson (1744-1821). Educated at King's College Aberdeen, he joined the Royal Navy before working for the English East India Company from 1770. John rapidly rose through the ranks of the colonial order in India as member of the supreme council of Bengal, Governor-general of India in 1785 and MP twice in Westminster between 1779 and 1802.

John's dismissal as Governor-general in 1786 put an end to his colonial career but opened new perspectives. His return to Europe coincided with the outburst of the French Revolution and the war with France. Offering his services as a roving intelligence consultant in European courts (Vienna, Berlin), John evolved a wider set of networks in upper circles, providing information to Louis XVI's last prime minister, Duc de Breteuil and his brother, the Count of Artois. The French ambassador De Bombelles knew him as a consultant of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, later Emperor Leopold II (1790-1792). Similarly, Sophie von La Roche's correspondence allows us to track John's service for the anti-Revolutionary coalition, whereas letters (National Archives of France) addressed by John to Bonaparte and Talleyrand in 1802 defy our geopolitical classifications.

Interestingly, Macpherson's success was due both to his Highland origins and cosmopolitanism. Nathaniel Wraxall's *Memoirs* mentioned his skills in "Venetian, French" and "Highland ballads he gave with the same facility". By finding a neutral ground abroad – Indian and European – John used his Highland culture as a diplomatic asset.

His career and cultural trajectory challenge the understanding of Scotland's exclusive contribution to Britishness after the 45' (Colley, 1992) although Scots were simultaneously part of British imperialism and of continental connections (Conway, 2011). I will confront Colley's and Conway's analysis with John's case, presenting more complex and pragmatic identities than narratives of integration traditionally suggest.

Naiara **Ardanaz-Iñarga** (University of Navarra) Reasserting Collective Identity: A Bishop's Manuscript

Panel / *Session* 42, 'Enlightenment Elites'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

Family memory and genealogy have traditionally served to sing the praises of a family past, justify noble origins of lineage, as a means of social legitimacy and/or to obtain scholarships, gifts and chaplaincies. The manuscript of bishop Irigoyen Dolarea (1789-1852) is a rare example of what family archives of small nobility from the North of Spain contain. Immersing ourselves in the narrative of this bishop is a potent entry to the remnants of our historical past. The archives may well be read as explorations of the self. They are written, collected and curated by the same person, who navigates the tension between the private and the public in an attempt to construct a family narrative and ensure its legacy. There are different types of content herein, such as family trees, family biographies, historical-legal data of the valley of Baztan, as well as biographies of prominent people who participated in the phenomenon called The Navarrese Hour of the 18th century, by which some families of northern nobility came to excel in the finances of the Spanish Crown, participate in the service of the Royal House, colonial trade, high administration, the Church and the army, in many different and geographically distant places in and out of the peninsula. In this paper, all these contents will be analysed as a whole, since they do not only speak of an individual nor of a collective identity. All this is interesting when we consider the historical moment – the crisis of the Ancien Régime – in which society and institutions, including the Church, underwent such drastic changes that would eventually transform the trajectory of those influential families. It is said, not demonstrated, families who travelled abroad of the Kingdom of Navarra and came in contact with Enlightened ideas became liberal in the 19th century, whereas those who stayed rooted to their land property tended towards more traditionalist positions.

Althea **Arguelles-Ling** (University of Sydney) Identities and the Architecture of Enlightenment Salons in Eighteenth-Century Paris

Panel / *Session* 454, 'Enlightenment Spaces'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Fritz (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

Most conversations of the Enlightenment took place in *_salons_*, a term that refers both to the rooms themselves and the gatherings that took place in them. *_Salonnières_* hosted the *_salons_* and also participated in them, fashioning the *_salon_* space to cultivate conversations that set the stage for novel ways of thinking.

Enlightenment *_salons_* took place in various types of buildings, including *_hôtels particuliers_*, private homes and convents. Location matters because built environments affect those who use them as well as influencing the interactions between users. Such architectural determinism has been implicated in both the placement (in *_hôtels particuliers_* or other types of living spaces) and shape (square, light, multiple doors and windows) of the eighteenth-century *_salon_*.

Not all *_salonnières_* had access to a *_salon_* in a *_hôtel particulier_*, the grand, symmetrical houses of the wealthy, surrounded by garden and courtyard. For example, Madame du Deffand received her guests (which included Voltaire, Montesquieu, Fontenelle, Madame de Staal-Delaunay, and d'Alembert) in her rooms at the Couvent Saint-Joseph, rue Saint Dominique. And her niece, Julie de Lespinasse, later received her own guests in an apartment on rue Bellechasse. Many frequented Mme de Graffigny's salons on rue Saint-Hyacinth and rue d'Enfer by the Luxembourg Gardens.

I will analyse the structure and the agencement of space and boundaries, in and around the salons, revealing how they were used, and the significance of comments of appreciation or deprecation from users. My sources are the letters and journals of the salonnières Mme du Deffand, Julie de Lespinasse, Mme de Graffigny, and Mme Geoffrin as well as drawings and floor plans from Blondel, Boffrand, Lassurance, and Delamaire.

Louise **Arizzoli** (University of Mississippi) Collecting the World: James Hazen Hyde (1876–1956) and his Photographic Archive

Panel / *Session* 71, 'Conquering Europe: The Continent Allegories and their Cultural Popularity in the Eighteenth Century'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Moisan-Jablonski (Kazimierz-Wielki-University in Bydgoszcz)

James H. Hyde an American expatriate in Paris between the two world wars, devoted a major part of his life to collecting allegories of the four continents throughout the ages. His collection brought together artworks from ancient art to the early twentieth century: paintings, sculptures, decorative arts, tapestries, drawings and prints displaying Europe, Asia, Africa and America embodied as female figures holding a variety of attributes. He not only collected rare objects all over Europe, but also explored the iconography of his chosen subject in several scholarly articles and documented them with an extensive library and photographic archive. This paper will examine Hyde's classification methods for his four continents collection and will discuss in detail his photographic archive to highlight his pioneer methods in quantitative survey.

His photographic archive counts in fact around 15,000 photographs of four continents artworks that he saw in museums, art galleries, auction houses or other private collections around the world. Clearly, since his scope was encyclopedic, he also included in his archive, photographs of the artworks that he owned. This last fact proves essential for the reconstruction of the collection itself, which is now unfortunately dispersed. Indeed, his photographic archive can be considered a unique tool for research on the allegory of the four continents.

This paper will also analyze specifically the results for Italy, and briefly discuss the location, use and function of this iconography in the eighteenth century. In this regard, it will focus especially on the example of the eighteenth century Neapolitan painter, Francesco Solimena (1657-1747).

Guilhem **Armand** (Université de La Réunion) Les « Moi » de Diderot : se penser en philosophe

Panel / *Session* 13, 'Être Diderot'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

Il est généralement admis que les personnages des dialogues diderotiens constituent, peu ou prou, sinon des facettes de l'auteur, du moins des éléments de sa pensée dialectique. En revanche, ce phénomène se manifeste au lecteur d'une façon sans cesse renouvelée, tant et si bien que la tentation – certes légitime – d'identifier dans les interlocuteurs telle ou telle part d'un Diderot référentiel, se heurte systématiquement à l'obstacle de la variation : il demeure impossible de plaquer nettement un même schéma des personnages et de leurs fonctions. Même une fois tel porte-parole identifié (par exemple un vieillard ou un truchement tahitien), le déplacement qu'opère la fiction entraîne un décalage qui interdit une identité complète. Si, comme l'a souligné Colas Duflo à propos du Neveu de Rameau, Diderot c'est « à la fois Lui et Moi », force est de constater que la critique s'est bien souvent focalisée sur l'autre des dialogues. Pourtant, cette récurrence de la mise en scène d'un Moi est nécessairement significative. Les dialogues sont régulièrement reliés à cette constante diderotienne de se poser en philosophe, d'en donner à voir le personnage, la figure mise en scène, dans une double filiation tant platonicienne que lucianique. Cette qualification que Diderot « s'entête » à assumer – pour reprendre l'expression de Franck Salaün – « dans sa vie sociale et dans les écrits de toute nature ». C'est sur ce personnage si discret des dialogues que portera notre étude. Il s'agira donc d'étudier non pas comment Diderot se donne à voir en philosophe – car sa pensée et donc ses formes d'expressivité se disséminent de façon hétérogène parmi les différentes instances du dialogue – mais de comprendre comment ce personnage de Moi relève d'une image centrale du philosophe dans ces œuvres, que sa sobriété le pose aussi en « honnête homme » (idée si importante dans la définition de Dumarsais), en un être inscrit dans la société sur le modèle biologique de la contiguïté et de la continuité.

David **Armando** (ISPF-CNR; CéSor-EHESS/CNRS) Imposture and Imagination: Mesmer, Deslon, Franklin

Panel / *Session* 136, 'Impostors and Fake Identities in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Maria Rao (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II)

The famous controversy about animal magnetism and its condemnation, in 1784, by a commission led by Benjamin Franklin directly engage the categories of imposture and quackery and their relations with imagination. On a first level, by refusing the existence of the fluid indicated by Mesmer as the agent of his prodigious healings, and rather considering them as the effect of imitation and imagination, the commissioners identified the latter with imposture. At the same time, however, in denouncing the physical and moral risks of magnetism they implicitly recognized its real

effects. Things become more complex if we consider Mesmer's reply, which focuses on the commissioners' refusal of the empirical evidence produced by animal magnetism, thus retorting to them the accusation of deception. Moreover, the commission had chosen not to examine Mesmer's treatments, but those of his former pupil Deslon, who Mesmer accused in turn of being an impostor who maintained to have been introduced to his secret doctrines. This affair, which excited French public opinion on the eve of the Revolution, has been examined from both historical and epistemological perspectives, but it still deserves further analysis returning to old and new sources.

Dana **Arnold** (University of East Anglia) Through a Glass Darkly: The Visual and Verbal Topographies of a Sensory Aesthetic

Panel / *Session* 476, 'Visual and Literary Topography'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Cynthia Roman (The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

Originally used by landscape painters, the Claude glass was the essential apparatus for eighteenth-century English tourists in search of picturesque views of nature. Comprising a small convex mirror, the device transformed the landscape into an image in the style of the painter Claude Lorrain. In order to experience this description of the topography, the spectator stood at a pre-determined vantage point, back turned to the scene viewing only its reflection.

I doubt that St Paul in his letter to the Corinthians was thinking about the Claude Glass. Yet his phrase 'through a glass darkly' pinpoints the way in which this system of viewing influenced how the eighteenth-century tourist engaged with topography: Nature became a sensory experience based on a reflection of reality. Appreciation of this unreal vision, whether picturesque or sublime, was an indicator of polite taste.

Focussing on visual and verbal representations of landscapes in Walpole's collection, including his own Strawberry Hill, I explore the ways in which nature was reduced to the raw material out of which sensory effects could be achieved.

Alla **Aronova** (The State Institute for Art Studies, Moscow) Imperial Funerals in Russia (1720s–1760s): The Western Image of the Russian Ruler

Panel / *Session* 42, 'Enlightenment Elites'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

The Russian Empress Elizaveta Petrovna died on December 25, 1761. She was laid to rest one and a half months later, following a series of elaborate funerary events. This was the fifth imperial funeral in Russia and the fourth in St. Petersburg. For the fifth time, the Russian Empire paid its last respects to its monarch in keeping with the new ceremonial standards, whose fundamental characteristics were developed in the time of Peter the Great. Medieval court rituals, which had remained intact in Russia during several previous centuries, underwent pointed and methodical destruction during his reign and those of his immediate successors. First and foremost, the updated funerary ritual included a public mourning procession, attracting the entire city's attention as it moved from the residence of the deceased first to the church, and subsequently to the cemetery. Early models of this type of procession were used for the funerary events of royal associates, by Peter's decree. The first occurred in the Foreign Quarter of Moscow during the funeral of General Francis Lefort in 1699. With each successive passing of a member of the royal family in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the commemoration moved ever further from the familiar medieval ritual. This shift was facilitated by the Russian elite taking up residence in the new capital of St. Petersburg. Almost every service was now accompanied by a crowded procession: either a pedestrian one on the city streets or an aquatic one on the Neva River. "The Hall of Sorrow" made its debut in the 1720s for the funeral of Tsaritsa Praskov'ia Fedorovna, during which a hall in her palace was transformed for this purpose. The funeral of the first Russian Emperor, Peter I, coalesced all the new ceremonial elements: "The Ceremonial Committee of Sorrow", "The Hall of Sorrow" in the Royal palace with the *Castrum doloris*, the decoration of the interior of the Cathedral of Peter and Paul, the "Procession of Sorrow"; as well as the process for graphically and verbally recording the funerary events, including the preparation of commemorative medallions and the publication of the "Funerary Album". Thus, in 1725, the precedent was set for the ritual of mourning for heads of state and members of the royal family in Russia. The primary characteristic of this new ritual was its public quality. From that point forward, imperial funerals and other court events were seen by the Russian court as a means for public exhibition of the dominant political ideas of

the Russian rulers to their subjects and to foreign powers. Empress Elizaveta's funeral demonstrates that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, Russian ceremonial culture had complete fluency in the baroque techniques of the public representation of power that had been developed in Western Europe. These techniques – the orchestration of ceremonies, temporary architecture, and lavishly illustrated publications – were deployed in Russia in a highly-developed form to support the Russian anthropocentric concept of governmental rule.

Topi Artukka (University of Turku) Sociability as a strategy – the new relationship between the Finnish and Russian elite in early nineteenth-century Finland

Panel / *Session* 42, 'Enlightenment Elites'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alison Smith (University of Toronto)

In this paper I aim to discuss the urban sociability and social strategies between the Finnish and the Russian elite in Turku 1809–1827. After the war between Sweden and Russia in 1808–1809 Turku (Åbo) officially became the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland, now under Russian rule. An important consequence of the (geo)political shift was an active high society life including social gatherings, balls, dinners and other public events, which attracted both the Finnish and the Russian elite. The elite met at these events and used the sociability as an instrument for building the new Grand Duchy. A noticeable outcome of this strategy was the foundation of a dance society and the Assembly House in Turku in 1812, the first of its kind in Finland. Therefore, it is interesting to study how the social life was arranged within the town and what kind of practices it maintained. And especially, why did the Russians in Finland, and who among them, participate in the social life? More generally, the case study serves as an example of how the elites institutionalised sociability for the construction and manifestation of invisible power structures at the moment when the administrative ones only being established and put into place.

Cecilia Ascoli (University of St Andrews) From Subject to Citizen: Revolutionary Education in Milan at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 401, 'Long Live the Body Politic: Cosimo III de' Medici, Carlotta De Saxy Visconti, Luigi Lamberti, and the Promotion of Welfare Between Education and Citizen Assistance in Eighteenth-Century Italy'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

The French revolutionary armies brought 1789 ideals to European territories. The Italian campaigns saw Napoleon triumphantly entering in Milan in 1796. A year later, the Repubblica Cisalpina was born. Milan and its region, which had been previously under the domain of the Austrian empire, not only changed ruler, but they acquired a new form of government as well: the republic. Thus, a profound shift had to take place transforming the Milanese people from subjects to citizens. For this newborn political body to survive the ideas had to be passed on to the local population of all social classes. Only by a true appropriation of the revolutionary ideals, the political process could survive. The directory used different propagandistic means to achieve this goal, but education can arguably be seen as the most effective.

This paper focuses on the educational policies introduced to promote this cultural shift by analyzing in particular one pamphlet, the Catechismo civile by Carlotta Ercolina De Saxy Visconti. This booklet was presented at the municipality in Milan on 19th July 1797 by an illustrious friend of the author, philosopher Pietro Verri. By examining the civic catechism, this paper intends to shed light on the educational goals and practices of the Milanese directory to educate the local population, as well as investigate why the most traditionally religious genre, the catechism, was now used to instill revolutionary sentiments.

Katherine Aske (Northumbria University) Making Friends with Fairies: Social Spaces in Eighteenth-Century Fairytales

Panel / *Session* 450, 'DIGIT.EN.S: Unruly Sociability? Gender and Constructions of Identity'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Emrys Jones (King's College London)

In Locke's *Some Thoughts on the Education of Children*, he goes some way to introducing the focus of this paper: of all the ways whereby Children are to be instructed, and their Manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious, is, to set before their Eyes the Examples of those Things you would have them do, or avoid.

In the eighteenth century, moralistic literature became a promising medium to educate young readers. The main example for this paper will be Sarah Fielding's *The Governess* (1749). Her new interpretation of the fairytale genre offers more attainable and guided examples of behaviour for young girls to follow than the traditional stories. Her dialogue style of writing reinforces the positive relationship between governess and schoolgirls within their imaginary social space: creating realistic scenarios in which moral fairytales are interspersed with scenes of childhood education. To compare, Madam Leprince de Beaumont's *Magasin des Enfants* (1756) had a similar format and became very popular in France. But, according to Jill Grey, Fielding was 'the first author for children to establish a definite set of characters taken from ordinary life and using ordinary everyday speech [based on] real children like themselves'. Taking into account the popularity of fairytales in both France and England throughout the mid-eighteenth century, this paper will focus on the promotion of social interaction, gender expectation and moral education within these imaginative literary spaces.

Jesús Astigarraga (University of Zaragoza) A Proposal for a Smithian Reform of the Spanish Public Finance: *The Code* (c. 1790) by José de Covarrubias

Panel / *Session 257*, 'Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in Spain, 1780–1830 1'. Thursday / *Jeu*di 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Juan Zabalza (University of Alicante)

A new stage in the history of the Spanish Public Finance began during the decade of the eighties of the Eighteenth-century. The financing of the public budget was one of the most pressing problems of the three decades prior the proclamation of the Constitution of Cádiz (1812) due to the following circumstances: the growing financial needs demanded by the beginning of a new war cycle, and the relative stagnation of ordinary and extraordinary public revenues. It is no coincidence that between 1785 and 1787, the Minister Pedro de Lerena activated one of the boldest fiscal reforms of the entire eighteenth century Spanish. This reform —and more generally the situation of the Treasury—generated intense debate among the enlightened intellectuals and reformers of the Late generation, which was marked by the doctrinal plurality. In his context, the jurist José de Covarrubias wrote around 1790 his *Código, o Recopilación de Leyes de Real Hacienda* —Code, or Collection of Laws of the Public Finance—. It was a pervasive work that remained unpublished in his time. Its chief peculiarity is that it contained a reform proposal of the Spanish Treasury inspired by the *Wealth of Nations* of Adam Smith.

Jesús Astigarraga (University of Zaragoza) Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in Spain: Why is it Worthwhile to Continue Studying It? (Co-presented with Juan Zabalza, University of Alicante)

Panel / *Session 257*, 'Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in Spain, 1780–1830 1'. Thursday / *Jeu*di 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Juan Zabalza (University of Alicante)

The purpose of this first contribution is to present the critical objectives of the entire research project that involves twelve Spanish, French and Italian researchers. This contribution to the ISECS Conference leads to explain why the reception in Spain of Smith's work still needs to be studied. Our ongoing research project aims to update the current knowledge about the arrival in peninsular Spain of the Smith's work, reconstructing the way in which it was received, adapted and applied in the country. Its four main purposes are the following. First of all, to draw up a complete catalog of the different Spanish versions of *The Wealth of Nations* under its different formats: the regular translations —whether complete or not—, summaries, plagiarisms, printing works, manuscripts and many others. Secondly, the research project reconstructs the different channels through which *The Wealth of Nations* was introduced into Spain by paying particular attention to the French sources, which might have indirectly been a way of introduction of the Smithian ideas into Spain. Thirdly, it aims at completely rebuilding the different spheres in which the *Wealth of Nations* was influential. In this respect, the primary sources to be analyzed may be further broken down into treatises and monographs; periodicals and journals; chairs of political economy and trade; parliamentary debates, constituent assemblies and other ways of political pre-institutionalization. Finally, the research pretends to give a qualitative account of the reception of Smith in Spain. In order to get so, it weighs individually the actual influence of the five

different books that made up the Wealth of Nations, and, thus, pondering whether the reception was due to the interest raised by the theoretical innovations on Political Economy of the work, or, conversely, by the political consequences of the work.

Krystle Attard Trevisan (Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London) The Arcadian Buon Gusto in the Writings and Print Collection of Count Saverio Marchese (1757–1833)

Panel / *Session* 379, 'Pastoral and Georgic'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

The Accademia dell'Arcadia, a product of the Enlightenment, aimed to eliminate decadence in Italian literature and reconnect it with pre-Roman classical aesthetics of simplicity, the pastoral ideal and beauty. Its members (pastori) adopted the identity of shepherds through new names. Research has focused on how Arcadian good taste influenced some 18th century artists, as in Vernon Hyde Minor's *The Death of the Baroque and the Rhetoric of Good Taste* (2006). Little research has been undertaken on Arcadian poets who were art collectors, or the Maltese context of the Arcadian movement. The influence of this literary aesthetic on good taste in art, especially in Malta, merits further investigation.

In this paper I present a new project to reveal the manuscripts of the Maltese intellectual, art collector and pastore Count Saverio Marchese, identified as Algisio Fasideo. His prolific literary output was appreciated by the political and cultural high society in Malta. However, his corpus and collection of 4,500 prints have never been described or published. This research will result in a unique analysis of both the literary output and the visual aesthetics in a print collection of an Arcadian pastore. It will reveal his appreciation of good taste through subject matters which are classical, pastoral and anti-Baroque. This will encourage further research to identify other Arcadian art collectors in Europe and hopefully to the recognition of a common pattern in their appreciation of works of art.

Marchese is an ideal case study as his art and print collection is still intact and accessible as are his manuscripts. While he was very well-connected with Arcadian poets and the print market in Europe, only four academy members are known in Malta. Therefore, his influence on the cultural and intellectual community on the island is of great significance for Arcadian studies. By comparing Marchese's writings and print collection with Arcadian aesthetics in 18th century Italy, and through the analysis of subject matter in their contents, this paper will demonstrate the interrelation between the literary and visual arts in the 18th century Arcadian identity.

Philippe Audegean (Université Côte d'Azur) Liberté civile et infaillibilité pénale chez Beccaria

Panel / *Session* 400, 'Liberté et sécurité dans la pensée pénale des Lumières 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Luigi Delia (Université de Genève)

L'impératif lumineux de douceur des peines s'accompagne chez Beccaria d'une exigence apparemment plus sombre et plus inquiétante : la tolérance zéro. Si en effet « l'un des plus grands freins qui s'opposent aux délits n'est pas la cruauté des peines, mais leur infaillibilité », alors il faut échanger la sévérité d'Ancien Régime contre une pénalité certes douce, mais intransigeante et sourde à la clémence. Dans *Des délits et des peines*, le même raisonnement soutient pourtant à la fois l'idéal de douceur et l'exigence d'infaillibilité : lorsque les citoyens sont exposés à la violence arbitraire de l'État, non seulement ils perdent leur liberté, mais la criminalité augmente, car elle est alimentée non par la modération des peines, mais par le cours irrégulier et imprévisible de la justice. Non seulement il n'y a donc pas de contradiction entre la sécurité du citoyen contre la violence de l'État et sa sécurité contre les agressions criminelles, mais la première représente un impératif plus important que la seconde dans la mesure où elle en est la condition. Ainsi, l'infaillibilité n'est justifiée par l'exigence de sécurité (face aux agressions et infractions privées) que dans la mesure où cette sécurité même est l'effet de la liberté (au sens de la sécurité face à l'État) que cette infaillibilité a justement pour exigence de garantir.

Sophie Audidière (Université de Bourgogne) Les affects savants dans les Éloges

Panel / *Session* 338, 'Les éloges académiques de Fontenelle'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean Trouchaud (Société des amis de Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian)

Les Éloges sont, entre autres, des récits de vies et à ce titre, il aurait été impensable de livrer au public, entre 1690 et 1740, des narrations dans lesquelles les passions n'auraient pas occupé une place notable. De fait, elles sont présentes, et on sait que Fontenelle lie inextricablement, dans les Éloges, ce qu'on aurait tort d'opposer comme la vie des passions et les progrès de la raison. Je propose de déplacer le regard vers le travail effectif des émotions dans les Éloges, c'est-à-dire vers les affects (rébellion, reconnaissance, transport, dégoût...), et d'examiner ce que font les affects dans la vie des académiciens, du moins dans la proposition fontenellienne pour les Éloges.

Andréane **Audy-Trottier** (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières) *Vir bonus, dicendi peritus* : ethos et postures de Madame de Genlis

Panel / *Session* 166, 'Écriture de soi et formation des identités féminines 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford University)

En 1825, Mme de Genlis alors âgée de 79 ans, publie ses Mémoires inédits pour servir à l'histoire des dix-huitième et dix-neuvième siècles. Si elle prétend, dès les premières pages du premier volume y raconter la vie littéraire de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, c'est qu'elle revendique fièrement le statut de témoin privilégié d'une époque désormais révolue, apportant comme preuve de nombreuses anecdotes la situant dans les salons les plus prestigieux, en compagnie de « presque tous les littérateurs célèbres de ce siècle ». Elle y raconte en outre sa venue à l'écriture, mentionne les ouvrages dont elle est l'auteure, épilogue sur ses succès littéraires et rend compte des difficultés qui furent les siennes au sein de ce milieu fortement masculin. Le « genre mémorial », à l'instar de la correspondance littéraire, permet une étude discursive qui tient compte des conditions de production et des enjeux inhérents à l'écriture et, de ce fait, offre un terreau éminemment fertile pour analyser en diachronie l'ethos et les postures du mémorialiste au sein d'une stratégie discursive visant à forger son identité. C'est ce que je me propose de faire ici, en examinant comment Mme de Genlis, au terme d'une carrière littéraire aussi longue que fertile, négocie d'une part avec les attentes de la société de son époque envers les femmes-auteures et d'autre part avec les critiques littéraires, afin d'imposer à son lectorat immédiat tout comme à la postérité une identité plurielle, composée de différentes images d'elle-même (la femme du monde, l'éducatrice, la polygraphe) qui correspondent chez elle à autant de pratiques des belles-lettres.

Eric **Avocat** (Université d'Osaka) Être ou ne pas être en Révolution : la représentation politique mise en question par le théâtre dans *Le Faux Député* de Hyacinthe Dorvo et *L'Homme d'État imaginaire* de Dorat-Cubières.

Panel / *Session* 95, 'Théâtre et Identités 2 : Identités en scène. Reconfigurations du personnage des Lumières à la Révolution'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Pierre Frantz (Sorbonne Université)

Cette communication partira de la cristallisation de l'ethos révolutionnaire et de la confusion des identités morales induite par la suppression des cadres sociaux de l'Ancien Régime, pour montrer comment le théâtre offre un champ d'observation de la vocation révolutionnaire – comme identité politique assumée – et de l'identification par une instance extérieure.

Sydney **Ayers** (University of Edinburgh) *Celebrity vs Fame: Reporting the Deaths of Robert Adam and Joshua Reynolds in 1792*

Panel / *Session* 465, 'Media and the Mediation of the Individual'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Senkiw (Mansfield College, Oxford)

March 3, 1792 was a dark day for the Arts in Britain: it saw the death of British architect Robert Adam and the funeral of English painter Joshua Reynolds. This link was first acknowledged by the anonymous author of Adam's obituary: 'It

is somewhat remarkable that the Arts should be deprived at the same time of two of their greatest ornaments.’ This direct comparison of the two men utilizes Reynolds’s contemporary popularity and celebrity, and recent posthumous fame, to bolster Adam’s own posthumous reputation.

This paper will explore ideas of celebrity and fame in the reporting of the deaths of Robert Adam and Joshua Reynolds. Examining the public reporting of their deaths through Gentleman’s Magazine obituaries—and supported by the private reporting in personal letters—it is possible to see how Adam and Reynolds are cast as different types of celebrity figures in both life and death. By 1792, Reynolds was a popular figure while Adam was not; especially as president of the Royal Academy, which Adam was purposefully excluded from. Likewise in death, the two men were almost complete opposites. In contrast to Adam’s private funeral at Westminster Abbey, Reynolds had a grand procession and a public funeral at St. Paul’s Cathedral. This crucial information about Adam and Reynolds’ death rituals is detailed in their obituaries’ texts, including the dates, burial location, and pall bearers’ names. Finally, this paper will highlight the male-centric nature of these obituaries and their recording of the male-only presence at the funerals; connecting with Hazlitt’s comment on posthumous fame: ‘it is the spirit of a man surviving himself in the minds and thoughts of other men’ (1818).

This paper will investigate the reputations of Adam and Reynolds upon their deaths in 1792, as embodied in their Gentleman’s Magazine obituaries. In negotiating the transition from contemporary celebrity to posthumous fame, this paper will show how, from the moment of death, a battle for lasting memory immediately commences.

Sara Ayres (Historic Royal Places) Print Rooms and Royal identities

Panel / Session 374, ‘Making Rooms: Interiors, Identity, and Makers’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Taylor (The Open University)

This paper considers the elite fashion of the Hogarth Print Room as a marker of a cosmopolitan connoisseurship taking place within the royal palaces of Denmark and London. The creation of Print Rooms – interiors decorated with framed prints – was an elite craft activity popular in the latter part of the eighteenth century, which is well documented and exemplified by several surviving examples in Britain and Ireland. Hanoverian Princess Caroline-Matilda, sister to George III, who became Queen Consort to Christian VII of Denmark (himself George’s cousin) in 1766, decorated the walls of her “Green Cabinet” in the summer palace of Hirschholm with 68 Hogarth prints, while her spouse had a similar room in the palace of Christiansborg in Copenhagen. The tea room of Kew Cottage was created as a Hogarthian Print Room by Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Queen Consort to George III, and their daughters. The emergence of these rooms within the kinship network of these consorts visualises Clarissa Campbell-Orr’s framing of the history of ideas and print culture circulating between Danish, German and British courts in the late eighteenth century as a Northern Republic of Letters. The paper will therefore consider the significance of the Hogarthian Print Room within this Northern network, and to what extent rooms such as these framed the identities of these consorts and their families as enlightened. It will also explore the nature of the audiences they addressed and how these rooms articulated the boundaries between interiority and the public sphere during this period of Anglo-Danish relations.

Akira Baba (Université chrétienne de jeunes filles de Tokyo) La théâtralité et le stoïcisme modernisé : un aspect de la pensée esthétique-morale de l’*Émile* de J.-J. Rousseau

Panel / Session 275, ‘Le théâtre et l’épistémè du XVIIIe siècle’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

C’est Ernst Cassirer qui, remarquant la continuité entre la philosophie de Descartes et le théâtre de Corneille, y a précisé depuis longtemps leur stoïcisme latent solidaire de la formation de la subjectivité forte et autonome de la modernité occidentale. Or l’auteur de *Émile* cite comme épigraphe la phrase Sénèque : « Sanabilibus aegrotamus malis ». En effet, l’idéal autonome de l’éducation rousseauiste, homme naturel dans la société civile, n’est pas forcément étranger à celui du stoïcisme, affecté difficilement par les passions humaines souvent dérivées des « opinions » fausses ou des erreurs des jugements. Cependant, l’éthique de *Émile* ne pourrait partager que partiellement la subjectivité forte et autonome stoïcienne : Rousseau n’hésite jamais à souligner (déjà depuis le Discours sur l’inégalité) la pitié, sensibilité vers la fragilité humaine dédaignée par Sénèque ainsi que les autres stoïciens comme « vice de la petite âme (vitium pusilli animi) » de « la femme faible (muliercula) ». Plus intéressant,

un tel dualisme à l'égard du stoïcisme se retrouverait dans les discours sur « le goût » de l'Émile, qui non seulement maintiennent jusqu'à un certain point l'esthétique classique de la théâtralité plus que l'on n'imagine, mais en même temps la critiquent radicalement et présentent une autre orientation esthétique-morale. D'une part, grâce à l'exercice bien maîtrisé des « comparaisons » ou des jugements assurés par l'« amour de soi », « le bon goût » permettrait à Émile de survivre sagement le monde social comme « théâtre », ce qui présupposerait la subjectivité de l'esthétique classique telle que Dubos l'a formulée en 1719 développant en un sens la position cartésienne sur les plaisirs suscités par la fiction ou le théâtre. Mais, d'autre part, éloignant consciemment la théâtralité comme modèle esthétique privilégié, « le goût » rousseauiste se tourne vers « l'art de se connaître en petites choses », qui, en principe plus convenable pour « le goût des femmes » que « le goût des hommes », se situe plutôt en dehors de l'idéal stoïcien. C'est cette orientation esthétique-morale non plus nécessairement associée ni à la théâtralité esthétique ni au stoïcisme

Kamila **Babiuki** (Université fédérale du Paraná) Le génie entre raison et enthousiasme chez le Fils naturel de Diderot

Panel / *Session* 318, 'Théâtre et théâtralité'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ana Luiza Reis Bedê (Universidade de São Paulo)

Pendant le Siècle des Lumières, plusieurs philosophes s'occupent de la définition du concept de « génie ». Entraînés par certaines questions sur la constitution physiologique et psychologique du génie, des auteurs comme Rousseau, Voltaire et Diderot analysent le concept pour décrire cette figure, trouver une identité commune à toutes les gens de génies et, surtout, comprendre l'idée du point de vue philosophique. L'exposition qu'on propose ici représente une des parties d'un travail de recherche plus vaste, qui a comme but l'investigation de la notion de génie chez Denis Diderot. Il s'agit de souligner les principales caractéristiques du génie tel qu'il est présenté par des textes de jeunesse de l'auteur, particulièrement dans les Entretiens sur le Fils naturel. D'après les analyses courantes, comme dans l'interprétation de Herbert Dieckmann et de Franklin de Matos, l'enthousiasme est le trait fondamental du génie. Cependant, on essaiera de comprendre le génie en tant qu'individu bipartite, dans lequel la raison est également importante pour expliquer la prééminence de cette figure dans la société et l'anthropologie du génie. On soutient, donc, que le génie est guidé tant par l'enthousiasme que par la raison, étant constitué par une mixture des deux choses qui, à première vue, peuvent paraître contradictoires.

Helena **Backman** (Uppsala University Library) Charles De Geer: An Eighteenth-Century Book Collector in Sweden and his Library

Panel / *Session* 8, 'Collections and Libraries'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Florutau (University of Oxford)

This will be a presentation of an ongoing project concerning the Leufsta Library, an Eighteenth-Century private library still extant in situ at Löfstabruk in northern Uppland (Sweden). The Library of Leufstabruk is a collaborative project between Uppsala University Library and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the National Library of the Netherlands, during 2018–2020.

The entomologist and collector Charles De Geer (1720–1778) founded a magnificent private library at his iron making estate Löfstabruk. De Geer's collecting started early in his home town of Utrecht, which abounded with bookshops and publishers. He also made frequent visits to Amsterdam, the Hague and Leiden, all of which were of great importance for the European book trade of the time. After moving to Sweden, he continued to acquire books through the Dutch booksellers Luchtmans, other booksellers and book auctions. This is in fact a very Dutch library, located in a rural area north of Uppsala.

The project aims at greatly improving the access to and knowledge of the highly international material at the library of Leufstabruk for researchers nationally and internationally. The registration of details such as provenances and bookbindings of special importance, as well as full digitization of copies from previously unattested Dutch editions, also serves as a case study on the import and the circulation of books in Sweden in the eighteenth century.

Paula **Backscheider** (Auburn University) John Hume's *Douglas* and Theatrical Movements

Panel / *Session* 396, 'John Home's Douglas and Theatrical Innovations'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.

2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Ingrassia (Virginia Commonwealth)

After its introduction in 1756-57, there were very few years when John Home's play Douglas was not performed on London, provincial, and American stages. It was often staged multiple times in a year and sometimes in competing productions at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. It has been studied in modern times, but almost never within the contexts of the very different eighteenth-century decades in which it was revived. My study of Douglas will focus on two major influences that it had. Twenty years after the introduction of Douglas, gothic drama swept the London stages; critics complained that it was driving all other plays off the stage. Douglas provided its major components. The opening lines of the play are 'Ye woods and wilds, whose melancholy gloom / Accords with my soul's sadness....' The mingling of these exact physical and emotional settings became an identifying characteristic of Gothic drama and captured the imagination of fiction writers as well. Born in the dark winters of Scotland, it is set in the Medieval gloom of castles and threatening nights, and Lady Randolph, described as a silhouette on a cliff above a stormy sea, leaps and commits suicide. As in almost all gothic plays, there are always secrets and tortured consciences from the past and horrific events. Home was original in making stark that that are the consequences are written on the bodies of the heroine and on the souls of the villain-heroes. The second major influence on later plays was the way that he elevated the theme of motherhood and linked it to a new kind of tragic wartime heroine. During Britain's increasingly global wars, as Mary Favret has demonstrated, waiting became a major experience for wives, mothers, sisters, and sweetheart that brought on "feelings of 'dreary agitation,'" and the theatre's paradigm was Lady Randolph. These plays opened the question of women's appropriate responses to war and to sending men into battle. In different times, when the nation needed enlistments, women, as Lady Randolph did, sent men into battle. In years when the need was reassurance, Douglas was rewritten with a happy ending. My intention is to foreground its performative elements.

Hadi **Baghaei-Abchooyeh** (Swansea University) The Identification of the Self and the Other in Sufi Literature and its Effect on India

Panel / *Session* 118, 'Oriental Literature: Identification, Translation, and Canon-Formation'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Dhruvajyoti Sarkar (University of Kalyani)

The paper focuses on the identification of the Self and the Other in Persian Sufi literature, its journey from Iran to India, and its effect on the subcontinent's culture and politics. It points out the significance of the syncretic perception of the Other and its immense role in helping Hindus, Muslims, and to some extent the British under the Orientalist regime of Warren Hastings (1732–1818), to move towards a more harmonious state of coexistence in the subcontinent. The paper demonstrates how the Indo-Persian Sufi perspective of the Self and the Other enlightened the inhabitants of the subcontinent and encouraged cultural pluralism and religious syncretism.

The Persian Sufi perception of the Self and the Other is introduced through one of the earliest, yet most significant, narratives of Sufi Persian literature: an episode of Farid ad-Din 'Attar's (1145–1221) *Mantegh o-Tayr*, otherwise known as *The Conference of the Birds* which is entitled: 'The Sheikh of San'an and The Christian Girl'. The paper briefly presents an account of India given by the pioneering Indologist and polyglot Abu-Reyhan Biruni (973–1048) in his *Ketāb Tahghigh melal-e Hend men Maghūleh Maghbula fel Aghl am Aarzuleh*, otherwise known as *A Critical Study of What India Says, Whether Accepted by Reason or Refused*; his account of India depicts the pre-Islamic culture and society of the subcontinent as well as some of the earliest interactions and exchanges between the Hindus and Muslims. Biruni's portrayal of the subcontinent would be juxtaposed with the depiction of the Self and the Other in the writings of Amir Khusrow Dehlavi (1253–1325), one of the most prominent Sufi figures of India, in order to trace the treatment, adoption, and domestication of the Sufi viewpoint of the Other. The fruitage of the efforts of such Sufi literary figures is the integration of their perspective with politics in the subcontinent. This integration will be examined in the writings of Dara Shikoh (1615-1659). This paper will conclude with an analysis of Sir William Jones's (1746-1794) researches and translations of the Sufi figures in order to depict the treatment of the Sufi perspective by the British in India.

Ileana **Baird** (Zayed University) Book Illustrations and the Oriental Tale: The Arabian Nights Entertainments and Its Eighteenth-Century Avatars

Panel / *Session* 321, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15.
G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Leigh Dillard (University of North Georgia)

One of the main difficulties encountered by scholars involved in the study of the Oriental tale of the eighteenth-century is what Janice J. Terry called a "mistaken identity": there is a lot of uncertainty of what an Arab, and through extension what an "Arab," "Arabic," or "Arabian" denominations encompass. Indeed, many of the texts that provide details about the area use "Arabian" as an umbrella term for cultures that have little to do with the Arabs themselves or with Arabian Peninsula in particular. The term "Arabian" included, undistinguishably, "Arabian Persians," Syrians, Ottomans, Egyptians, and a whole host of Islamic populations from northern Africa. One of the reasons for this false attribution lies in the power of a text inadvertently translated in the West as "The Arabian Tales." In England, the Grub Street translation of Antoine Galland's version of the One Thousand and One Nights under the title *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1706) was an instant success, being insistently republished, pirated, enlarged, adapted, and reimagined throughout the century. However, although coined "Arabian," the collection contained very few tales that were actually Arabic in origin; most of these tales had roots in India, Persia, Iraq, Egypt, Turkey, Greece and even China (as it is the case of Aladdin's famous tale) and reflected the folklore of their place of origin. None of this complicated history of the manuscript was known at the time, hence the emergence and solidifying of false stereotypes about "Arabs" and all things "Arabian" which were strongly reinforced by the illustrations accompanying the book and other Oriental tales or dramatic performances with Oriental themes published during the time. This presentation will address some of these misattributions and misconceptions about Arabia — from fashions to customs to imaginary locations to stereotypes about the wealth and magical nature of the place — as reflected in a wide array of illustrations of theatrical scenes and works of literary imagination.

Jakub **Bajer** (University of Warsaw) *Entre Vienne et Varsovie. L'identité du prince André Poniatowski (1734-1773)*

Panel / *Session* 205, 'In the Shadow of Big Brother: Identities and Roles of Noble Cadet Sons'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Storrington (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

L'objectif de cette intervention est d'analyser l'identité du prince André Poniatowski, le frère cadet du dernier roi de Pologne Stanislas-Auguste et au même temps le général au service de l'impératrice Marie-Thérèse. La question du sens de l'identité du prince devient frappante dans le contexte des relations réciproques fort ambiguës entre les cours de Vienne et de Varsovie depuis l'élection de Stanislas-Auguste en 1764 jusqu'au premier partage en 1772. Je tiens à analyser l'importance du rôle d'intermédiaire joué par le prince entre les deux cours dans le déroulement de sa carrière politique ainsi qu'à en indiquer les moyens et les outils. Tout ceci est à présenter sur le plan des relations internationales à l'époque grâce aux différentes sources diplomatiques tenues dans les archives polonaises, autrichiennes, françaises, anglaises et italiennes.

Michal **Bajer** (University of Szczecin) *Qu'est-ce qu'un classique polonais? L'identité du goût des autres*

Panel / *Session* 33, 'A l'Est, du nouveau'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

L'historiographie romantique a réduit la richesse du classicisme polonais à l'idée de l'import artificiel et superficiel des qualités esthétiques forgées à l'étranger. Dans les discussions sur la version polonaise du courant, il convient de remarquer un certain décalage temporel: si la littérature classique se développe en Pologne à partir du 1750, seule la dernière étape de son histoire (à partir de 1815) se déroule à l'ombre des discussions identitaires. Poser la question de la spécificité du classicisme polonais ne relève-t-il donc pas de l'anachronisme consistant dans la projection des notions préromantiques sur l'ensemble du phénomène? Cependant, que faire dans ce contexte de la campagne visant à uniformiser le style littéraire polonais, en excluant les macaronismes (depuis Konarski)? Que faire de la tradition tragique qui, dès Rzewuski, recherche avec prédilection les héros nationaux pour le genre calquée sur les œuvres de Corneille, Racine et Voltaire?

La nouvelle approche du problème de l'identité du classicisme polonais va prendre également en considération la question de la traduction dans sa relation à l'universalité et à la particularité nationale. Au XVIII^e siècle, la vogue des traductions de la littérature française se développait sur le fond de la conviction quant au caractère universel de l'esthétique classique. Plus tard, la théorie de la „exotisation” (Schleiermacher) dirige l'attention du public vers les littératures moins apprivoisées par la culture et la langue d'accueil. Le classicisme perd son statut d'idiome littéraire universel, sans offrir pour autant la possibilité du contact avec un ailleurs un tant soit peu exotique. Trop proche et trop connu pour éveiller la curiosité des lecteurs qui se lancent dans la découverte des horizons nouveaux, le classicisme se voit rejeté – assez paradoxalement – comme étranger à l'esprit national.

Gönül **Bakay** (Bahcesehir University, Istanbul) Halide Edip Adivar: A Turkish Woman's Fight for Freedom

Panel / *Session* 384, 'The Influence of the Long Eighteenth Century upon Balkan Identities in the Feminine 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj)

The Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) was a war that was won by men and women fighting side by side for freedom. Halide Edip (1882-1964), a celebrated Turkish novelist and nationalist, was a woman who made a name for herself both on the battlefield and on the political stage. Moreover, she was also a pioneer in the Turkish feminist movement. The occupation of Izmir by the Greek army made Halide Edip more prominent in the war of independence. The speech she gave in Sultanahmet square, during which she declared: "Nations are our friends, governments are our enemies", made her famous nationwide.

Halide Edip was a women's rights activist, a political leader and a novelist. An ardent patriot, she also served as a journalist during the war years. Her memoirs give important insights about a nation in the making. As Ayşe Durakbaşı observed: "Halide Edip's memoirs are multilayered; they can be read as the memoirs of a participant in and builder of the master- narratives of Turkish Enlightenment and Turkish nationalism ; yet they also tell us that story from a woman's point of view." (158) Edip published 21 novels in which she promoted the social, political rights of women. Amongst her most well-known and critically acclaimed novels are: *Handan*, *The Daughter of Smyrna*, *The Clown and his daughter* and *Strike the Whore*. Adopting an approach based on socio-historical criticism, this paper aims to examine the important role of Halide Edip in the Turkish enlightenment movement in the early years of the republic as reflected in her novels *Strike the Whore* and *The Clown and his Daughter* as well as her memoirs.

Natalya **Baldyga** (Phillips Academy, Andover) Practicing German Social Identity in the Theatre: Cultural Nationalism, Performance, and the Hamburg Dramaturgy

Panel / *Session* 221, 'Theatre and Identity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Patricia Debly (Brock University)

The theatrical performance of communal identity informs the question of "German-ness" in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1767-69). In his journal, Lessing presents a relationship between spectator and performer in which actors' bodies have the power to regulate the cultural tastes and social identity of audience bodies through the practice of theatre-going. Rather than thinking of national, cultural, or social identity as an essential quality, this paper approaches such forms of identity in terms of a lived reality, as something that exists within and through the performance of signs of belonging. Like other types of identity, national, cultural, and social identities are established through learned, rehearsed, and practiced behaviors – such as theatergoing and audience reactions to performance – that signify one's belonging to a particular group. Lessing suggests that audience members may not intellectually realize their commonality with characters onstage, but are capable of doing so emotionally. His didactic performance reviews work to calibrate the physiological sensitivity of audience members, so that their bodies will emotionally resonate with a particular theatrical representation of German cultural identity, the emotional register of "German moral character." Ideally, the essays of the *Hamburg Dramaturgy* were to work in conjunction with the actors' performances, which would have served as an affective model for the audience, guiding their emotional reactions to specific theatrical performances. These emotional responses are at the heart of what Lessing sees as a German community founded on shared emotional (moral) values. The applause or tears of an audience serve as a

barometer by which Lessing can measure how “rightly” the audience is feeling and to what extent that feeling appears to be communal. For Lessing therefore, German moral character is defined by a capacity for feeling that can only be identified through exterior – theatrically performed – signs of feeling.

Fabrizio Ballabio (University of York) Identity Building: The Albergo dei Poveri in Naples and the Production of Early Modern ‘Citizenship’

Panel / *Session* 195, ‘Architectural Identities’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Felix Martin (RWTH Aachen University)

In eighteenth-century architectural history, the question of identity has largely been dealt with in representational terms or in relation to patronage. Historians and art historians investigating identity through buildings have mostly been concerned with questions of ‘style’ or how architecture’s physical appearance and expression embodies the distinct political, social, and cultural concerns of the individuals or collective bodies commissioning it. This paper challenges this approach by investigating the ways in which architecture has been complicit alongside rhetoric, religion, ethics and law in the discursive and effective production of more broad and all-encompassing forms of subjecthood. Specifically, it investigates the notions of ‘citizenship’ resulting from the commission, construction and operational results of architect Ferdinando Fuga’s Reale Albergo dei Poveri in Naples—a poorhouse and construction enterprise of unprecedented proportions in European architectural history. Commissioned by King Charles of Bourbon in 1749, the project of the Albergo is inscribed within that moment in Early Modern history in which the ‘condition of human life’ came to be an increasingly political and architectural concern. This paper seeks to revisit the Albergo’s rich and complex history by questioning the discrete ways in which the building was intermingled in processes of identity building. Rather than focusing on the Albergo’s formal qualities and style or its place amidst the Bourbons’ broader artistic renovation of Naples—topics which have been widely discussed in Early Modern Neapolitan scholarship—I focus on the body of laws and norms which governed the living routines and working habits of both the female and male paupers which were interned. I demonstrate the ways in which the building was instrumental to the Bourbons in characterizing notions of ‘deviancy’ while also questioning the ‘normal’ citizen which was characterized in turn

Ros Ballaster (University of Oxford) On the Newness of the Novel: The View from the Pit

Panel / *Session* 341, ‘Newness in the Eighteenth Century: Launching the BSECS/Boydell and Brewer ‘Studies in the Eighteenth Century’ Book Series’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

What was the role of the theatre in the invention of the ‘novel’ in the eighteenth century? This paper will introduce ideas about how the presence of theatrical models of character, action and affect in the novel of the long eighteenth century were in part derived from the theatre.

Ros Ballaster (University of Oxford) Opening the Edgeworth Papers: A Digital Bodleian Project 2019–2020

Panel / *Session* 426, ‘Digital Humanities’. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melanie Conroy (University of Memphis)

The Bodleian Libraries hold a rich and varied collection of papers related to the Edgeworth family from the 17th to the 19th century. Only a tiny percentage of the material contained therein is available in print and even less has been subject to scholarly editing. The collection is little known but of great significance providing important evidence historical and literary. This includes manuscript drafts and family correspondence about: the literary career of one of the most important novelists of the early nineteenth century, Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849); the educational, agricultural and political theory and practice of Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817); the ways in which an extended family with connections in Ireland, England, France and India, communicated and collaborated in the production of art, literature, and scientific knowledge; the history of Anglo-Irish relations in a period of political contestation and transformation. This paper introduces a project to ‘open the Edgeworth papers’ which aims investigate ways to raise

the profile of the collection through public engagement and knowledge exchange activities as well as scholarly and digital editing. 'Opening the Edgeworth papers' is a collaboration between Professor Ros Ballaster in the Faculty of English, and Catriona Cannon (Deputy Librarian and Keeper of Collections Bodleian Library Oxford). The aim is to promote further study of the collection and make it more accessible for future scholarship. The electronic catalogue and Libraries' platform for digitized content provides the basis for development into a digital resource. This project models ways of doing this through an exhibition and workshops for students and scholars, alongside producing a digital version of the catalogue of Maria Edgeworth's correspondence held at the Bodleian; and a monthly blog commencing March 2019 or one year drawing on correspondence and other evidence from 1819-1820. This was an important year in the (shared) histories of Ireland and England which will resonate in the context of the UK's departure from the European Union two-hundred years on.

Ros Ballaster (University of Oxford) *The Sway of Character: Pamela on stage and page*

Panel / *Session* 69, 'Character, Theatre, Novel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.16, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

Pamela as character has 'sway': she is a (fictional) being who brings into being a presence-effect that resonates not only in the text that first creates her, but across culture. Critics have increasingly come to speak of Pamela not as a single-authored text or being, but as a 'media-event', presented/re-presented in art from popular to high image, artifacts, performance and print. Examples of Pamela's sway abound and in particular her capacity to capture her readers and compel imitation of her idiom. In his first published novel the way in which theatre conceived character was an implicit target while the work consistently claimed to be moralising an entirely different vehicle for the rendering of character: the novel. Pamela spoke to the new ethical claims about the Licensing Act's reform of stage immorality; Pamela converts theatrical elements into novelistic shape in this process of reform. We have too often read Pamela as a reforming agent for the novel where we might better understand it as a work geared toward establishing prose fiction/the novel as the medium of reformed character. Richardson was unusual as a novelist who had no direct engagement with the theatre as an author of plays, printer of plays or dramatic criticism. His 1740 *Pamela* does not so much 'take' its character from the familiar conventions of the stage as shape a new kind of 'presentness' of character particular to prose fiction: the device of the letters and journals that capture the action only just after it passes provides an effect of presence that rivals that of the theatre (to bring to life past actions in a present moment). This paper looks at attempts to convert Pamela into theatre and Pamela's conversion of others through a sway powerfully differentiated from the sway associated with theatrical character (with reference, in particular, to Pamela in *Her Exalted Condition*).

Antonio Ballesteros-González (Spanish University of Distance Education) 'The dream of reason brings forth monsters': Rethinking Enlightenment Identities in John William Polidori's 'The Vampyre'.

Panel / *Session* 278, 'Monsters'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair /
Président.e : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

200 years after its publication in the *New Monthly Magazine* under the name of Lord Byron, and written by Dr. John William Polidori in 1816 under the aegis of the conspicuous aristocrat's famous literary contest at Villa Diodati — a meeting which also triggered off the creation of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* — 'The Vampyre' has been generally considered by literary historians as a revenge of sorts and a symbolic account of Byron's and his personal doctor's tense relationship throughout the summer of 1816. Polidori, of Italian origin, acquired a solid scientific education by studying medicine at Edinburgh University, where he graduated and wrote a dissertation on mesmerism and somnambulism. Punning on Francisco de Goya's title of his well-known engraving (1799), this paper attempts to analyse 'The Vampyre' — unjustly neglected in spite of being the first 'modern' vampiric story in history, and extremely influential for future vampire narratives to come — from a new perspective, dealing with the (re-)construction and depiction of identity as the consequence of the Enlightenment, paying attention to philosophical historical (the French Revolution), medical (the conceptualization of distorted states of the mind) and personal conditions based on the trace of Enlightenment ideas. Byron's 'Fragment of a Story', a response to Polidori's portrayal of him as Lord Ruthven in 'The Vampyre', will be also taken into account in this respect.

Carol **Baraniuk** (University of Glasgow) 'Not [drawn by] the halter of an Ass': The Bible and Religious Writings in the Early Correspondence of Robert Burns

Panel / *Session* 149, 'Robert Burns and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Prescott (University of Glasgow)

In a letter of January 1789 to Frances Dunlop, Robert Burns claimed to be 'a sincere believer in the Bible', but asserted that he was 'drawn by the conviction of a Man, not the halter of an Ass'. In this he appears to reflect Enlightenment rationalism and the New Light assumption of the right of private judgement, while rejecting simplistic Biblical literalism. The poet's letters evidence the enthusiasm with which he perused key Enlightenment texts, but they are also permeated with direct references to the Christian scriptures and attest to his familiarity with popular conservative religious texts. This paper explores the early correspondence and some early poems of Robert Burns, up to and including the period of his first winter in Edinburgh, and seeks to elucidate the influence of the Bible, and of writers whose faith was underpinned by a reverence for scripture, on his thinking. It will demonstrate how he employed the Bible and other religious literature in self-fashioning, and suggest the extent to which a genuine respect for scripture and its principles may have guided and consoled him.

Damiano **Bardelli** (Université de Lausanne) The Enlightenment in the European Province: The Lausanne Literary Society (1772–1783)

Panel / *Session* 336, 'La Suisse dans les Lumières européennes'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Moret Petrini (Université de Lausanne)

How can the study of provincial intellectual life contribute to our understanding of the Enlightenment as a European social and cultural phenomenon? A late eighteenth-century Swiss philosophical society known as the Lausanne Literary Society provides an ideal test case to answer this question. The Lausanne society stands out from other learned societies of the time for its cosmopolitan composition: at its weekly meetings, it brought together a wide array of personalities from different parts of Europe, including Scotland, Switzerland, France, the United Provinces, Poland, England, Saxony, Prussia and Russia. Its members sought to establish a common ground both in respect to the organisation of the society and the topics that were to be debated, thus explicitly establishing the Literary Society as a laboratory for a genuinely pan-European Enlightenment culture. While researchers working in this field have focussed mostly on print culture – hence neglecting large swathes of the continent where intellectual life manifested itself in other forms – and have often reduced the provincial intellectual life of the Enlightenment to the reception of ideas developed in the most influential metropolitan centres of Europe, the rich manuscript collection of the Lausanne Literary Society details the original answers that its members gave to questions discussed all over the continent by reformers of the European elite. This paper suggests that the Lausanne Literary Society can be taken as a model for studying the Enlightenment as a European intellectual movement built on a dialectic between cosmopolitanism and patriotism.

Emma **Barker** (The Open University) Jean-Siméon Chardin and the Formation of Bourgeois Identity

Panel / *Session* 159, 'Women and Children in the Arts'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanna Caviglia (Duke University)

After viewing Jean-Siméon Chardin's painting, *The Morning Toilette*, at the Paris Salon of 1741, one critic commented: 'It is always the bourgeoisie whom he puts into play.... No woman of the Third-Estate passes by without thinking that there is an image of herself, who does not see in it her household, her comportment, her unaffected manners, her daily occupations...' (Lettre à M. de Poiresson-Chamarande...au sujet des tableaux exposés au Louvre, 1741, p. 33). For the Goncourt brothers in the nineteenth century, this passage provided compelling evidence that Chardin was the painter of the bourgeoisie, one whose work documented a modest middle-class lifestyle. In recent decades, however, this characterisation of the artist has been rejected on the grounds both of the presence of nobles and royalty among his patrons and of the supposed absence of a distinct bourgeois identity within eighteenth-century French culture. Scholars have also pointed out that the milieu that Chardin depicts is much more affluent than the Goncourts

suggested, as evidenced by the luxury goods that appear in his domestic scenes. The present paper seeks to revive the idea of Chardin as a bourgeois artist in the light of recent historical scholarship, which has offered a nuanced account of the formation of bourgeois identity in eighteenth-century Paris, one that takes account both of cultural practices and economic factors. To this end, the paper will develop an analysis of Chardin's depictions of female figures in domestic interiors (excluding his kitchen scenes) that draws on eighteenth-century conduct books aimed at young women, on the one hand, and recent scholarship on the rise of consumerism during this period, on the other). A further aim is to challenge a tendency too readily to associate Chardin's work with the secular, progressive ideals of the Enlightenment by instead considering the extent to which Christian morality and, more specifically, his presumed Jansenism may have helped to shape his paintings. The central claim will be that Chardin's domestic scenes embody deep-seated contradictions in eighteenth-century French bourgeois identity so far as they exemplify the way that this

Konstanze **Baron** (Eberhard-Karls-University Tübingen) An Enlightened Casuist? Diderot on Discretionary Judgment

Panel / *Session* 376, 'Moral Self-Constitution: The Conscience in the Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Frank Grunert (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg)

This paper proposes a reading of Denis Diderot's tale „Entretien d'un Père avec ses enfants“ of 1771/73. In this fictional account of a family discussion, Diderot describes a moral dilemma faced by his own father, years ago, when he was charged with the execution of a dead person's last will. The contents of that will was clearly contrary to the principles of justice, depriving the man's natural heirs of their (legitimate) hopes for a better future; and it was found at the very last minute under dubious circumstances. In cases like these, Diderot asks, is it permissible to follow one's own conscience, or are we bound by the rule of law (i.e. the written word), no matter how unfair its stipulations may seem to us? I take it that this tale should be regarded as Diderot's response to contemporary debates on the the role of the moral conscience and the sovereign individual. The way the story is told – one central plot surrounded by different sub-plots, each of which deals with a variation of the central moral conflict – suggests that Diderot is engaging here in some kind of moral ‚casuistry‘. Unlike traditional casuistry, however, Diderot does not seek to reduce moral uncertainty in order to bring about a decision. He rather uses the means of fictional story telling in order to highlight the complexities of the question at hand, pointing not simply to the case itself, eg. the consequences of various courses of actions, but also to the reasons and motives of those who are judging it, while, at the same time, the form of the dialogue as used by Diderot is adding a performative dimension to the text. So, instead of presenting the reader with an easy solution, the story rather puts them through some kind of moral training, furthering his (or her) capacities for enlightened, i.e. discretionary judgment.

Rômulo **Barreto Fernandes** (São Paulo State University) Humankind and Identity: A Study of Rousseau's Virtue

Panel / *Session* 59, 'Rousseau: Pity, Justice, Virtue'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

In the present paper we intend to present shortly how the concept of Virtue is found in the philosophical thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. According to him, there was a great disparity between being and appearing in humankind, caused by the bad influence of society and its elements like arts and sciences (the society itself raised from the vices of humankind and that feed them in a circle), that overshadow the natural passion of the human being, over which this should build its existence, and covered society with a “uniform and deceitful veil of politeness” (ROUSSEAU, 2008) that prevents men from reaching each other mutually in moral reality. The unsafety generated by this turns into ruins the moral bases of society. It is undeniable to Rousseau the superposition of the vices over the virtue as aggravated by the vile culture. It is in this relation between being and appearing that, with the masking of the true feelings of the human kind by the direct action of the costumes, it distances himself from decency. The moral passions that are awoken and demand the knowledge of the virtue to the righteous acting, can be substantiated in a dichotomy between self love (*l'amour de soi*) – love of self (*l'amour propre*). To the first is connected the notion of self-preservation, whilst the second is connected to pride and presumption. Therefore virtue according to Rousseau relates itself not to the passion of love of self, but to self love: a passion that takes the being to self preservation and

that under the reign of reasoning and modified by natural Compassion (pitié) creates humanity and thereafter leads to virtue. While a force, Virtue substantiate itself precisely as the constant determination in acting of the human being in the direction of preserving self love (l'amour de soi), that is preserve oneself without harming the other beings and provide them the conditions to do it alike.

John Barrington (Furman University) What Is an Atrocity? Defining the Ethics of War during the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution

Panel / *Session* 286, 'Trauma and Response'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kristin Eichhorn (Universitaet Paderborn)

Historians regularly comment that the fighting during the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War, from late 1778 until 1782, was particularly bitter and fierce: the "massacre" at the Battle of Waxhaws (1780) is an example of an event that has attracted a great deal of judgmental commentary. Yet rarely do such assessments define with any precision what constituted fair play and what constituted an atrocity in the eyes of those engaged in this conflict. My paper examines two accounts of the Southern Campaign, one by a Patriot, "Light Horse" Harry Lee, and the other by a Loyalist, Charles Stedman. These accounts frequently make ethical judgments about the behavior of soldiers and partisans on both sides. I use these judgments to explore whether there was any common understanding, shared by these two opponents, about the Rules of War, and how far any such consensus reflected the more formalized systems of *ius in bello* developed by the most eminent philosophers who had dealt with this topic, particularly Hugo Grotius and Emer de Vattel. I also examine how far Lee's and Stedman's memoirs held white, Anglophone participants on both sides of the Revolutionary conflict to a higher standard than other Europeans and non-whites, especially Native Americans. This study demonstrates how military custom, philosophical debates, and ethnic and racial hierarchies coalesced to create an informal code regarding the Rules of War, before the days of international conventions and law courts. These two memoirs suggest that fighting wars according to Enlightened, civilized norms was a crucial part of both Patriot and Loyalist identity.

Juan Manuel Bartolomé (University of Leon) Traditional 'Provincial' Identities in Castilian Society: Clothing's Stocks

Panel / *Session* 78, 'Iberian Material Identities: Clothing Appearances in Contrast'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia)

Abstract not supplied

Annika Bärwald (University of Bremen) To Be Young, Employable, and Black: Expectation and Self-Presentation of People of Color Navigating a Northern European Job Market, 1790–1840

Panel / *Session* 430, 'German Slavery 2: Identities, Perception, and Representation'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Wolfgang Schmale (University of Vienna)

In the 1790s, a hitherto unknown type of advertisement began to appear in Hamburg newspapers: People identified as non-white sought or were offered employment as domestic servants. The skills and attributes they advertised corresponded closely to the cosmopolitan needs of their employers. They spoke multiple languages, possessed good horsemanship, knew how to wait tables, dress hair, and shave. These characteristics, as well as their perceived 'exoticism' were of representational and functional utility to masters and mistresses. The advertisements reveal facets of the lives and economic strategies of people of color in shaping their biographical paths in the diaspora.

On the basis of number of such advertisements published in two Hamburg newspapers from 1790 to 1840 along with findings from archival research, the proposed paper argues that non-white people positioned themselves as desirable employees by acquiring and emphasizing metropolitan traits. Expectations and behaviors on the part of Hamburg's bourgeoisie are reflected in these sources as well and provide valuable clues for understanding individual backgrounds of people of color living in Europe. In examining the interplay between racial ascriptions placed on people of color and their self-presentation and documented practices, the paper challenges the dichotomy of integration and social

exclusion into which African-descended lives in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe have traditionally been placed. It contends that transnational ties and mobility along with, in many cases, experiences of slavery and manumission must be viewed as central factors shaping people of color's identities.

Nicolas **Bas Martin** (Universidad de Valencia) Livres espagnols dans l'Angleterre de la fin du XVIIIe siècle et du début du XIXe siècle: le cas de Lord Grantham et de Lord Holland

Panel / *Session 402*, 'Lumières espagnoles'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Le Guellec (Université de Lille)

L'image d'un pays peut être reconstruite de manières très différentes, entre celles-ci à travers des livres, dans ce cas espagnols, qui ont été lus par les "autres", par d'autres pays, comme maintenant l'Angleterre. De cette façon, nous pouvons savoir comment ils nous ont vus, ou plutôt comment ils nous ont lus, ce qui servira à clarifier la vision qui sur l'Espagne circulait dans cette Europe d'entre siècles.

Et tout ça à travers de deux cas concrets. D'un côté, l'Ambassade de Lord Grantham à Madrid pendant les années 1771 à 1779, qui a maintenu une correspondance intense avec Londres, où les livres espagnols ont occupé un lieu très éminent. Et de l'autre, à partir de la figure de Lord Holland, dont la maison, Holland House, s'est transformée non seulement au refuge d'un bon nombre d'intellectuels espagnols qui ont fui de l'absolutisme fernandin, mais aussi dans le lieu de petite soirée et de conversation sur des sujets espagnols. Un centre de sociabilité qui avait dans la bibliothèque du noble anglais son centre principal d'attention, puisque là étaient amassés une grande partie des passions espagnoles des Holland.

Une hispanofilia qui nous offre une vision nouvelle de l'image d'un pays, comme maintenant la bibliographique, qui nous permettra de connaître la circulation de livres et d'idées entre l'Espagne et l'Angleterre. Une approche qui nous aidera à connaître mieux l'image de l'Espagne dans l'Europe du moment, pleine de clichés et de stéréotypes.

Jennie **Batchelor** (University of Kent) Memorialising European Women Writers in the *Lady's Magazine*

Panel / *Session 254*, 'Transnationalism and Eighteenth-Century Women's Writing'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susan Carlile (California State University, Long Beach)

Few genres did more to frame the reputations of women writers than periodicals. Most scholarship to date in this area has focused on the Reviews, whose attempts to professionalize Literature were contingent upon 'exclusionary practices' including the discursive masculinization of 'the work of writing', to borrow Siskin's phrase, and the marginalisation of women's writing. These acts occasioned the 'Great Forgetting' of eighteenth-century women writers, and while there is more of 'the remembering to be done' that Siskin's book called for, our understanding of this phenomenon is now more nuanced. We now see the 'great forgetting' less as cataclysmic media event than as a long and uneven process.

Yet Reviews represent but one face of the periodical's role in mediating women writers' receptions. Magazines vitally framed perceptions of authors lives and posthumous reputations. This is true not only for high-profile figures – Byron, Hemans, Landon etc – but also for many of their famous and not-so-famous contemporaries. Indeed, much of the appeal of miscellanies such as the long-running *Lady's Magazine* (1770-1832), derived from the medium's ability to bring into tantalising proximity the works of the admired and aspirational, the famed and forgotten. Magazines also, this paper demonstrates, insistently framed women's writing in terms of a European tradition.

How European women writers and their works were mediated by magazines and its implication for our own acts of remembering and forgetting are central concerns of this paper. Referencing biographical series, lists of learned ladies, the choices they made about whose work to reprint, and fan pieces by contributors, the paper will contend that magazines: 1) are rich resources for women's literary history, scholarly narratives about which they frequently undermine; and 2) provided an important space in which official and popular responses to the work of women writers across Europe clashed in ways that shape their reputations today.

Jennifer **Batt** (University of Bristol) Going Back: Aphra Behn Returns to the Island of Love

Panel / *Session* 98, 'Aphra Behn: Page, Stage, Canvas'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower.

Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

In 1684, Aphra Behn wrote to her publisher Jacob Tonson to report on her progress in translating Paul Tallemant's *Voyage de l'isle d'amour* (1663). Imploring Tonson to increase the payment he was offering for the 'preety thing' she was working on, Behn tried to tempt him with a sequel to that work: if the first voyage 'pleases', she wrote, she 'will do the 2d voyage' – Tallemant's *Le Second voyage de l'isle d'amour* (1664) – 'wch will compose a little book as big as a novel by it self.'

Tonson published the first of these translations in Behn's *Poems upon Several Occasions: With a Voyage to the Island of Love* in 1684. He does not seem to have been tempted, however, by Behn's offer of a follow-up work. It would be another four years before Behn's translation of Tallemant's second voyage would be published, and when it did eventually appear in 1688, *Lycidus: Or the Lover in Fashion. Being an Account from Lycidus to Lysander, Of his Voyage from the Island of Love* was issued by Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders, not by Tonson.

This paper explores how Behn made this return journey to the Island of Love. It will consider the relationship between Behn's first and second voyages, as well as the relationship between her translations and Tallemant's original work. By considering Behn's decisions regarding form, genre, and narrative perspective, this paper seeks to illuminate a work which remains one of the lesser known texts of Behn's later career.

Megan **Batterbee** (University of Kent) Re-Establishing Identity Through Testimony: The Rape Survival Narratives of Mary Hays' *The Victim of Prejudice* (1799) and Mary Wollstonecraft's *Maria, or The Wrongs of Woman* (1798)

Panel / *Session* 276, 'Mary Wollstonecraft'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

The heroines of Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hays see their testimonies as unfinished manuscripts, the writing of which reiterates their unerring will to survive: "surely, I had a right to exist!" (Hays, *The Victim of Prejudice*, 141). Both Hays' and Wollstonecraft's characters must re-establish their identities in a world which is prejudiced against them due to the fact that they consistently and publicly restate the fact of their non-consent. I wish to explore whether society's perception or the self-identification of these characters changes most as a result of rape, using the testimony of the survivors themselves as the lens through which to view this.

Hays and Wollstonecraft show that these characters have clear ideas of true consent throughout the novel, established in their early consensual relationships. It is the consequent expressions of defiance by these women when this is violated, by publicly voicing their initial and continued non-consent after they are raped or coercively seduced, that further outrages their perpetrators and a society unwilling to hear their testimony. All four female protagonists highlight the futility of seeking retribution in a legal system designed to believe the word of a wealthy man over the testimony of a victimised woman. Society labels these characters by the acts committed against them, retroactively attributing transgressive agency to the survivor's previous behaviour as well as to their future conduct. I will highlight the struggle these women face in establishing that their innate moral value is not necessarily decimated by this kind of attack, as society assumes it is. By utilising the written word as a continuing transcript of the original and ongoing crimes against them, these narrators can accurately highlight the distinction between the consensual seduction society believes to have been involved with, and the moments of non-consensual violence they actually endured, over which they had no control.

Anna **Battigelli** (SUNY Plattsburgh) Marvell's Aesthetics of Annihilation in 'Upon Appleton House'

Panel / *Session* 183, 'Shaping Sacred Space in the Enlightenment 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sabine Volk-Birke (Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

Marvell's famous country house poem has received scant attention to its religious sensibilities, but those religious sensibilities are precisely what makes the poem both bewildering and fascinating. Drawing on Stanley Fish's reader response reading of the poem, but including what Fish ignores—an awareness of Marvell's religious sensibilities—this paper examines Marvell's poem for its iconoclastic aesthetics. For Marvell, Fairfax's true value lies, neither in the country house estate nor in its land, but in the cognitive activities of his ancestors, of Fairfax himself, and of his daughter Mary. As Marvell draws readers into his poem, material structures give way and landscapes dematerialize into imagined images. The sole structures that Marvell leaves standing are those taking place within the realm of conscience. For him, sacred spaces are, finally, to be found inside the mind, not in material forms.

Isabelle **Baudino** (ENS de Lyon) Women 'Worthies' and the Construction of British Identity

Panel / *Session 227*, 'Establishing Historical Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : James Raven (University of Cambridge / University of Essex)

At the time of unprecedented development of history and historiography, a gallery of distinguished women was gradually established in eighteenth-century Britain. Alongside Elizabeth I, Mary Stuart and Jane Grey, lesser known female figures such as Elfrida, Elgiva or Bertha were given a place among British worthies and became favourite subjects for painters.

Without playing down the deficiencies and inaccuracies inherent to the representation of exemplary women, this paper will explore how the invention of new female historical players, in both texts and images, allowed female characters to mediate the national past. Drawing from a corpus of historical engravings published in the second half of the eighteenth century, this paper will argue that this unprecedented feminisation of the grand national narrative outlined new female genealogies. Portrayals of popular heroines placed women at the intersection of histories of gender and nation, thereby opening up new paths of interpretation for female readers and writers.

Samuel **Baudry** (Université de Lyon) L'influence de l'Opéra italien en Angleterre dans le *Spectator*

Panel / *Session 185*, 'Territoires, communautés, appartenances : la question de l'identité individuelle et collective dans les « spectateurs » 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Klaus-Dieter Ertler (Université de Graz)

Les trois numéros du *Spectator* consacrés à l'influence de l'Opéra italien en Angleterre (5, 18, 31) tissent des liens entre les pratiques culturelles des individus et leur appartenance à des classes sociales ou à des nations—une problématique que leurs traductions et retraductions en français au cours du dix-huitième siècle vient encore complexifier.

A travers l'étude de ces va-et-vient entre le continent et les îles britanniques nous verrons comment ces débats permettent au *Spectator* de construire une théorie unifiée de la « Culture », avec pour proposition centrale que toutes les formes qu'elle englobe peuvent se discuter, dans des débats publics au café, dans des propositions de réforme, dans des lettres, etc. Quant à la rhétorique qui s'y développe, elle prétend remplacer la critique purement morale de ses prédécesseurs par une critique fondée sur le « goût », qui cache en vérité une moralité tout aussi codifiée derrière un discours individualiste.

Baptiste **Baumann** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) L'identité suisse durant la Guerre de Sept Ans : crise et renouveau ? Réflexions sur le patriotisme national et cantonal à travers quelques correspondances de J. J. Bodmer

Panel / *Session 425*, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIIIe siècle – La lettre entre les nations 1 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth Century – Letters between Nations 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Décultot (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

Les idéologies politiques dans la Suisse du milieu du 18e siècle étant principalement caractérisées par deux mouvements antagonistes, autant par des autodéterminations cantonales que par une conscience helvétique aiguë, le sujet proposé s'interroge sur les divers motifs d'une telle identité suisse à la fois unifiée et partagée, et prend pour repère les correspondances à thèmes variés du Zurichois Johann Jakob Bodmer.

Il apparaît que les circonstances aggravées de la Guerre de Sept Ans exigent de Bodmer, simultanément écrivain, historien et politicien de Zurich, une position claire quant à la dépendance de la Confédération suisse au Royaume de France ainsi qu'une redéfinition de l'identité cantonale zurichoise. À travers un grand nombre de lettres échangées notamment avec Johann Georg Sulzer à Berlin, Laurenz Zellweger à Trogen, Joseph Anton Felix von Balthasar à Lucerne autour de 1760, Bodmer lui-même problématise le sens de l'identité suisse et des identités cantonales. Les sujets de ses questionnements concernent tout autant les partis politiques soit indépendantistes, soit francophiles de différents cantons ; les divergences confessionnelles entre cantons catholiques et réformés ; les caractères partagés en termes de goût littéraire et artistique (goût français, goût allemand) ; et l'unité linguistique de la Suisse divisée entre une historiographie commune de langue allemande et une diplomatie de langue française.

La force et la portée de ces polarités politiques, religieuses, esthétiques et linguistiques, dont les motifs corrént très souvent, annoncent également une nouvelle prise de conscience nationale concentrée autour des valeurs helvétiques d'indépendance, de liberté et d'intégrité. Les correspondances de Bodmer transportent donc certaines des significations attribuées au patriotisme éclairé suisse défendu, entre autres, par les Zurichois Johann Caspar Lavater ou Johann Heinrich Füssli (le jeune), et qu'il s'agit de mettre en relief.

Gerd Bayer (University of Erlangen) *The Bishop of Exeter vs Benjamin Hoadly: Pamphlets, Controversy, and the Uses of Epistolarity*

Panel / *Session* 455, 'Epistles and Epistolarity'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

Following a sermon that the Bishop of Exeter preached in March 1708, a prolonged exchange of pamphlets (with 15 individual contributions of various lengths surviving) appeared between 1709 and 1710 in which Benjamin Hoadly and the Bishop crossed verbal swords on the topic of religion, government, the state and various other details, with a number of author authors, named and anonymous weighing in on the debate. This presentation will not discuss the content of these complex discussions but instead ask about the role played by epistolarity in these extensive exchanges. Most pamphlets use the format of the letter, simultaneously addressed to the adversary and published for the perusal of a general audience. The rhetoric employed ranges from the logical treatise to the amused diatribe, evoking the very aspects of veracity, factuality, intimacy and reliability that would later turn into the central features of the epistolary novel. By looking at the example of this early 18th-century occasion of pamphleting epistolarity, the paper will discuss the history of letter writing before it turned into a proper tool within the genre of the novel.

Natalie Bayer (Drake University, Des Moines) *The Limits of Reason: Doubt and Certainty in Late Eighteenth-Century Russia*

Panel / *Session* 29, 'The Secular Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Margaret Jacob (UCLA)

In this presentation I am going to examine the ways in which eighteenth-century Russian thinkers tried to provide effective critiques of established intellectual and moral authorities (esp. the Russian Orthodox Church). While some resorted to skepticism questioning accepted methods for understanding the world and postulated the individual's essential function in determining what is true and what is not, others defended the rational basis of religious belief.

Catherine Beck (Institute of Historical Research) *'This man is or appears to be mad': Reason and Insanity in the British Navy 1740–1820*

Panel / *Session* 115, 'Marginal Mental States'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanne Schmid (Freie Universität Berlin)

In January 1798, the surgeon of the British ship *Edgar* recorded in his log the case of a young seaman, Rice Peugh, who had been found 'in the most filthy state possible' hiding behind the ship's coppers, apparently insane. The surgeon reasoned that Peugh suffered from 'the inclemency of the season' and sent him promptly ashore to be treated for 'mania'. Peugh re-joined the ship a fortnight later, his bout of insanity apparently cured. Such cases were typical of experiences of mental disorder at sea in the eighteenth-century British navy. Medical ideas and cultural expectations which associated madness with factors to which sailors were routinely exposed, such as changes of climate, head injuries and intoxication, fostered a partially tolerant and largely pragmatic approach to mental derangement in the navy. Yet, cases like Peugh's also highlight the behaviours considered to be signs of the loss of 'reason' intrinsic to diagnoses of insanity, many of which were closely connected to the contingencies of sea-service such as requirements for cleanliness, diet and sleep regimens as well as social norms adopted to ease life within the tight-confines of the ship. Officers faced additional pressures in their responsibilities of command and the intricacies of naval patronage, and many 'unreasonable' behaviours were routed in their endangering the ship or their soliciting favour in the wrong style or at an inappropriate time. Despite the pragmatic attitude to mental disturbance, these contingencies of 'unreason' could severely damage a seaman's or an officer's reputation and the willingness of the rest of the ship to keep him onboard.

The popular figure of Jolly Jack Tar was seemingly at odds with enlightenment ideals of temperance and rationality. In wider society, sailors were held as both objects of sentimental heroism and animalistic irrationality, but the practicality of life at sea created a different set of expectations. This paper explores the parameters of reason and insanity in the British navy and what it meant for a sailor to be mad in the 'age of reason'.

Ana Luiza Reis **Bedê** (Universidade de São Paulo) Anne-Marguerite Feydeau: la première avocate du chevalier de La Barre

Panel / *Session 106*, 'Identités plurielles'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

En 1765, la ville d'Abbeville se réveille effarée. Le crucifix du pont Neuf avait été trouvé mutilé. On commence une longue enquête afin de savoir l'auteur de ce sacrilège: c'était le début de l'affaire La Barre- immortalisée, nous le savons, grâce à l'intervention de Voltaire (1694-1778).

Aujourd'hui, deux siècles et demie plus tard, plusieurs études ont été consacrées à cet affreux procès et plusieurs questions restent toujours sans réponse. Anne Marguerite Feydeau (1727-1759)- abbesse de Willancourt- était la cousine du jeune chevalier de La Barre (1747-1766). C'était chez elle qu'il habitait depuis la mort de ses parents. C'était également chez cette dame ouverte aux nouvelles idées que François-Jean Lefebvre de La Barre vécut une partie de son irrévérencieuse adolescence avant d'être condamné et exécuté au bout d'un procès vicieux.

Dans cette communication, nous souhaitons montrer le rôle d'Anne -Marguerite Feydeau dans la tentative d'obtenir la cassation de la sentence

d'Abbeville qui avait condamné son cousin. L'abbesse de Willancourt a fait preuve- durant l'affaire- d'un caractère probe et elle a déployé des qualités d'une vraie avocate . À l'aide des textes des historiens, juristes, philosophes et hommes de lettres, nous essayerons d'établir un profil de cette dame et de la façon dont elle s'était évertuée pour éviter une grande injustice. Nous montrerons, de même, l'importance de l'abbesse dans la formation d'une élite intellectuelle dans Abbeville- ville pauvre, bigote, voire intolérante. En effet, chez cette « avocate-philosophe » se côtoyaient des citoyens qui ont joué un rôle fondamental dans l'histoire de France.

L'affaire La Barre et plus précisément la participation d'Anne- Margueritte Feydeau nous offrent l'occasion de voir de près le fonctionnement de la justice et ses vices en France pendant l'Ancien Régime : procédure secrète, torture, absence d'avocat pour l'accusé.

Jan Behrs (Northwestern University) Making History, One Monthly Conversation at a Time: Early Eighteenth-Century Learned Journals and their Pursuit of Newness

Panel / *Session* 32, 'Writing Time: Temporalities of the Periodical in the Eighteenth Century 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sean Franzel (University of Missouri)

Literary history is structured and driven by newness, and periodicals have long been identified as primary agents of innovation. This academic trope, however, is simplistic even for the modernist journals of the early twentieth century for which it was coined. When applied to other eras, it fails to shed light on the complex interaction between tradition and innovation that take place in the literary field in general and, specifically, in the editorial offices and on the pages of journals.

The late seventeenth/early eighteenth century is a period that is particularly interesting for the study of innovation: Even though we no longer subscribe to the notion of a "completely alien" Baroque that is replaced by the "completely graspable" Enlightenment (Arnold Hirsch, 1934), the shift that occurs around 1700 still seems particularly significant in that a structure of the literary field that has been persistent until the present day supposedly appears for the first time. Accordingly, periodicals of that time have mostly been described as part of a "formation phase" (of literary criticism, enlightened morals, contemporary ideas about communication, and so on), while their editors, most notably Christian Thomasius with his *Monats-Gespräche*, are seen chiefly through the lens of their pioneerdom. What again gets lost in such large-scale assessments is the concrete interplay of conservation and disruption as it is enacted on the page.

In my talk, I would like to take a closer look at three critical learned journals that are situated close to the aforementioned threshold: Thomasius' *Monats-Gespräche* (1688–1690), Tentzel's *Monatliche Unterredungen* (1689–1698), and the controversially pugnacious *Neue Bibliothec* (1709–1721) edited by Türck and others. What specific form does the pursuit of newness take in the journals, and how are they indebted to the learned communication of the seventeenth century? How do these journals situate themselves in relation to history – is the serial form with its (mostly) monthly installments intended to form a whole, and from what temporal vantage point is that possible?

Liz **Bellamy** (City College Norwich and The Open University) 'CELESTIAL Liquor' or 'acid juice':
Drinking Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England

Panel / *Session* 379, 'Pastoral and Georgic'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

This paper will explore the debates over national identity within the georgic poetry of the early eighteenth century, focusing on how ideological debates between rural and urban, agriculture and trade, nationalism and internationalism, are distilled through metaphors of alcohol. While John Philips' 1708 poem *Cyder* celebrates domestic production and consumption as fundamentally wholesome, this association is challenged by John Gay's satirical riposte of the same year, *Wine*. Gay questions the benefits of rustic retirement and the sanative properties of cider that Philips has claimed, stressing instead the superior stiffening qualities of imported wine and the pleasures of bibulous sociability with fellow members of the metropolitan elite. Both writers invoke medical discourse to support their perspective; each poem constructs a discrete vision of Englishness; and each suggests a distinct direction for georgic poetry. While Philips draws on images from Miltonic epic to celebrate the farming life of Virgil's *Georgics*, Gay subverts the georgic to embrace international trade and the nation's significance as a modern, commercial economy, thriving on the produce of all the diverse nations of the world.

Alex **Bellemare** (Université d'Ottawa) Les identités imaginaires. Individu et communauté dans la fiction utopique au tournant des Lumières

Panel / *Session* 271, 'Identité personnelle et universalité 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Brunet-Fontaine (Université d'Ottawa / Université Paris-Nanterre)

Pendant la Révolution, le genre malléable et métissé de l'utopie connaît à la fois une crise et un renouveau : d'une part, le genre utopique, passablement sclérosé depuis les expéditions scientifiques ayant définitivement rempli les blancs de la mappemonde, est en profonde désuétude ; d'autre part, le contexte bouillonnant de la Révolution ouvre

des possibles sociopolitiques inégalés dans l'histoire de l'utopie. Or, parmi les nombreuses thématiques explorées par les utopies révolutionnaires, figure l'apparente contradiction qui oppose l'affirmation de l'individu et l'idéal collectiviste des Lumières. Nous retenons ici trois œuvres qui, chacune à sa façon, emblématisent la tension entre identité et altérité, le rapport trouble entre individualité et collectivité pendant la (large) période révolutionnaire : *L'Isle inconnue* ou *Mémoires du chevalier Des Gastines* (1784-1787) de Guillaume Grivel, *L'Isle des philosophes* et plusieurs autres nouvellement découvertes et remarquables par leur rapport avec la France actuelle (1790) de l'abbé Balthazar et *Les Posthumes* (1802) de Rétif de la Bretonne sont autant de lieux où se joue et se négocie le difficile équilibre entre l'exaltation du « moi » et l'inquiétude de l'Autre.

Au moins trois mécanismes, puisés dans autant de perspectives philosophiques, sont mis en œuvre, dans l'utopie du tournant des Lumières, pour penser la place problématique qu'occupe l'individu dans le monde et dans la société : la physiocratie (Grivel), la pratique du débat (Balthazar) et la régénération (Rétif) sont des filtres à travers lesquels sont éprouvées les questions de l'identité et de l'altérité.

Richard Bellis (University of Leeds) 'As to the plan of this work ... we think Dr. Baillie has done wrong': Challenging Normative Medical Practice through Epistemic Genre in Georgian Britain

Panel / *Session* 306, 'Medicine'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gemma Tidman (St John's College, Oxford)

Matthew Baillie's *Morbid Anatomy of some of the most important parts of the human body* (1793) was one of the most successful learned medical works of the late-eighteenth century, going through many editions as well as translation into three languages before Baillie's death in 1823. Baillie was explicit that his work was not one of case histories, and instead was only concerned with changes in anatomical structure caused by disease. However, reviewers initially criticised the work for not being one of cases, and questioned the utility of the work. In this paper I argue that this response was a reaction to Baillie attempting to change what Gianna Pomata has termed the 'epistemic genre' in which works on disease were published. Rather than publish in what Pomata has termed the 'medical case history' genre, Baillie published an anatomy book on the subject of disease. Through doing this, Baillie challenged normative assumptions surrounding the study of disease in the late eighteenth century. The subsequent success of his work, and its role in providing what were seen as 'facts' regarding morbid appearances, had the affect of shaping the case histories of medical practitioners – and the genre generally – around the turn of the eighteenth century. I argue that publication formats, and their use and perceived misuse by medical authors, were crucial to continuing debates surrounding the study of disease during the period.

Lucien Bély (Sorbonne Université) De l'usage de la différence linguistique dans la diplomatie (Europe et monde)

Panel / *Session* 264, 'Diplomacy, Diplomats, and Language Choice in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Denis Sdvižkov (German Historical Institute in Moscow)

En partant de la situation au début du XVIIIe siècle et après une étude de la langue française comme instrument de la puissance (Leyde, 2015), cette communication vise à rappeler la place respective des différentes langues dans la diplomatie, mais surtout à voir comment cette différence linguistique, si elle est le plus souvent un obstacle indéniable à la négociation, ce qui exige des interprètes et ce qui justifie la quête d'un langage universel, peut parfois devenir un instrument dans la pratique diplomatique, ce qui conduit à profiter d'une langue peu connue comme moyen de dissimulation et à produire des discours cryptés pour protéger les secrets politiques. L'analyse prolongera cette enquête dans une perspective globale en tentant d'approcher les usages dans les missions diplomatiques vers des pays extra-européens.

Alex Benchimol (University of Glasgow) Regional Enlightenment Identity in the North of Scotland: Networks of Improvement in James Chalmers' *Aberdeen Journal*, 1748–68

Panel / *Session* 236, 'Periodical Identities'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower.

Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

This paper will explore the commercial, civic, educational and ecclesiastical improving networks reflected in the first Scottish newspaper north of Edinburgh, the Aberdeen Journal. Founded by James Chalmers—son of Marischal College Professor of Divinity Rev. James Chalmers—printer to the College and the City of Aberdeen and County of Aberdeenshire, his newspaper served as a key intelligence hub for northeast Scotland and principal vehicle for publicising civic, infrastructural and commercial improvement initiatives, including the development of the regional linen industry and the repair of strategic transportation sites. The newspaper was founded with a subvention from the British government after the recent Battle of Culloden near Inverness, and Chalmers' editorial strategy emphasised the significance of local and regional intelligence for its core readership, encouraging a wider civic identity in the north of Scotland based around the development of regional industry and institutions like Marischal College, the Burgh of Aberdeen, the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Aberdeen Royal Infirmary, and Aberdeen Town Council. The paper will argue that the the Aberdeen Journal's publicising of these institutional networks in concert with its circulation of national news from the Edinburgh and London press in the two decades after Culloden comprised a compelling vision of intellectual, social, material and commercial modernization for the region at a time when residual Jacobite cultural narratives remained potent symbols of resistance to the British state in the north of Scotland.

Stephen Bending (University of Southampton) Walpole's Pleasures: Topography and Fantasy at Strawberry Hill

Panel / *Session* 476, 'Visual and Literary Topography'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Cynthia Roman (The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

Focussing on the period in which Walpole was creating his gardens at Strawberry Hill, this paper draws on the Walpole Library's archives to explore ideas of topographical accuracy and imaginative fantasy, British and French rivalries, and competing accounts of pleasure amongst Walpole's gardening friends.

Sarah Benharrech (University of Maryland) The Intellectual Emancipation of Mme Dugage de Pommereul: Studying Botany with Jussieu in Late Eighteenth-Century France

Panel / *Session* 324, 'Botanical Identities 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Giulia Pacini (College of William and Mary)

Women's participation in the making of botanical knowledge is well documented thanks to the works of scholars like A. B. Shteir, S. George, M. Carlyle, to name a few. However, in most instances, little is known about the process by which these women gained proficiency in botany, especially when their knowledge acquisition occurred in the absence of male mentors, such as husbands or fathers. Mme Dugage de Pommereul (1733-1782) was one of many practitioners of botany in late eighteenth-century France. Recently discovered archival material gives unprecedented access to information about her training. She attended the courses that Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu taught at the Botanical School in 1775-1777. She then became the assistant of head gardener A. Thouin and was eventually solicited to write a treatise on grasses. However Mme Dugage was not able to bring her book project to completion. Her papers were dispersed and forgotten. My presentation will focus on the notes she took when attending Jussieu's lessons. Mme Dugage's notes document an exceptional case on which scholars had until now very little information: course notes written by the recipient, and not by the teacher. However Mme Dugage was no ordinary student. As a woman, she enjoyed no status and her interest in botany served no other goal than pure learning. She could not hope for any official recognition, for any profession, or for any future career in her chosen field. Therefore, in light of her specific situation, bounded by societal restrictions, yet expanded by this singular individual's free will, I hope to decipher some of her motivations by the close textual examination of her course notes. We will see that through the appropriation of knowledge, the student strove to gain emancipation from the teacher's authority (Rancièrè). This exceptional document sheds new light on women's position in the sciences in late 18th century-France by providing evidence of their reception and production of knowledge.

Iacopo **Benincampi** (Sapienza - University of Rome) Rational Late Baroque Architecture in the Papal State: The Case of the Romagna Region

Panel / *Session* 161, 'Architecture'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Joana Balsa de Pinho (University of Lisbon)

The baroque experience not only renewed the image of Rome, but also modified the outlook of all those centres that adopted this experience as a modern cultural address.

However, the process of diffusion and internationalisation was not an either immediate, or a straightforward one. Roman baroque architecture was characterised by a rigorous spatial configuration and a solid internal coherence, which made most built organisms unavailable to an outright emulative process. Therefore, an operation of simplification and geometric clarification was presumed a much-needed prerequisite in developing this heritage.

In this regard, Carlo Fontana (1636–1714) played a key role, both in the definition of new models through his professional pursuits and the academic teachings, which were based on a process of regularisation of these innovations. Subsequently, baroque ideas initiated to be easily interpreted and exported to suburban areas just at the beginning of the eighteenth century, following this new rational feeling. Indeed, through the spreading of printed material and the opportunity to pursue a domestic version of the 'Grand Tour', provincial architects took advantage of their expertise and offered fully developed interpretations of the new language.

To explore this process, the issue of the Legation of Romagna – one of the peripheral regions of the Papal State – could represent an interesting case study. In fact, here more than anywhere else in the country, local operators developed autonomously Roman contents in relation to patrons' specific needs of self-representation and the repressed economy of the place: a logic adjustment of their project, image of an 'enlightened' modernity or so.

Lyn **Bennett** (Dalhousie University) Knowledge Migration in Eighteenth-Century Medicine

Panel / *Session* 143, 'Medical Thought and Practice'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rose Hilton (Sheffield Hallam University)

Born in 1755, Dr. William James Almon of Halifax, Nova Scotia was a physician, surgeon, and apothecary who served with the British during the Revolutionary War. Subsequently posted as surgeon to the Royal Artillery at Halifax, Almon went on to establish what would become the city's largest and most successful private practice, and to take up the appointment of physician to its poor house and hospital. Almon lived and practiced in Halifax for more than thirty years before returning to England and, for health reasons, the therapeutic waters of Bath. ("Almon, William James," Dictionary of Canadian Biography)

Like most physicians of his day, Dr. Almon kept a handwritten notebook to complement his extensive collection of medical books. Born in England, trained in pre-Revolutionary America, and employed in Nova Scotia, Almon recorded recipes and remedies from English and American sources alongside those he devised and recorded in Halifax. Encompassing treatments of different origins, Almon's collection points to some of the ways medical knowledge was disseminated from one region to another and, given that Almon also consulted with at least one English physician, the notebook offers a unique opportunity to examine how that knowledge was implemented, supplemented, and altered in a colonial context. To that end, my presentation will aim to answer a variety of questions about sources, ingredients, and application. What, for instance, is "Chinese radish oil," and how did Almon obtain it in Halifax? How does Almon's remedy for preventing hydrophobia compare with those found in English medical books? Who is the "Doctor Paine" who had "great success" in treating angina maligna? What might compel a Nova Scotia physician to record observations on leprosy, a disease that would first appear in northern New Brunswick only in 1815? Asking these and other questions about a singular collection and a well-established genre, my presentation will aim to broaden our understanding of medical knowledge migration in an eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic context.

Riccardo **Benzoni** (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan) Luigi Lamberti and the Building of the New Citizen's Identity: The Heritage of the Rousseauian Enlightenment in the Italian Roman Republic (1798–1799)

Panel / *Session* 401, 'Long Live the Body Politic: Cosimo III de' Medici, Carlotta De Saxy Visconti, Luigi Lamberti, and the Promotion of Welfare Between Education and Citizen Assistance in Eighteenth-Century Italy'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

In addition to being a prominent member of the cultural and literary context in Italy at the end of the Age of the Enlightenment and a strong supporter of the diffusion of the revolutionary ideals at the beginning of the first Napoleonic military Campaign in the Peninsula (1796), Luigi Lamberti was also one of most fervent promoters of the inclusion of Rousseauian thesis in the process of reform during the «Triennio giacobino» in Rome. Native of Reggio Emilia and founder in 1811 – in association with the famous Iliad's translator Vincenzo Monti – of the journal "Il Poligrafo", Lamberti was in fact one of the most notorious political figures that strongly engaged themselves in the Italian Roman Republic created by the French Directory in 1798 to turn the Rousseauian ideals in an essential component with which to build political initiatives and to achieve the regeneration of the social body.

This work, based on the proper consultation of vast and previously unpublished documentation, aims to investigate the many proposals that the poet presented as member of the Tribunate and of the Istituto nazionale delle Scienze e delle Arti in the Roman context. Similarly, it also aspires to focus the attention on his rights in the achievement of political projects in the new republican experience and to highlight the absolute importance that the philosophes' principles had in the Revolutionary period for the creation of the new citizen's identity.

Katherine Bergevin (Columbia University in the City of New York) *Generation Theory and the Social Contract in Locke's Two Treatises of Government*

Panel / *Session* 259, 'Children and Childbirth'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicole Garret (Adelphi University)

John Locke observes in *Two Treatises of Government*, that "'tis with Common-wealths as with particular Persons, they are commonly ignorant of their own Births and Infancies: And if they know any thing of their Original, they are beholding, for it, to the accidental Records, that others have kept of it" (Cambridge University Press (1998), 334). My paper argues that embedded within the contractualist vs. absolutist political theory debates of the seventeenth century, is a dispute concerning the biological and spiritual process of human conception, gestation, and birth.

In both Locke's contractualist *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) and Robert Filmer's absolutist *Patriarcha* (posth. 1680), generic individuals function metonymically, small family groups serving as scale models of the nation. Locke and Filmer both derive their claims about political authority from models of parenthood. Filmer takes a classical view of the process of generation, in which fathers are regarded as the authors or creators of their offspring and thus enjoy the absolute authority of ownership. Locke, however, maintains that no man is able to directly design each organ and mechanism in his child's body, let alone mind. For Locke, because physical procreation is largely an automatic bodily process, neither father nor mother is entitled to absolute authority. I suggest that, in articulating his rejection of absolute patriarchal authority, Locke also posits a theory of generation informed by a combination of Christian creation theory and Lucretian mechanism, as well as texts including Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665) and Jane Sharp's *Whole Art of Midwifery* (1671).

The "accidental Records" or subjective narratives which we inherit about sexuality, conception, pregnancy, birth, and parenthood, remain at the heart of both personal and national identity. Returning to Locke's refutation of absolutism may enrich our understanding of present debates concerning contraception and abortion rights, citizenship, and even adoption.

Sarah Bernard (University of Tübingen) *The German-Russian Identity of Maria Feodorovna, Born Princess Sophie Dorothea of Württemberg*

Panel / *Session* 224, 'Double Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

In 1776, the seventeen-year-old Princess Sophie Dorothea of Württemberg (1759-1828) arrives in Saint Petersburg to marry Grand Duke Paul Petrovich (1754-1801), son of Catherine II (1729-1796) and heir to the Russian throne (which –

after his mother's death – he ascended as Paul I). Sophie Dorothea is the eldest daughter of eleven surviving children of Duke Frederick Eugene of Württemberg (1732-1797) and his wife, Princess Frederica Dorothea of Brandenburg-Schwedt (1736-1798). On converting to the Orthodox Church, Sophie Dorothea takes the name "Maria Feodorovna". Through her marriage, she becomes a member of the Romanov dynasty, henceforth assuming a "double identity" as a German Princess and Russian Grand Duchess and acting as an intermediary between Western Europe and Russia. My paper will therefore discuss how Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna – Empress Consort in 1796 and Empress Dowager (or Empress Mother) in 1801 – had to adapt to Russian court life and society, while at the same time facing the demands of her German family, which she was expected to support by providing pecuniary pensions for her parents, prestigious matrimonial matches for her sisters, and responsible posts in Russian service for several of her brothers.

Katrin Berndt (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg) The 'Alluring Freedom' of Friendship: Virtuous Ideals and the Cultural Formation of Early Enlightenment Identities

Panel / *Session 299*, 'Homo- and Heterosocial Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Wells (University of Greifswald)

The paper will discuss the significance of homo- and heterosocial friendships in British writer Frances Brooke's *The History of Lady Julia Mandeville* (1763) in order to argue that the novel explores whether or not virtuous ideals of early Enlightenment philosophy can be translated into cultural practice. In particular, it will demonstrate that Brooke employs friendship values promoted by early Enlightenment thinkers such as Jeremy Taylor as a quality to distinguish both her characters' understanding of their own identity, which is displayed in their epistolary communication, and the formation of their communal identity, which is outlined in the progression of the story. Friendship relationships serve as the main dynamic of the plot, which contrasts with and occasionally counteracts a story that appears to follow the narrative convention of heterosexual romance. Brooke's strategy represents an eighteenth-century genre innovation: by separating plot dynamic from story development, the author combines sentimental appeal with an ethical validation of virtuous ideals of personal and communal sociability, asking whether these can be established as a cultural practice to guarantee the 'alluring freedom' (W. Austin Flanders) of self-determination within a socio-economic hierarchy defined by hereditary and patriarchal authority. In this way, the novel shows that hierarchical convention actually undermines rather than enables enlightened sociability, a reading corroborated by the eventual and tragic congruence of plot and story that blames patriarchal presumption for the fatal end of the young lovers.

Myriam Bernier (Université Paris-Nanterre) Athée vertueux : étude comparative du problème en France, Allemagne, Angleterre

Panel / *Session 300*, 'Identité personnelle et universalité 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alex Bellemare (Université d'Ottawa)

Notre question sera de savoir si l'athée vertueux est une figure universelle symbolisant la tolérance, valeur fondatrice des Lumières ou une figure spécifiquement nationale, ne parvenant pas à échapper à la culture et à la langue dans laquelle il est pensé.

La communication tentera de cerner la façon dont cette figure a émergé et a été pensée en France, Allemagne, Angleterre et à voir si les spécificités nationales : politiques, économiques et culturelles empêchent une pensée universelle du problème ou si les trois pays se sont appropriés et ont répondu de la même façon au problème : ne pas croire en une vie après la mort signifie-t-il qu'on ne pense qu'à soi et qu'on est prêt à tout pour assouvir tous ses désirs ?

Marc André Bernier (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières) L'Histoire de ma littérature de Mme d'Arconville (1720–1805) : écriture de soi et généalogie d'une personnalité intellectuelle

Panel / *Session 200*, 'Écriture de soi et formation des identités féminines 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford)

Lorsqu'elle meurt en 1805, Mme d'Arconville laisse une œuvre considérable, foisonnante et hétérogène. Si cette diversité exprime la vaste étendue de ses champs d'intérêt, elle la distingue aussi de la plupart des autres femmes de lettres du XVIII^e siècle, puisqu'à l'étude « de la morale, de la littérature et des langues », Madame d'Arconville aura toujours joint celle, bien plus inattendue, « de la physique et de la chimie », comme l'observe en 1804 le Dictionnaire historique, littéraire et bibliographique des Françaises. Lorsqu'au terme d'une très longue vie, cette femme de lettres et de science revient sur ce qu'elle-même appelle « l'histoire de [s]a tête », les anecdotes qu'elle rapporte inscrivent dans une généalogie remontant à l'enfance cette curiosité encyclopédique. Or, c'est justement cette généalogie que je souhaiterais interroger à partir d'un récit autobiographique intitulé Histoire de ma littérature, manuscrit inédit sans doute rédigé vers 1803 et dont je travaille à proposer une première édition. Comme on le verra à l'occasion de cette communication, cette Histoire de ma littérature entreprend moins, comme l'avait fait Rousseau, d'enraciner une identité dans une origine que retrace le récit de soi, que d'enquêter sur la généalogie de ce qu'on appellera plus tard une personnalité intellectuelle.

Helen **Berry** (Newcastle University) Philanthropy and Empire at the London Foundling Hospital

Panel / *Session* 11, 'Enlightened' Philanthropy in the Eighteenth Century'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30.
Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kate Gibson (University of Manchester)

This paper considers the interconnections between the largest charitable venture in eighteenth-century England, the London Foundling Hospital for orphaned and abandoned children, founded in 1739, and the project of furthering the interests of the British Empire both 'at home' and abroad. The history of the origins of the Hospital and its founder, Captain Thomas Coram, have received a good deal of attention from historians, as has the running of the Hospital, particularly in the seminal work of Alysa Levene on childrearing practices. The Foundling Hospital's extensive archive has been explored to chart the wider history of unmarried poor women (Tanya Evans), attitudes towards illegitimacy (Kate Gibson), and its remarkable repository of eighteenth-century textiles (John Styles). Enlightenment themes of secular philanthropy, mercantilist attitudes towards preserving 'human capital', hygiene, scientific order and rationalism run through the Foundling Hospital enterprise. This paper adopts a fresh approach to analysing the social and economic impact of the Foundling Hospital as part of the history of the British imperial project 'at home'. Empire shaped the ethos and running of the Hospital: from the model devised by its founder, Thomas Coram, (whose approach to large-scale philanthropy was shaped by his colonial experience in North America), through to the broad composition of its patrons (by rank, religious conviction, gender and ethnicity) and the sources of wealth that went into the project (derived from the profits of colonial expansion and slavery). Ultimately, as this paper shows, few foundlings were apprenticed to sea-service or the army, as the Governors had originally intended: the pattern of employment for boys and girls mirrored the demand for child labour 'at home' in a rapidly-changing domestic economy.

Auguste **Bertholet** (University of Lausanne) The Spirit of Legislation and Late Eighteenth-Century Vaudois Economic Reforms

Panel / *Session* 4, 'Between Town and Country: The Spirit of Legislation and the Eighteenth-Century Swiss Debates on Urbanisation and Manufacturing'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.10, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Graham Clure (University of Lausanne)

Auguste Bertholet's paper will investigate the perspective of Swiss economic thinkers on the city-country discourse, by analysing one of the most important publications of the Economic Society of Bern, the *Essai sur l'esprit de la législation* (1765). This text arose from a prize-essay competition organised by the Polish counts Mnischev, who had been educated in Bern by Elie Bertrand, francophone secretary of the Economic Society. Of the 25 submitted essays, four were published. These winning essays promoted a shared economic model, which responded specifically to Bernese agrarian and socio-political issues. The relevance of this text lay in the way it integrated itself into international European economic debates: on one hand, it transposed general theory onto the specific situation of Switzerland; on the other the Swiss discourse was studied carefully by thinkers throughout Europe, who translated the essays into Italian, German and English. *L'Esprit de la législation* represented the a summary of internationally influential theorists on the question of how agrarian republics could develop into manufacturing economies. According to these political economists, the solution to the imbalance between agriculture and manufacturing

generated by industrialisation would need to be sought in the political and economic management of urban-rural dynamics.. Demographic, educational, and moral considerations dominated this discourse. This central question led to analyses of global commerce and agrarian and political reform.

To examine the debate on the balance between city and country in L'Esprit de la législation, this paper will examine what led the Swiss to give it such an important role in their analyses. The balance that they wished to achieve will be explained in detail, along with the solutions that they suggested. Finally, the paper will discuss the place this particular subject had in the global economic model promoted in this book, and how it related to strategies for integrating into a future based on international commercial competition.

Francesco Berti (Università degli Studi di Padova) Les limites des limites du droit de punir :
Filangieri et le problème de la défense sociale

Panel / *Session* 400, 'Liberté et sécurité dans la pensée pénale des Lumières 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Luigi Delia (Université de Genève)

La doctrine pénale exposée dans le troisième livre de la Science de la législation de Gaetano Filangieri a été considérée comme l'une des plus importantes expressions de l'offensive lancée par les Lumières contre l'arbitraire vexatoire de la législation pénale d'Ancien Régime. Prise pour modèle par l'un des pères de la pensée libérale, Benjamin Constant, la philosophie pénale de Filangieri a constitué l'une des sources les plus fécondes de l'« école classique » et des doctrines pénales d'inspiration libérale et libertaire qui se sont donné pour but d'assigner des bornes strictes au droit de punir de l'État. La défense des droits personnels et celle de l'État de droit sont cependant chez lui si étroitement entrelacées qu'elles finissent par donner lieu à une certaine confusion terminologique, du reste déjà présente dans l'œuvre de Montesquieu qui en est la source : la tranquillité, c'est-à-dire l'opinion de sa propre sécurité, est identifiée par Filangieri avec la liberté civile. Autrement dit, la liberté même vient à se confondre avec les conditions de son exercice. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que, pour le penseur napolitain, la violation la plus grave des droits fondamentaux – l'homicide – et l'attentat contre la souveraineté soient punis de la même peine – la mort.

Maria Luiza Berwanger (Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul) Paysages de l'intime et clandestinité: François Jullien relit Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Panel / *Session* 409, 'Rousseau: identités et intimités'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

Une lecture d'ensemble de l'œuvre de Jean-Jacques Rousseau fait présupposer que l'un des axes articulatoires de sa pensée est constitué par les rapports du Même avec l'Autre, traduits exemplairement par les représentations de l'intime.

Espace énigmatique à déchiffrer, l'intime de Rousseau ressurgit dans la production du philosophe contemporain François Jullien. Dans ce sens, des images telles que celle des « transformations silencieuses », celle du « scruter », celle de « l'expérience » celle de « l'efficacité », celle du « vivre » et celle des jeux tissés entre identités et « altérités » témoignent de la réelle présence de Rousseau dans les publications de ce philosophe de la France actuelle. Ces résonances composent un paysage interstiel convergent dans le projet de tracer et de retracer la cartographie des transformations visibles et invisibles (« silencieuses ») vécues par des sujets proches et lointains.

Signalée par les approches critiques de Claude Lévy-Strauss, de Jean Starobinsky et de Julia Kristeva, cette perception des transformations sera dédoublée par la voix de François Jullien dans la configuration du « vivre », capté chez Rousseau et considéré comme archive ouverte, toujours à refaire, en conséquence des expériences assimilées par le Même dans le déplacement vers l'Autre.

Ce dialogue singulier, tout en ouvrant des perspectives nouvelles aux œuvres de ces deux philosophes mis en intersection, permet aussi d'élucider la production littéraire et culturelle brésilienne, en ce qui concerne précisément la quête de la félicité tissée par la clandestinité, produisant un rare effet de sublimation.

Ainsi donc, en fixant comme point de départ la lecture symbolique de ce dialogue fructueux, cette étude cherchera à démontrer le jeu d'identités entrecroisées articulé par les représentations de l'intime et dont les échos se font

ressentir dans la scène littéraire et culturelle du Brésil contemporain. Ce faisant, cette étude tâchera de configurer l'efficacité du projet des « Lumières » comme dédoublement et expansion de toute identité.

Thiago Rhys Bezerra Cass (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) *Ossian and Araripe Junior*

Panel / *Session* 446, 'Afterlives of Ossian'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Clíona Ó Gallchoir (University College Cork)

In his famous biographical study on José de Alencar (1829-1877), published in 1879, Tristão de Alencar Araripe Junior (1848-1911) jump-started one of the most recurrent topics of comparative literary studies in Brazil: the importance of "Ossian" (1760-1773), by James Macpherson (1736-1796), to the advent of the Brazilian novel. Following Araripe Junior, scholars have argued that the wide circulation of "Ossian" in nineteenth-century Brazil purveyed a replicable framework for fictionally representing and ventriloquising the country's native populations. There is, however, a striking blind spot in this venerable comparatist tradition. Araripe Junior's own novelistic experiments with Ossianic themes, rhetoric, and narrative strategies are yet to be addressed. This paper is invested in charting Araripe Junior's Ossianic appropriations in his so-called Indian texts: "Contos Brasileiros" (1868), "Jacina, a Marabá" (1875), and "Os Guaianás" (1882).

Deeksha Bhardwaj (Gargi College, University of Delhi) *The Curious Case of Two Enlightenments, Two Williams, and the History of Early India*

Panel / *Session* 30, 'The Western Enlightenment and the Circulation of Knowledge in South Asia'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leonie Hannan (Queen's University, Belfast)

'The Enlightenment is unusual in being defined as a movement in thought, rather than as the era of a particular dynasty or of a 'great man' (Outram, D. 1995: 12). The modern and post-modern epochs carry forward the intellectual legacy of the Enlightenment and some would argue in a Kantian vein that it's an ongoing project, and that the various trajectories that this juncture threw open are still to reach culmination. What spawned this vigorous churning of thought – was it the mercantile enterprises of the preceding centuries? The aftermath of the Reformation or the distinctively new ways in which knowledge and epistemologies were articulated, organised and consumed?

Against this backdrop of enquiry and socio-political transformation, many individuals at the helm of affairs, were impacted and inspired by the Enlightenment, and sought to change or proposed change in unique and unprecedented situations that they found themselves in. Both William Jones and William Robertson figure in standard historical timelines of the Enlightenment. While Jones founded the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1784 and laid the foundations of Indology as a branch of study, his Scottish namesake wrote historical tomes like the 'History of Charles V' (1769), 'History of America' (1771), and the lesser known 'An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India' (1791).

This paper seeks to understand the curious coincidence that drew the two Williams to the study of India's ancient past. The polymath, William Jones, had made a mark with his scholastic ability and erudition before he set sail for India. The administrator-jurist was a truly remarkable man of his time – an Enlightened mind – who in his reception of Indic ideas and knowledge perhaps filtered them through, and established their retelling through systems, modes, and discourses that derived from the Enlightenment. Robertson never visited Indian shores but India was a muse for his scholarship is clear from his last work. An interrogation of the circumstances that made possible the work of these two men will be made through a contextualization within the framework of the Enlightened Eighteenth Century.

Danilo Bilate (Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) *La charlatanerie : le philosophe faussaire ou faussé ?*

Panel / *Session* 238, 'Philosophie et apparences'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sophie Audidière (Université de Bourgogne)

À la suite du siècle précédent, quand le mot « charlatanerie » et ses variations commencent à apparaître dans le scénario philosophique, le XVIII^{ème} siècle connaît les deux conférences de Menken, publiées ensemble en 1721 sous le titre « De la charlatanerie des savants » qui font bien du bruit à l'univers académique. Ce n'est pas un hasard si l'on trouve à l'Encyclopédie l'article « charlatanerie », écrit par Diderot, qui propose aussi la possibilité du philosophe être un « charlatan ». Il s'agit pour nous de chercher la ligne de mutations par laquelle passe le sens de ce mot, en essayant de faire l'histoire de ces transformations, pour esquisser les possibilités de compréhension, au XVIII^{ème} siècle, de l'identité du philosophe. Toutefois, notre point de départ sera de chercher, par contraste, ce que n'est pas considéré comme l'identité du philosophe, mais son double faussé. Le « charlatan » serait, donc, celui qui joue – consciemment ou non – le rôle de philosophe, comme un personnage. En effet, la structure sémantique centrale de la transformation historique est celle de quelqu'un qui veut tromper ses lecteurs, comme un « sophiste » ou un « imposteur ». Cependant, notre hypothèse est qu'on peut déjà entrevoir au XVIII^{ème} une signification, plutôt que celle morale susmentionnée, une signification esthétique ou rhétorique que peut être observée dans le mot « pédant », presque synonyme, à l'époque, de charlatan, sophiste et imposteur. En ce cas, ce serait un philosophe charlatan ou un faux philosophe, celui que, par obscurité ou prolixité stylistique (*ciarlare*), n'arrive pas à se communiquer avec ses confrères, partant sans contribuer à la construction collective de la connaissance, but de la « République des lettres ». Dans ce sens-là, le plus important n'est pas de sonder l'intention de l'auteur – d'ailleurs, une entreprise impossible – mais sa façon louche d'écrire : plutôt qu'un faussaire, l'auteur serait alors faussé par son propre texte.

Ashleigh **Blackwood** (Northumbria University) *Sterne's Slop: Influencing Medicine from Beyond the Black Page*

Panel / *Session* 25, 'Sterne Digital Library: A New AHRC-funded Research Project'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Allan Ingram (Northumbria University)

Laurence Sterne famously wrote 'not to be fed, but to be famous'. The endurance of Sterne's literary reputation, during his lifetime and up to the present day, has time and again been exhibited through the continued availability of his texts, the scholarly discussion these have provoked, and through the activities of organisations like the Laurence Sterne Trust and the International Laurence Sterne Foundation (ILSF). While those with interests or involvement in literature, history or cultural heritage continue to lead the charge in sustaining Sterne's reputation, or fame, as he may have seen it, even so many years after his immediate celebrity, it is not only these groups that have experienced levels of impact from his works. This paper explores the legacy left to medical discourse by Sterne's creation of Dr Slop, paying particular attention to how the character has been appropriated and codified to represent both good and bad aspects of medical history, and the challenges of clinical practice, since the publication of *Tristram Shandy* (1759-68). Medical commentaries, such as William Simmons's *Reflections on the propriety of performing the cæsarean operation* (1798), are considered alongside reviews of medical writing and journalism in an analysis of how Sterne's text continued to influence both professional and public conceptualisations of medicine long after his death.

Amy Louise **Blaney** (Keele University) *Literary Cotereries, Antiquarians, and the Revival of Arthurian Romance in the Eighteenth Century*

Panel / *Session* 179, 'Poetic Past, Poetic Present'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Liz Bellamy (City College Norwich / The Open University)

My paper examines the emergent scholarly reconsideration of Arthurian romance by eighteenth-century antiquarians, including Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762), Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), and Warton's *The History of English Poetry* (1774-81), as well as poems such as Warton's 'The Grave of Arthur' (1777). The paper assesses ways in which the literary coterie sustained in the correspondence between these antiquarians and literary figures such as Samuel Johnson, Richard Farmer, and Robert Anderson enabled a flow of textual materials that recovered Arthurian romance from the gulf of oblivion. The paper examines examples of editing, literary historiography, and original writing. By placing bardic romance at the origins of English poetry, these men conscripted Arthur to the cause of crafting an indigenous literary tradition, which I show was motivated by nationalism and imperial ambition from the Seven Years War to the American War of Independence. My paper will consider how a gendered portrayal of Arthur informed ideals of English gentlemanly conduct and the re-emergence of chivalric masculinity, relating Arthurian scholarship and poetry to contemporary ideals of sensibility and Englishness.

Alvar Blomgren (Stockholm University) Emotional Mobilisation and Politicisation in Nottingham during the 1790s

Panel / *Session 377*, 'New Light on Political Participation in Eighteenth-Century England: Voting, Ballads, Speeches, and Emotional Mobilisation'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King's College London)

During the 1790s, Nottingham's Tory faction faced a serious challenge from various supporters of Parliamentary reform. In this paper, I investigate how they used the mobilising power of emotion to counter this challenge and create support for their cause. From the Tory's perspective, Thomas Paine's writings inflamed the minds of the lower classes with passions that caused them to become 'disaffected', turning them away from the existing political order. In order to restore this lost social unity, I argue, they employed a range of emotional practices to modulate these troublesome emotions. Through public dinners and celebrations of military success, they called for the inhabitants to join together to instead display feelings of loyalty, love and joy towards their King. Thus, a sense of community was created. This was further reinforced through communal singing and drinking, and through participation in processions accompanied by fifes, beating drums and flying colours, creating a dazzling experience. At the same time, the Tories also encouraged people to show their hatred towards Paine by participating in chiavari style rituals, intended to shame and frighten alleged republicans. Through repeated enactments, feelings of aggression were reinforced, and the Tories began to actively encourage violence against their opponents. This process of gradual escalation culminated in 1794 in a four day riot called the 'Duckings' –named after the Tory mob's practice of submerging their opponents in water until they renounced their support for reform. While the Tories were initially successful in suppressing their opponents, they failed to restore social unity. Instead, they unintentionally furthered the politicisation of Nottingham's working population, for whom the Tories' heavy-handed repression during these years would work as a unifying factor in the coming decade. Studying the role of emotion, in this way, furthers our understanding of Georgian politics and helps us uncover important power dynamics that otherwise would remain hidden.

Carolina Blutrach (Universitat de València) Gender, Travel, and Book Culture: The Library of the Sixth Counts of Fernán Núñez

Panel / *Session 40*, 'Circulating Gender Identities in the Global Enlightenment: Some Perspectives from the Hispanic World'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Jaffe (Texas State University)

This paper studies the formation and transmission of the Fernán Núñez Library created by the sixth Count and Countess (the former was appointed as Spanish- ambassadors at Lisbon -1778-1787- and Paris -1778-1791-, and his wife lived with him in both destinations). The small library this cosmopolitan and learned couple inherited grew to reach 2000 volumes written in different languages and devoted to diverse matters that echo their traveling lives in the Age of Enlightenment. In addition to the consideration of the library as a family asset, one of the inventories found in the family archive describe instead two libraries: the one of the Count and the one of the Countess. Travel, gender and book culture in late Eighteenth century aristocratic culture, the "female reader", and the role played by women and men as cultural mediators are some aspects to be addressed in this paper through the study of the travelling lives of this married couple and the formation of the Fernán Núñez collection.

Elizabeth Bobbitt (University of York) Contested Inheritances: Ann Radcliffe's Post-1797 Works and National Identity

Panel / *Session 446*, 'Afterlives of Ossian'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Clíona Ó Gallchoir (University College Cork)

While Ann Radcliffe's wildly successful Gothic romances of the 1790s have come to be closely associated with the Female Gothic, a genre which tantalised its readers with plots structured around a sexually threatened, yet morally courageous heroine, Radcliffe's post-1797 works, published after her death in 1826, mark an important and largely unrecognized shift in creative trajectory. Published in a four-volume collection beginning with Radcliffe's last novel,

'Gaston de Blondville,' a medieval manuscript pastiche set during the troubled reign of Henry III (1216-1272), Radcliffe's post-1797 works reveal a deep concern to interrogate early nineteenth-century national identity through an excavation of Britain's medieval and ancient pasts. In doing so, Radcliffe effects a return to the origins of the Gothic genre which she helped to popularise. She looks back to antiquarian cultural materials of the mid-eighteenth century, exploring works such as Richard Hurd's 'Letters of Chivalry and Romance' (1782), James Macpherson's 'The Works of Ossian' (1765), Thomas Percy's 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry' (1765), and Thomas Chatterton's 'Rowley Poems' (1777). She likewise effects a return to earlier iterations of the Gothic romance which privileged historical setting over supernatural incident such as Ann Fuller's 'Alan Fitz-Osborne' (1787). This paper, then, will be concerned to examine how 'Gaston de Blondville,' alongside Radcliffe's succeeding narrative poems, 'St. Alban's Abbey' and 'Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge,' present a troubled and often ambiguous narrative of British nationhood, teasing readers with narratives which gesture towards a straightforward narrative of cohesive national identity, while ultimately highlighting the contested nature of the various cultural strands which provided the historical 'make-up' of early nineteenth-century Britain.

Danielle Bobker (Concordia University) Joking as Abuse? Jane Collier's Ironic Theory of Humour

Panel / *Session* 174, 'Laughing Matters'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (Mansfield College, Oxford)

In the *Essay on the Art of Ingeniously Tormenting* (1753), Jane Collier's narrator sometimes refers to the casual acts of cruelty she promotes as jokes. On the surface, this usage is in fact standard for the period. When the word joke was introduced into English in the late seventeenth century, it was commonly understood to denote playfully vicious gestures. For instance, among the things that Henry Fielding classes as fine "handicraft Jokes" in his *Essay on Conversation* are "Tossing Men out of the Chairs" and "tumbling them into Water." Moreover, though the category itself was quite new, the perspective on humour that joking encapsulated was not: in reiterating the idea that jokes always hurt someone, the *Art of Tormenting* was drawing on a well-respected theory of laughter as aggression that Plato had first developed.

But what different view of humour opens up when we take into account the author's ironic and ethical distance from the sadist she channels throughout this mock-conduct manual? With an eye also to twenty-first-century iterations of laughter's dangers, such as in Hannah Gadsby's *Nanette*, this paper proposes that Collier's theory of humour, and our own, might be better grounded in the nonexploitative and reciprocal interpersonal relationships obliquely conjured by her satire.

Tibor Bodnár-Király (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) Scientific Constructions and Political Identities: The Case of National Characterology in the Eighteenth-Century Hungarian State and Geographical Descriptions

Panel / *Session* 404, 'National and Political Identities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

The principle aim of the presentation is to provide an extended picture about the 18th-century national characterology in which character creation appears not as a mere habitual tool of political disputes than a scientific construction with commitments to moral science (Politics), physiology, climatology, grammatics etc. Such recontextualization raises two substantial remarks to be considered regarding the connection between enlightened scientific culture and political identification. First, the popular version of the philosophical-logical framework of character creation by the fall of affect theories became a widely shared formula in political and moral analysis in the first half of the 18th century. Second, beyond its popularity the methodology of character descriptions even in such paradigmatic works as of Montesquieu and De Lolme was still in need of scientific verification. Consequently, the paper traces the scientific use of character literature in the mid-century Habsburg Monarchy and takes the case of geographical, statistical works that developed character descriptions on the behalf of measuring and mapping the physical, cultural and ethnical conditions of the state. These scientific characterizations provided an extended picture about the country and people (*Land und Leute*) and played an indisputable role in negotiating the collective physiological, moral and political features of the inhabitants of the Monarchy. The last part of the presentation is to

show how Hungarian contemporaries adapting German descriptive geographical and statistical methodologies contributed to mapping their national character from the mid-century period to the era of Joseph II, when political thinking underwent a transformation. The presentation comes to the conclusion that although due to the politicization (Politisierung) of the late Josephinism national characterology became a first hand political issue by the 1790s, it could still preserve its innate scientific orientation.

Katharina Boehm (University of Regensburg) The Circulation of Antiquarian Information and the Literary Marketplace

Panel / *Session* 398, 'Knowledge in Transit: Romantic Print Networks and the Public Circulation of Knowledge'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Russell (University of York)

This talk reconstructs the emergence of a rich media and entertainment landscape that absorbed antiquarian information, and that often idealized and commodified the past as collective national heritage, at the turn of the nineteenth century. I begin by reconstructing late-eighteenth-century debates about antiquarian information as a form of 'public' knowledge, tracing how antiquarian information was variously taken up and processed by literary writers, artists, manufacturers, and set designers. Contemporary historical romances such as Joseph Strutt's *Queenhoo-Hall, A Romance* (1808) and Ann Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondville* (1802/26) participated in this new trade in history-themed goods. Authors like Strutt and Radcliffe thought about their works as one 'medium' (Strutt's term) among many competing media which set out to make the past available with a new degree of realism and immediacy. This sensitivity to mediality is particularly apparent in the manner in which these authors' integration of antiquarian information engages with the aesthetic of contemporary visual media such as antiquarian prints and plate books, history paintings, and the panorama. Entering into dialogue with these visual forms allowed authors not only to interrogate the medium-specific qualities of literary renditions of the past; it also became a way of reflecting on the rationale for – as well as on the process and difficulty of – integrating antiquarian detail into fictional narratives that depicted events and social environments from the past.

Ekaterina Boltunova (National Research University Higher School of Economics) Russian Poland? Representations of the Western Borderland Territories in the Russian Empire (Later Eighteenth to Early Nineteenth Century)

Panel / *Session* 266, 'Emperor and Empire's Lands: Visualising Territory of the Holy Roman Empire and Russian Empire in the Eighteenth Century'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Elena Smilianskaya (National Research University Higher School of Economics)

As it is widely known the Russian acquisition of Polish lands after the Partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) was the largest share of Poland's population. The Russian Partition constituted the eastern and central territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The paper aims to discuss the way Polish lands were perceived by the Russian authorities in the late 18th – early 19th centuries (from the Partitions to Alexander I's Polish Constitutional Charter) and trace back the ways Polish lands in the Russian Empire were symbolically represented. The paper analyses both the use of the newly acquired territories' names in the titles of Catherine II, Paul I and Alexander I as well as Russian Poland visual representations in imperial portraits and heraldic designs, coat of arms in particular.

Mónica Bolufer (Universitat de València) Shaping a Cosmopolitan and Masculine Identity: Selfhood, Politics, and Gender in The Travel Diaries of Francisco de Miranda

Panel / *Session* 40, 'Circulating Gender Identities in the Global Enlightenment: Some Perspectives from the Hispanic World'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Jaffe (Texas State University)

This paper will explore the construction of personal identity and the crossings of gender, national, ideological and social identities and identifications, with a particular emphasis on the building of Enlightened masculinities.

The case study will offer an overview of the travel diaries of Francisco de Miranda (1750-1816), kept in manuscript in a vast collection (Colombeia) donated by its author to the Venezuelan nation of which he is considered (and deemed himself) a founding father, and published in several anthological and one complete edition in recent times. Miranda was a Hispanic criollo, a man of letters, a cosmopolitan traveller and an advocate of Latin American independence who negotiated his different identities throughout his extensive roaming in Europe and America. The connections between his political advocacy, his Enlightenment values and his sense of personal charm will be tackled at three levels: the judgements expressed in his writings about politics, social structure and gender in the different territories he visited; his own acute perception of individuality and self-value, and the ways in which his figure became a myth of nation-building and erotic power.

Giulia **Bonazza** (DHI, German Historical Institute, Rome) The Role of Translation in the Reception of the Abolitionist Debate in the Italian Context: Guillaume-Thomas Raynal and Clement Caines

Panel / *Session* 92, 'Shaping Translations'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon (Université Paris 8)

The paper focuses on the reception of the abolitionist debate in the Italian context by analysing the role of translations in Italian of two thinkers: Guillaume-Thomas Raynal and Clement Caines. The two case studies examines translations between French and Italian and between English and Italian reported in the *Antologia* of Vieusseux in 1824 and in *Nuovo Giornale dei Letterati* in 1803. In particular I will show parts of the translation in the volume 4/1821 of the *Antologia* of the *Histoire etc. Istoria filosofica e politica degli stabilimenti e del commercio degli Europei nelle due Indie*, di G.T. Raynal, nuova edizione corretta e aumentata sui manoscritti autografi dell'autore, precedute da una notizia biografica, e da considerazioni sugli scritti di Raynal, del sig. A Jay (1) e terminata da due volumi supplementari contenenti la situazione attuale delle colonie, del sig. Peuchet., Parigi 1820, e 1821. Vol. XII in 8, in the newspaper item *Moral and Political Sciences*. In *Nuovo Giornale dei Letterati* I will present the speech concerning the Black slave trade by Clement Caines pronounced in a General Assembly of the Leeward Islands in 1798. These translations demonstrate the interest of the Italian intellectuals in the transnational abolitionist debate and how the abolitionist argument against the Atlantic Slave Trade and slavery was present in Italian newspapers, annals and books. To conclude the Italian States were mainly influenced by the French and Anglo-Saxon abolitionist debates, but at the same time they participated in an innovative way to the transnational abolitionist debate by writing comments of the translations of foreigners thinkers.

Elizabeth Andrews **Bond** (Ohio State University) Fashioning Identity and Authority in the Old Regime French Press, 1770–1788

Panel / *Session* 194, 'Agriculture, Innovation, and Reform'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Andreas Golob (University of Graz)

Through publishing thousands of letters from their readers, late Old Regime newspapers became a site for conversation about a range of pressing issues that readers confronted on the sciences and medicine, economic and agricultural innovation, and social reform. Such published conversations were not just about the subject matter of what particular crop to plant or which medicinal remedy was best. Rather, the letters reveal the ways that people read, communicated, and applied new knowledge. Such sources show that the rational and emotional epistemologies associated with eighteenth-century life were rather widespread among a diverse group of individuals.

The sources for this paper include newspapers that proliferated after midcentury in Paris and in the provinces, where they appeared under the title, *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers*. They included the first Parisian daily, the *Journal de Paris*, and a range of provincial newspapers, including *affiches* published in Caen, Grenoble, Lyon, Marseille, Metz, Poitiers, Rennes, and Toulouse. The letters to the editor show how the exchanges between thousands of readers shaped knowledge production and facilitated the rise of public opinion.

In the spirit of the conference theme of 'Enlightenment Identities,' this talk will first present a prosopography of the men and women who wrote such letters to the editor. The writers constituted an especially large, diverse, and open sphere of eighteenth-century sociability, which surpassed the diversity of writers who published their thoughts in pamphlets or books. Indeed, in comparison to the scope of participants in previously studied spheres of

Enlightenment sociability, like published writers, Masonic lodges, provincial Académies, or cafés, the forum of letters to the editor was exceptional in its social expansiveness.

The proposed paper will then explore the grounds on which they explained the merits of their letter and justified their authority to speak. The motives of those who wrote a letter to the newspaper were varied. In all cases, they had to convince the editor that their letter was worth sharing. Their justifications reveal the fashioning of authority and identity.

Thomas **Bonnell** (Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame) Closing Arguments: Death and Boswell's Summing Up in *The Life of Johnson*

Panel / *Session* 421, 'Boswell between Scotland and England'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Deidre Dawson (Independent Scholar)

Boswell confronted numerous challenges in bringing his *Life of Johnson* to a close. Various pressures that influenced the shape of his biography—including whether he was present at or absent from the episodes in Johnson's life being described, and whether he was writing at a distance from his papers and books at Auchinleck—grew more acute in its final stages. Even as the *Life* approached an unmanageable length, and as Boswell devised typographical strategies to reduce the space his copy took up on the printed page, he kept adding material that he thought essential: he had to narrate Johnson's demise through intermediaries; deliver on promises for this or that feature made earlier in the *Life*; defend Johnson from alternative portrayals which (in his view) misrepresented him; speculate on the causes of Johnson's guilty conscience; and deliver some as-yet-undecided element to close the biographical case he was arguing.

Louise **Bonvalet** (Università degli studi di Padova / Università di Verona / Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia / Université de Rouen Normandie) Questioning Male Witches in Eighteenth-Century Venetian Inquisition

Panel / *Session* 41, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

The so-called "witch-hunt" that took place throughout the Early Modern period has produced a lot of sources for historians, thanks to all the trials conducted. Even if the persecution was slowing down from the second half of the 17th century, witchcraft was still a matter of interest afterwards in the European courts, especially in the ecclesiastical ones. During the 18th century, the Venetian Holy Office (one of the peripheric tribunals of the Roman Inquisition created in 1542) was still operating, and still conducting trials for witchcraft, *inter alia*.

I will focus on the proceedings against male witches from the beginning of the 17th century until the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797. Men will be the focus point of this reflexion, in order to understand how a court was dealing with an issue mostly believed to be female related. This presentation will analyse the difference between the theory and the reality of interrogation. To do so, I will analyse the instruction's and demonology's manuals which were at the disposal of the inquisitors. Then, I will compare these instructions to the trials' records and thus to the actual proceedings.

The aim of this presentation is to understand how the truth was sought and constructed by the Holy Office, but also how it was articulated by the defendant along the several phases of interrogations. In fact, it seems that the Venetian court tried the most to dialogue rather than to resort to torture, and when it was used, mostly men were the victims. It will be thus the occasion to examine the gender differentiation in a crime mostly associated with women. Naturally, the problematic aspect of these sources will not be forgotten: a specific attention will be given to the limits, the tricks and the threats of this kind of sources, in order to avoid a too simplistic reading of them.

Mathijs **Boom** (University of Amsterdam) A Catastrophist's View of Human Progress: F. X. de Burtin's *History of the Earth*

Panel / *Session* 428, 'Enlightened Historiography: The Practice and Theory of History in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Anton Matytsin (University of Florida)

While Enlightenment historians crafted new histories, naturalists offered a fundamental challenge to all problems of chronology, periodization, and universal history. Throughout the eighteenth century, they unearthed evidence of an ancient, pre-human history of the planet. As historians were rather slow to pick up on the implications of these discoveries, some naturalists tried their hand at histories that connected the 'moral' and the 'physical' history of the earth, exploring parallels between natural history and human history.

Among these naturalists was the Brussels naturalist François-Xavier de Burtin (1743-1818). This paper sets out to chart his views of history and progress in the human and natural world. It examines his scholarly network, his letters, a range of published works, and society archives. I argue that Burtin drew on his study of earth history to present a view of human history filled with contingency and catastrophe. At the same time, he offered an alternative to the essentially biblical timescale of conventional historians.

Historians of science have noted parallels between history and natural history before. They point to the influence of antiquarian methods and historical metaphors in the earth sciences. Still the history of historiography maintains its disciplinary focus on the study of the human past. Burtin's view of the past illuminates how earth science gave rise to radically new notions of a natural and human past shaped by contingency rather than Providence.

Hélène **Boons** (Université Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle) (Sur)jouer l'écriture féminine : le cas de trois « Spectatrices » au XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session* 218, 'Territoires, communautés, appartenances : la question de l'identité individuelle et collective dans les « spectateurs » 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Lévrier (Université de Reims)

L'énonciation des « spectateurs », ces périodiques d'expression personnelle caractérisés par la présence d'un « journaliste masqué », s'accorde le plus souvent au masculin. 'Mr Spectator', le personnage éponyme du périodique londonien publié en 1711-1712 par Joseph Addison et Richard Steele, ne peut être qu'un homme, puisqu'il endosse la fonction, masculine entre toutes, du moraliste. Pourtant, il existe en France trois « spectateurs » qui feignent d'être rédigés par des femmes : 'La Spectatrice', périodique anonyme, bimensuel puis mensuel, qui fut distribué de 1728 à 1729 ; 'La Spectatrice danoise ou L'Aspasie moderne', bihebdomadaire de Laurent Angliviel de la Beaumelle, publié de 1748 à 1750 ; enfin, un texte qui ne ressort pas à strictement parler du genre périodique, 'Les Chiffons, ou Mélanges de raison et de folie par Mlle Javotte, ravaudeuse', de Jacques Mague de Saint-Aubin, qui paraît en deux volumes en 1786 et 1787. Dans ces trois ouvrages qui s'apparentent au genre des « spectateurs » et dont deux au moins sont écrits par des hommes, la connivence avec le lectorat repose sur l'emploi de stéréotypes concernant l'écriture féminine : la Spectatrice de 1728, Aspasie, puis Javotte se donnent de manière contrastée des airs de salonniers, incapables, en raison de leur sexe, d'ordonner leurs idées de manière suivie. La Spectatrice est en somme une figure dont l'identité s'aligne sur les codes de l'écriture féminine hérités de la galanterie. Or, pour les auteurs de « spectateurs », les qualités de naturel, d'antipédanterie, de désinvolture, sont autant de vertus cardinales. La feuille volante en tant que forme légère, portative, fragmentaire, ne peut que servir d'écrin à une écriture conversationnelle qui s'y déploie adroitement. Le devenir essentiel du Spectateur serait-il la Spectatrice ? On étudiera les variations des jeux sur les lieux communs dessinant l'identité auctoriale féminine à travers ces trois textes jalons, en observant continuités et variations d'un personnage de « Spectatrice » à l'autre.

Francis **Boorman** (Institute of Advanced Legal Studies) Arbitration and the Theatre in Eighteenth-Century England

Panel / *Session* 210, 'Law and Literature'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

Arbitration and the theatre may seem an unlikely and perhaps unpromising pairing of topics. In fact, there is a long historical association. Arbitration has been represented on the stage since at least 300BC and there are numerous

examples to be found in French theatre between the 17th and 20th centuries. In Britain, Frederick Reynolds' *Arbitration, or free and easy: a musical farce of 1806* featured a young barrister attempting to arbitrate a settlement to a lawsuit between Sir Toby Tritely and Lady Litigious.

This paper will show that representations of arbitration on the stage grew out of extensive behind-the-scenes experience. As an expensive and potentially lucrative commercial enterprise, often involving partnerships between proprietors with dramatic personalities, theatre management was not short of disputes. Conflicts broke out between partners over management, over money and the right to theatre patents; between management and actors over contracts, pay and bonuses; and between rival companies. There were even disputes between theatre proprietors and the general public over the price of a ticket, which as late as 1809 caused riots in London.

Although lengthy litigation was not unusual, arbitration was used by proprietors looking for faster and cheaper ways to resolve their disputes. It will be argued that there was also a performative aspect, particularly in suggesting submission to arbitration, which showed positive intent and a willingness to compromise in a business where image and public relations were vital. Arbitration might be successful, but even when it was refused by the other party or did not eventually solve a dispute, it could be used to manage reputations, particularly in the context of popular suspicion, or even hostility, towards lawyers and the law.

Stan Booth (University of Winchester) *The Anodyne Necklace: A Variable Business Model*

Panel / *Session 405*, 'Perceptions of Variability'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Chris Mounsey (University of Winchester)

In the modern business world there are many methods to explore and classify a business model with. Chris Mounsey's Variabilities Methodology is less complicated than some but a model which I believe can be applied to many other situations not just those that explain literature, which is where it has its base. In this paper I will re-examine the economic model of anodyne necklaces using such works as Francis Doherty's 1992 book *A study in Eighteenth Century Advertising Methods: The Anodyne Necklace*, and wider resources such as the Burney Collection to re-examine what is available and how this can be explained in the VariAbilities Model. Many works often involve elements of Quackery in their explorations and personality obviously was a promotional element of any product with its figure head of Paul Chamberlain as inventor, just like many modern-day products. However, at its heart lay an economic model where value was added to a product to increase the price it could be sold at and therefore generate a healthy profit. But the product must have had some validity for it to be an advertising success as the advertisements would not continue if it was not selling. It is these dynamics I hope to bring another understanding to using the VariAbility model.

Sven Bordach (University of Bonn) *Berlinisches Litterarisches Wochenblatt: Writing Theatre-Chronology*

Panel / *Session 32*, 'Writing Time: Temporalities of the Periodical in the Eighteenth Century 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sean Franzel (University of Missouri)

In 1750 Lessing and Mylius published the *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*, thus establishing a new kind of periodical: the German theatre-journal. Henceforth and until the late nineteenth century, any kind of change and development within German theatre discourse was tightly linked to journal literature. Scholars, actors, clerks and others used these periodicals to discuss everything related to theatre, to distribute opinions and ideas to a wider public and simultaneously to develop anew kind of theatre review. A great variety of considerations and perspectives emerged from debating the appropriate relation between theatre and "its own time." Although German theatre journals of the 18th and 19th centuries played an essential role in the theatre discourse of their time, they still lack scholarly attention today.

In my contribution to the panel on "Writing Time" I would like to showcase the *Berlinische Litterarische Wochenblatt*, which was published by Christian August Bertram between 1776 and 1777. The *Wochenblatt* is highly significant because it tried to cover the theatre discourse of all German-speaking countries and some major non-German-speaking theatre capitals, e.g. Paris. Therefore, the journal appeared in weekly issues to cover the latest developments, discussions and achievements, and was re-released in a yearly edition, which is still and almost

completely accessible today. In addition, the Berlinische Litterarische Wochenblatt was the predecessor of the famous Litteratur- und Theaterzeitung by Bertram, which was published between 1778 and 1784 and became one of the most successful and most influential theatre-journals of the 18th century. The attempted goal of Wochenblatt's publishers was to capture the contemporary development of German theatre as the first issue proves: "Diese Schrift, welche als eine Fortsetzung der Chronologie des deutschen Theaters in Zukunft kann betrachtet werden". They approached their project as a continuation of the chronology of the German theatre for the future. My contribution will exemplify the temporal organisation of the Wochenblatt and thus reveal how Bertram and his colleagues reflected and "wrote time".

Xénia **Borderioux** (Sorbonne Université) Archives méconnues de police et justice sur le trafic d'habits et de bijoux royaux et princiers

Panel / *Session* 344, 'Restituer, trafiquer, reconstruire'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

Pour la première fois à notre connaissance, les classiques sources relatives aux garde-robes royales et princières (états de comptes de la Maison du roi, scellés et inventaires des princes du sang conservés dans le fonds du Parlement, minutes notariales, etc.) laissent place à des sources de police et de justice, contenant, elles de même, des états descriptifs des bijoux et habits de la haute noblesse.

Dans les années 1690, le sieur de La Houssaye se constitue une renommée en prêtant de l'argent à des revendeuses de linge de qualité et à des couturières au service de la bourgeoisie et de la noblesse, qui lui portent en gages lesdits habits. Pour exemple, du linge de Marie-Adélaïde de Savoie (1685-1712), dauphine, puis mère de Louis XV, a échoué ainsi dans les mains du prêteur. Puis, alors que les revendeuses se pressent, nombreuses, lui portant également en gages des bijoux de valeur, des diamants, il prête désormais à des taux usuraires (l'équivalent de 25 % l'an, voire plus) condamnés par l'Eglise, taux indécents pour l'époque, où l'on prête habituellement à 5 %.

Lors, ne pouvant rembourser leur prêt, nombre de ces emprunteuses qui ne peuvent récupérer les linges et bijoux de valeur mis en gages déposent plainte auprès des commissaires du Châtelet. Aux plus insistantes, le sieur de La Houssaye répond par des voies de fait : il les fait frapper par son valet. Les plaintes au civil se mêlent donc à des plaintes au criminel.

Il mourra impuni, riche de ces habits et bijoux spoliés. Au matin du 3 octobre 1702, sentant la mort approcher, « foible de corps toutes fois sain d'esprit, il mande son notaire à son chevet, pour parachever un testament (codicille) dont la teneur est rarissime : à ses légataires il laisse cette liberté comme « bon leur semble pour choisir eux mêmes leurs diamans comme ils le jugeront a propos ».

Sources.

Archives nationales, Châtelet de Paris : plusieurs dizaines de plaintes auprès des commissaires (1699-1701). Plus de 100 pages de procès-verbaux, expertises, sentences, factums.

Elena **Borshch** (Ural state university of architecture and arts) Images of Emotions in Russian Book Illustrations of 1790s: From the European Samples to the National Interpretations

Panel / *Session* 362, 'Emotions and Control'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Percival (University of Exeter)

The problem of images of emotions is considered on the illustrations from Russian literary edition of the end of 18th century. The attention is concentrated to the description and the analysis of emotions of characters of the Russian illustrations, created on the basis of reference to the European illustrations as analogues. The object of the research is the series of illustrations of Russian edition of Ovid's "Metamorphoses" (Moscow, 1794-1795). These illustrations have been repeated with changes on the similar Dutch-French edition of "Metamorphoses" (Amsterdam and Paris, 1732). There is used a comparative- historical method of studying the images of emotions. The Russian illustrations are compared to the illustrations of 1732 and to earlier series of the European illustrations of Ovid's "Metamorphoses" also. There is spent the descriptions and comparative analysis of emotions of the characters of Russian illustrations. The emotions of characters are distinguished. The receptions of their images are analyzed. The attention is given

poses, gestures and mimicry. The emotions are interpreted with the help of Lebrun's "Method of the image of passions" (1698). The attempt to establish the origin of the images of emotions has been made. As a result, the European influences to Russian illustrations are ascertained. There are influences Italian (A. Tempesta, 1606), Flemish (A. van Diepenbeeck, 1655; anonymous author, 1677), French (C. Lebrun, 1676), Dutch-French (B. Picart, 1732). There is marked a gallant and a national features of interpretations the emotions in the Russian illustrations. There were sentimentalism, classicism and romanticism in Eurooean illustrations of the end of 18th century, but the images of emotions in Russian illustrations have not actual to "emotional repertoire" of 1790th.

Simona Boscani Leoni (University of Berne / University of Lausanne) L'histoire naturelle et paysages au XVIIIe siècle entre construction d'une identité locale et globalisation

Panel / *Session 82*, 'Le monde naturel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

Dans sa "Bibliotheca scriptorum historiae naturalis omnium terrae regionum inserventium" (Zurich, 1716) le médecin et naturaliste Suisse Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672-1733) présente une bibliographie de textes consacrées à l'étude de l'histoire naturelle non seulement européenne, mais également d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique.

Intéressant est le fait que pour le naturaliste Suisse cette bibliographie et les études de ces collègues devaient être un exemple à suivre dans ses propres recherches sur l'histoire naturelle de son pays. Cette histoire naturelle locale (de la Suisse) était pour lui un petit fragment de l'histoire naturelle de toute la terre. D'une façon paradoxale, Scheuchzer est connu par les historiens pour son apologie des Alpes et de la Suisse, comme un des premiers patriotes qui exaltent les Alpes et les vertus des montagnards comme un élément de distinction, même de supériorité, de son pays par rapport au reste de l'Europe et du monde.

En partant de l'exemple suisse, dans ma communication je veux analyser quel rôle jouent les études d'histoire naturelle (botanique, zoologie, minéralogie) dans le développement de la perception des paysages "locales" et leur rapport avec les phénomènes de globalisation commerciale et intellectuelle du XVIIIe siècle. Un accent particulier sera mis sur les paysages exotiques européens (les Alpes, par exemple) comme pendant des paysages exotiques, en analysant leur fonction identitaire.

Pilar Botías (University of Córdoba) Congreve's Incognita: Female Wit in Restoration Literature

Panel / *Session 131*, 'Enlightenment Feminisms'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania)

This paper tackles the issue of female wit found in the only novel written by William Congreve (1670-1729). This playwright whose dramatic production was outstanding among his peers lived and wrote during the Restoration period in England. The Restoration period spans from the year 1660 to 1714. The outset is clearly agreed in terms of politic change with the restoration of the monarchy and, the consequently reopening of theatres. These theatres were being closed for almost eighteen years, leaving England devoid of official theatrical productions and activity. Immersed in this prolific literary world, we found the novel or short fiction called *Incognita: Or, Love and Duty Reconcil'd* (1692), is certainly interesting from the point of view of genre (hybridity). After a deep analysis of the text it is found several elements from drama, and especially, comedy of manners. Also, the main story is centred around a romantic plot, having nuances from the old Arthurian romances from Middle Ages. However, this is not the only key point of this peculiar short fiction (as others tend to name it), *Incognita* can be considered as a forerunner of the modern novel as it tries to reconcile three different genres at the very same time: romance, drama and novel. I want to introduce a feminist angle with respect to female wit, focusing my attention on the character of *Incognita/Juliana*, who I find smart, witty and elegant in her prose. This revision of the work is new and controversial, but I have found several examples throughout the text to clearly assert the existence of a female wit and an outstanding female character. In Restoration times we find examples of feminist writers such as Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley or Eliza Haywood. Therefore, feminist writing was something present at that time, and professional writers such as these women found not few obstacles in her rebelliousness writing about passion, sex or scandal. Nonetheless, female wit in hands of a male writer with 22 years old in a 'experimental' novel is quite worthy of research.

Souad **Bouhouch** (Université de Gabes Tunisie) *Corinne ou l'Italie* de Germaine de Staël : l'identité tragique d'une femme de génie ou la crise d'un dialogue des nations

Panel / *Session* 17, 'Le roman français'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

Quand Germaine de Staël publie son célèbre roman *Corinne ou l'Italie* en 1807, l'Italie, alors divisée, est sous l'occupation napoléonienne. Ce contexte géo-politique sert de toile de fond à l'histoire de Corinne, une poétesse talentueuse dépossédée de son génie et de sa liberté par la passion d'amour malheureux. Au Livre XVII, en errant sur les routes escarpées de l'Écosse, dans l'espoir de reconquérir l'amant qui l'a délaissée, l'héroïne du roman se rend compte qu'elle a perdu, avec Lord Nelvil, le pays qu'elle a véritablement aimé : l'Angleterre, essence de son être, sa fierté et son existence réelle. L'Italie a certes accueilli et consacré la poétesse et son art, or, ce pays adoptif demeure loin d'être le bien le plus précieux au regard désillusionné de la femme en quête de ses origines ancestrales et authentiques. Cet article pose la problématique de l'identité individuelle d'une femme de génie, confrontée à sa vérité tragique. Le moment de la rupture sentimentale douloureuse s'accompagne chez elle d'une déchirure ouverte sur la question de l'appartenance nationale, culturelle et historique, incarnée par l'amant anglais et les valeurs qu'il porte, et qui sont aussi les siennes. « Comment distinguer son talent de son âme ? », s'interrogeait l'auteur dans la conclusion de *De la littérature*. Pour Corinne, la question est résolue dans l'immense douleur, le profond regret, puis la mort. Il s'agit de démontrer comment, exilée entre deux pays, deux identités : l'Italie, terre d'amour, mais disloquée, et l'Angleterre, représentant la raison, les hautes valeurs morales et le progrès, Corinne est bien la synthèse tragique d'une crise d'incompréhension entre deux nations qu'elle a vainement espéré rapprocher, d'une absence de dialogue entre le nord et le sud européens. Cet écart, n'est-il pas dans le fond, la marque d'une fissure du Moi de l'écrivain qui a consciemment inscrit ce roman entre ces deux pays, dont l'arrière plan tragique est celui de la France révolutionnée occultant les Lumières ?

Claire **Boulard Jouslin** (Université Paris Sorbonne Nouvelle) Translating the 'Guardian' (1713) into French: Portrait of Nestor Ironside as the 'Mentor Moderne' (1723)

Panel / *Session* 218, 'Territoires, communautés, appartenances : la question de l'identité individuelle et collective dans les « spectateurs » 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Lévrier (Université de Reims)

In 1723, Justus Van Effen, a Dutch writer who had already published several essay periodicals imitating the 'Spectator' issued the French translation of the successful periodical essay the 'Guardian' (originally published in flying sheets in 1713). This translation was a dual challenge because the 'Guardian' was dealing with many topical English subjects relating to political controversies, literature and fashions – some of them likely to be unintelligible to non-English readers- and it was at time critical of France and catholicism, a stance that could ruffle the pride of many continental readers. This paper offers therefore to examine how Van Effen steered his way through the conflicting French and British identities to produce a pedagogical text that transcended the Franco-British rivalry.

Isabelle **Bour** (Sorbonne Nouvelle) *Mary Wollstonecraft's Women in/and History*

Panel / *Session* 227, 'Establishing Historical Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : James Raven (University of Cambridge / University of Essex)

This paper will discuss the way in which Mary Wollstonecraft places her female characters—whether in expository or in fictional works—in a historicised context. It will also look at her depiction of herself in the moving political context of England and France. From this study should emerge the theory of historical development implicit in her 'staging' of women and her tentative redefinition of individual identity in the late Georgian era.

Emmanuel **Boussuge** (CELLF, UMR 8599, Université Paris-Sorbonne) Quelques idées relativement claires sur une question compliquée : la chronologie de la fin de *l'Encyclopédie*

Panel / *Session* 175, 'Nouveaux éclairages sur la manufacture de l'Encyclopédie 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne)

La chronologie des derniers volumes de discours de l'Encyclopédie (du tome VIII au tome XVII) après la crise de 1758 n'a jamais fait l'objet d'étude détaillée jusque-là. Parus ensemble fin 1765 (ou début 1766), ces dix volumes ne forment pas pour autant un bloc. Leur composition fut en effet progressive et il est possible de dégager des points de repère relativement précis permettant de reconstituer l'avancée de l'entreprise éditoriale. Capitale pour l'interprétation des articles concernés, une mise au point sur la chronologie permet aussi de distinguer des problématiques nouvelles comme l'existence de quelques articles particulièrement chargés d'enjeux, ayant une fonction de conclusion dans le dictionnaire.

Charles Bradford **Bow** (Yonsei University) Instructing the Blind and Deaf in Dugald Stewart's Educational Doctrine

Panel / *Session* 330, 'Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Helen Dupree (Georgetown University)

This paper examines Dugald Stewart's (1753-1828) account of a boy born blind and deaf, which he read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh (RSE) on 3 February 1812, in the contexts of his educational doctrine. An identifiable system of moral education developed from Stewart's ambition to improve the exercise of intellectual, active, and moral powers of the human mind in public life as the professor of pneumatics and moral philosophy at Edinburgh University between 1785 and 1810. Stewart refined his philosophical system after retiring from the classroom. Whereas Stewart's published works primarily focused on the science of applied ethics as a pioneer of moral psychology, a curious report from James Wardrop (1782-1869) of a boy (Mitchell) born blind and deaf in London led him to an experiment on the nature of external sensations as an anatomist of the mind. In doing so, Stewart sought to 'correct' William Cheselden's surgical analysis of sight and improve upon Abbé Sicard's 'Course of Instruction for the Deaf and Dumb' with new exercises to cultivate dormant faculties of the mind. Beyond a 'rare' opportunity to better understand intellectual powers of the mind, Stewart's engagement with Sicard's programme of education bristled against a formidable British counter-Enlightenment borne from Tory opposition to French revolutionary principles. Offering a radically new portrait of Stewart and his woefully understudied account of instructing the blind and deaf, which did not appear in his Collected Works, this paper argues that Stewart sustained the Scottish Enlightenment's 'Science of Man' project beyond its alleged end.

Will **Bowers** (Merton College, Oxford) Defining Gray's Style

Panel / *Session* 27, 'The Poems of Thomas Gray, William Collins, Oliver Goldsmith'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marcus Walsh (Liverpool University)

Critics since Walpole have found a stylistic eccentricity in Gray's poetry, but none quite agree on the defining features of this style or what to call it. Various single words have been recruited—campness, delicacy, decadence, effeminacy, sensibility—and certain of Gray's early poems have been used as a testing ground for these terms. This critical impasse has occurred alongside a somewhat distinct editorial tradition. Rather searching for a single word, annotators from Mason and Wakefield, to Roger Lonsdale's Longman (1969), and finally in the Thomas Gray Archive (www.thomasgray.org), have attempted to trace Gray's stylistic lineage via his allusions to the European tradition. This paper will explore two contested sites for these competing types of appreciation, the 'Ode on the Spring' and the 'Sonnet on the Death of Richard West', in an attempt to establish some agreement in editorial and critical traditions about what defines Gray's style.

Bradford **Boyd** (Arizona State University) Neo-Latin Epic and (Counter-)Enlightenment Identity: The Case of James Philp's *Grameid*

Panel / *Session* 49, 'Language and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

Accepting the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award in Glasgow last July, Alexander Broadie urged his colleagues to focus attention on neo-Latin texts, as this significant subset of cultural production in eighteenth-century Scotland remains understudied. These texts are valuable exhibits in the continued broadening and deepening of Scottish literary history, but also as data for political and cultural historians, especially those who study Jacobitism before and after the Union of 1707, for as John MacQueen has remarked, in Scotland "[a]fter 1688, Latin poetry and Jacobitism became virtually synonymous." While there have been welcome exceptions to Broadie's rule in the past decade – for instance MacQueen's own scholarly edition of Archibald Pitcairne's Latin poems – too many of these texts remain untranslated and relatively inaccessible to researchers, let alone general readers. Or in the case of James Philp's *Grameid* (1691), a vigorous epic poem on "Bonnie Dundee" and the Jacobite/Williamite war in Scotland, the text was first, and last, translated and edited in 1888. Though digitized by the National Library of Scotland and available online, this edition is effectively out of print, and in any case its very loose English paraphrase of Philp's hexameters makes it unreliable for researchers or general readers without Latin. I therefore propose a new edition, including an accurate translation, which I have begun. The poem is rich in poetic merit and invaluable for the light it can shed on the military, political, and cultural history of Jacobite Scotland; given a twenty-first century translation and updated editing, it would be ripe for inclusion in Scottish literature surveys. At the level of cultural history, meanwhile, the *Grameid* fashions for its hero, and by implication other Jacobite actors including James VII, a public identity that blends unexpected (proleptic) Enlightenment with Counter-Enlightenment elements. Reflecting Jacobitism's diverse creedal demographics (Anglican, Scottish Episcopalian, Irish Catholic) and international commitments over decades, this identity turns out to be cosmopolitan, religiously-plural, and politically-pragmatic.

Vincent **Boyer** (Université de Nantes) Identité philosophique et fiction de la philosophie chez David Hume

Panel / *Session* 371, 'La quête de l'identité après Locke. Ou comment être empiriste au siècle des Lumières'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Brunet-Fontaine (Université d'Ottawa / Université Paris X, Nanterre)

Dès la conclusion du livre I du *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739) Hume s'interroge sur les conditions de possibilité de sa propre pratique philosophique. Celle-ci se trouve en effet confrontée à des contradictions manifestes, étant, par exemple, dans l'incapacité de soutenir à la fois le principe de causalité et de l'existence des corps. Loin de se cantonner à nous délivrer de certains délires métaphysiques anciens ou modernes, soutenir un système philosophique sceptique ne pouvait qu'engendrer en retour un scepticisme sur le discours philosophique lui-même, en tant qu'il se présente nécessairement comme rationnel. Par conséquent, si la philosophie est toute aussi fictionnelle que la superstition, car elle aussi fondée sur l'imagination non fondée en raison, comment Hume parvient-il néanmoins à s'assurer une identité philosophique ? La seule distinction entre un scepticisme pyrrhonien et un scepticisme académique dans *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) y suffirait-elle, au sens où Hume ferait preuve à l'égard du discours philosophique d'un scepticisme mitigé ? La pratique philosophique ne se trouverait justifiée in fine qu'en tant qu'elle serait la moins dangereuse et la plus civilisée des façons d'assouvir notre curiosité naturelle. Il s'agira dans cette intervention de voir que, même si cette « solution sceptique » mérite naturellement d'être prise en compte, la réflexion humienne sur l'identité personnelle peut apporter d'autres éléments de réponses à ce problème d'une identité philosophique sceptique. En effet, si le moi est une fiction, alors le philosophe qu'est Hume n'apparaîtra lui-même que sous l'aspect de personnages fictifs – qu'il s'agisse de l'épicurien, du stoïcien, du platonicien et du sceptique des *Essays, Moral and Political* (1742) ou des protagonistes des *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779) – avec lesquels il ne pourra jamais finir par s'identifier une fois pour toutes.

Deborah **Boyle** (The College of Charleston) *Infants, Peasants, Brutes, and Wise Men: Mary Shepherd's Account of Latent Reasoning*

Panel / *Session* 209, 'Lady Mary Shepherd as a Scottish Philosopher'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gordon Graham (Princeton Theological Seminary)

In her critiques of Humean causation and Berkeleyian idealism, Scottish philosopher Lady Mary Shepherd (1777-1847) argued that certain principles about causation and the external world are knowable through reason. She characterized these principles as “mental laws of belief,” but explicitly contrasted them with the “instinctive” or “common sense” principles found in the work of Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Thomas Brown. Instead, Shepherd argued that these principles were “the conclusions of a latent reasoning” present in all humans as well as in other animals. In this paper I examine Shepherd’s account of latent reasoning and how she sought to distinguish the deliverances of this process from the “intuitive” or “instinctive” beliefs described by her predecessors.

Rodrigo **Brandao** (Federal University of Paraná) Wealth, Freedom, and Political Engagement in Voltaire-d’Alembert Correspondence

Panel / *Session* 477, 'Voltaireiana'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Linda Gil (Université de Montpellier Paul-Valéry)

Following a previous study published as a paper in the *Revue de Métaphysique et Morale*, Jan.-Mar. 2017, the present communication aims at developing some reflections on the Voltaire-D’Alembert’s correspondence that were merely mentioned in that paper. Firstly, the paper points out some aspects of the literary form of the correspondence and then indicates some subjects treated by more than five hundred letters which constitute the correspondence (the publication of the *Encyclopédie*, the expulsion of Jesuits from France among others). Those two preliminary parts would be some of the exigencies for a more thorough and profound analysis of the form and matter of Voltaire – d’Alembert correspondence. Finally, my talk will consider in a more detailed manner how one could understand the complexity of such intellectual friendship by analyzing the disagreements of the two philosophers regarding how to fight the abuses of power and superstition in their age. For a long time, the few comments on their correspondence considered D’Alembert as a simple Voltaire’s “lieutenant in Paris”, in charge of spreading Voltaire’s perspectives on the French capital, from which the older philosopher had been exiled. Instead of this traditional view, I would like to show how and why d’Alembert criticized some of the old writer’s attitudes. In other words, I would like to understand the disagreement of the two philosophers and how they conceived differently political engagement. My hypothesis is that other texts such as Voltaire *Contes* and some articles in both de *Dictionnaire philosophique* and the *Questions sur l’Encyclopédie* as well the moral part in D’Alembert’s *Essai sur les éléments de philosophie* and his *Essai sur la société des gens de lettres et des grands*, could produce further evidence to affirm that those differences would be founded in more profound ones regarding the connections between freedom and personal wealth, which imply different manners of conceiving strategies to fight the social, religious and political abuse of their time.

Christine **Brandner** (Yale University) ‘Devenir soi-même est une longue patience’: The Portraits of Mme d’Épinay

Panel / *Session* 309, 'Portraiture'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sandra Gómez Todó (University of Iowa)

“To become one’s self requires long patience” – the author of this aperçu, Louise Florence Pétronille Tardieu d’Esclavelles d’Épinay (1726–1783), was one of the most celebrated femmes savantes of the eighteenth century, and her witty yet melancholic observation would have been applauded in the Parisian salons she visited. Although Mme d’Épinay’s writings resonate with echoes of Rousseau’s yearning for the original self, the female identities she envisioned differed considerably from the philosopher’s ideal of primordial innocence.

From what historical, social, and philosophical position did her statement emerge, which speaks of a self that must be experienced in the process of its unfolding? In order to address these questions, my paper will explore Mme d’Épinay’s conception of female identity by:

(1) considering her semi-fictional autobiography “*Histoire de Mme de Montbrillant*” – a novel of almost 2000 pages, composed of letters, diary entries, comments, reflections, a short treatise on education, and various voices;

(2) juxtaposing the kaleidoscopic structure of her opus with the linear narrative in the autobiographical writings of Rousseau, one of her closest friends until their quarrel in 1759;

(3) analyzing an unusual portrait of Mme d'Épinay by Jean-Étienne Liotard, painted in 1759 during her sojourn in Geneva.

My paper thus presents an interdisciplinary approach to the concept of female identity as it emerges from the literary and pictorial fictions of Mme d'Épinay, and more broadly, addresses the preconditions of its inception in the eighteenth century. In this undertaking, I adopt Jacques Derrida's deconstructive treatment of Rousseau's Confessions to Mme d'Épinay's novel, and complement my readings with a formal analysis of Liotard's painting, which I interpret as a programmatic statement about the place of portraiture between living presence and pictorial supplement.

Caroline **Breashears** (St Lawrence University) *Monstrous Identities: Adam Smith and the Horror of Frankenstein*

Panel / *Session 278, 'Monsters'*. Thursday / *Jedi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

In this paper, I argue that Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments illuminates Frankenstein in two ways: by clarifying the horror of the relationship between Victor and Creature, parent and child; and by providing a framework for evaluating these characters' competing demands, particularly in relation to justice and beneficence. That framework has been overshadowed by Smith's more obvious relevance to this novel's theme of sympathy and the contexts of writings by William Godwin and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Smith provides a valuable counterpoint to these writers in his arguments about justice and beneficence within the domestic sphere.

I first trace how Smith's theory illuminates the impropriety of Victor's process of creation and the horror of Victor abandoning this newly created life—the crime of infanticide, about which Smith is particularly eloquent. Victor fails in what Smith describes as natural sympathy toward a child: "A parent without parental tendencies, a child devoid of all filial reverence, appear monsters, the objects, not of hatred only, but of horror." Even when natural sympathy is lacking, Smith suggests, the parent should fulfill his duty, a point about which Mary Shelley was adamant in her critique of Rousseau abandoning his five children. Victor later promises to fulfill his duty by providing the creature a mate, but he destroys the female, fearing that they might create a race of monsters who would threaten humanity. As Smith argues, however, the proper objects of our benevolence should be those closest to us (a notable contradiction to Godwin's theory). Only the supreme being, he says, has the ability to foresee universal consequences. Frankenstein's choice angers the Creature, who continues his own role as "monstrous" son and unjust murderer.

Thomas **Bredsdorff** (University of Copenhagen) *The Party of Humanity*

Panel / *Session 84, 'Literary Identities'*. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tine Reeh (University of Copenhagen)

Identity is the stuff that nations – and wars – are made of. While individuals may possess and practice any number of varying identities simultaneously, every society prioritizes one identity at a time – or rather one set of clashing identities – over the rest. In 17th century northern Europe the prime communal identity was religious. The wars were about being Protestant or Roman Catholic. The Enlightenment, by means of toleration, put an end to that dichotomy. In the 19th century the prime identity questions (and the ensuing outrageous wars) were about national identity; in Denmark, about Danish versus German identity.

In between the eras of religious and national identities was the 18th century Enlightenment dominated by neither religious nor national identity but – to borrow a cliché that Peter Gay used as the title of his seminal book (1964) – the Party of Humanity. Clichés sometimes are true. I propose to illustrate how, by a close reading of a passage in Jens Baggesen's travelogue *Labyrinten* (1792).

Renaud **Bret-Vitoz** (Sorbonne Université, CELLF) Variabilité des identités héroïques dans la tragédie du XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session* 95, 'Théâtre et Identités 2 : Identités en scène. Reconfigurations du personnage des Lumières à la Révolution'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Pierre Frantz (Sorbonne Université)

Cette communication montre comment l'héroïsme tragique subit d'importantes mutations au cours du XVIIIe siècle, en se concentrant entre autres sur la pensée théâtrale de Voltaire à propos des notions d'« identité » et de « variabilité », et sur les héros et héroïnes de son théâtre.

Holly **Brewer** (University of Maryland) Creating a Fashion for Slavery in the Stuart Court(s): Law, Theater, and Art

Panel / *Session* 169, 'Fashioning Slavery: The Restoration Debate about Tyranny, Property, and Identity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel O'Quinn (University of Guelph)

Charles II and his brother James took many steps to legitimize slavery after 1660, both through the courts of law, but also through display in his royal court where he lived, where he held his entertainments and his meetings. Charles obtained legitimacy for slavery by appointing judges in his high courts of law who helped oversee the formal legitimization of turning people who were "infidels" into simple property, decisions that reverberated across the empire, creating what I call a common law of slavery which came to fruition in the case *Butts v. Penny* in 1677.

This paper focuses on how Charles legitimated slavery in the day-to-day formalities of his household, which was also public business and the face of royal court fashion. It contends that the rise and fall of the Stuart fashion for black boys in silver collars of bondage – a fashion glimpsed through paintings, engravings, and the objects themselves— reveals the role the English monarchy played in making slavery morally acceptable. This paper focuses particularly on how Charles II created that fashion through a play, *Calisto*, in 1675, a play performed for the court (and featuring members of the royal family as well as black slaves— boys in silver collars) but especially through art. I have several hundred paintings and engravings from this period, and am able to track how and why this fashion became popular in England—how it spread outwards to other European courts— but also to situate how and why it declined in the 1740s. It did so under the quite deliberate assault of Mary Edwards, who hired Hogarth to make it ridiculous in paint and engraving, in the midst of renewed debates about England's involvement in the Spanish slave trade. Art in this reading becomes not just a measure of culture, but a weapon for propaganda and a tool to debate legitimacy.

Ellen **Brewster** (Exeter College, Oxford) Eighteenth-Century Elocution Books and Their Editors

Panel / *Session* 262, 'Criticism: Canon Formation and Patterns of Influence'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Corrina Radihoff (University of Liverpool)

This paper will examine late eighteenth-century 'elocution books', books concerned with the practice of reading aloud from the period 1750-1800. Volumes of this kind took many forms, including spouting collections (collections of dramatic material, often prologues and epilogues), and collections of 'elegant extracts', taken from a variety of poetry and prose works. These were all designed to be read aloud. Texts of this kind were cheap to produce, compiled by often anonymous editors who left little by way of paratextual material to indicate their methods of selection. Yet evidence of editorial choice can indeed be found in these volumes. This paper considers this evidence to evaluate the extent to which elocutionary miscellanies shaped contemporary reading practices, and how they were, conversely, shaped by them. This paper aims to complicate previous critical analyses of eighteenth-century miscellanies, which do not adequately acknowledge the importance of social reading practices in shaping the form of literary collections. In investigating these books further, we can begin to consider whether the choices made by the editors of these volumes can be read as attempts at a kind of 'canon-formation', or, alternatively, as the construction of a kind of domestic performance 'repertory'.

Andrew Bricker (University of Ghent) Before Lyricization: Elegy and the Limits of Mourning

Panel / *Session* 239, 'Poetics, Aesthetics, Criticism, 1640–1760'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Gerrard (University of Oxford)

In the middle of the eighteenth century,

the definition of lyric poetry began a pronounced and intensified shift towards a conception that would come to dominate Romantic and post-Romantic thinking on poetry. A lyric poem, for many theorists, became inextricably an extension of the poet's consciousness itself. As Hegel would famously argue, "in order to be the centre which holds the whole lyric work of art together the poet must have achieved a specific mood or entered a specific situation, while at the same time he must identify himself with this particularization of himself as with himself, so that in it he feels and envisages himself." My presentation will address the problem that such a shifting conception of poetic vision—a kind of lyric subjectivity at the core of poetry itself—posed for the sub-lyric genre of the elegy. I do so by evaluating Thomas Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (1751) as a wry response to this emerging (and perhaps Preromantic) conception of lyric poetry. Elegies were meant, of course, to praise the dead while lamenting their loss. But they were also supposed to console: not only the dead, but also the dead's survivors. Gray saw, however, how a centralizing lyric subjectivity—an almost poetic narcissism at the core of the lyric itself, this necessity of refracting a poem's meaning and function through an all-encompassing poetic "I"—compromised the elegy's ability to console, by moving attention away from the dead and onto the poet him- or herself. Hence, I argue, the *Elegy's* radical and perhaps satiric shift in its final stanzas: from the poet's commemoration of the unnamed dead to the fantasy of the unnamed dead commemorating the poet. Gray's *Elegy*, I will conclude, is an important poetic statement about the compromises of lyric subjectivity—about the dangerous solipsism of an emerging conception of the poetic "I"—and the limits of true elegiac lament in a poetic world where selfhood always trumps community.

Adam Bridgen (University of Oxford) Slavery at Home and Abroad: Labouring-Class Transatlantic Identities

Panel / *Session* 347, 'Slavery and Identity 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hilde Neus (Anton de Kom University of Suriname)

This paper interrogates the broadening horizons of British labouring-class poetry over the course of the eighteenth century, specifically in terms of the imperial, colonial, and commercial expansions that partnered the "democratisation" of the world of print after 1695. It takes as its focus the "thresher poet" Stephen Duck (1705–56), one of the most important and influential poets of distinctly plebeian origins. A Wiltshire-born agricultural labourer, Duck's fortunes were transformed in 1730 when, following the pirated publication of a handful of his poems, he was patronised by Queen Caroline and took up a series of positions in the royal court, where he continued to study, write, and publish.

Specifically, this paper considers the developing presence of slavery in Duck's poetry, focussing on his early, and best known poem, "The Thresher's Labour" (1730), as well as his little discussed narrative poem "Avaro and Amanda" (1736) — a version of the popular tale of "Inkle and Yarico" (first published in Richard Steele's *Spectator* 11). Considering how an African presence emerges in "The Thresher's Labour" amidst Duck's description of threshing, and, in parallel, how Duck's vivid portrayal of colonial slavery in "Avaro and Amanda" harks back to this earlier scene, I make a case for the complicated, and emergent, cross-fertilisation of critical ideas about labour both in Britain and in its colonies, and the unusual significance which slavery held for labouring-class poets like Duck.

On the theme of "Enlightenment Identities", therefore, I seek to demonstrate the considerable reach of new identifications in a globalising Britain. It has often been said that Duck's move from the country to the city resulted in his stifling absorption into urbane literary culture. Considering "Avaro and Amanda" however questions this, suggesting how Duck's background as an agricultural labourer continued to shape his perspective and identifications — even as he took up the mantle of a "Court Poet".

Janette **Bright** (Institute of Historical Research, University of London) Engine of Opportunity and Experiment: The Metropolitan and National Impact of the London Foundling Hospital, 1740–1820

Panel / *Session 11*, ‘Enlightened’ Philanthropy in the Eighteenth Century’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kate Gibson (University of Manchester)

This paper is a work in progress report of my first year of a PhD, looking at the London Foundling Hospital and how the institution was created, established, maintained and experienced (across the period 1740-1820). In particular I am looking at how the Hospital became a site of social contact where musical spectacle and artistic display encouraged visitors to be entertained and charitable, thus funding the organisation. I am also looking at how the institution was geared towards invention and innovation, using social, intellectual and economic networks within the metropolis but also through its branch hospitals and provincial nurse inspectors. Finally I aim to chart and understand the Hospital’s influence and legacy in Georgian society.

Fleur **Brincat** (University of Malta) The French Knights and the Capitulation of Malta of 1798. An opportunity or a Crises?

Panel / *Session 188*, ‘The French Occupation of Malta, 1798–1800: New Evidence, New Approaches’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Cláudia Garradas (Hill Museum and Manuscript Library)

The history of the Order of St. John is riddled with crises and sieges, but the invasion of Malta by Republican France in 1798 was perhaps the closest it ever got to extinction. When in 1797 Napoleon planned on taking Malta on his way to Egypt, storm clouds loomed over the Order. Gripped by fear of the impending doom, most knights prepared for siege. Yet French knights hovered between loyalty for the Order and love for the patria. Some, like the Secretary to the Treasury Bosredon Ransijat, made it perfectly clear that he would not lift arms against his compatriots and thus opted for neutrality, for which he was imprisoned. Others saw a glimpse of a new future in the ominous clouds. Thus, the military engineer Antoine Etienne de Tousard and the commissioner of fortifications Charles François du Fay chose to secretly assist Napoleon before the latter’s arrival. Other French knights even fled the island before the onset of the Republicans, only to sail back on French galleys with the aim to banish their Order. This paper, through the case of the engineer Tousard, seeks to outline the dilemma faced by French knights in 1798, their situation prior to the capitulation and the choices they made which ultimately forged their future beyond the conquest of Malta by the French.

Simone **Broders** (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg) The Curious Self: Identity and Desire to Know in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals

Panel / *Session 236*, ‘Periodical Identities’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

Since Montaigne’s deeply personal writing, the essay has been the pivotal genre for the exploration of the self. Montaigne uses *curiosité* in the sense of a ‘thirst for knowledge’ directed at individual identity. This study explores how the periodical works of Addison, Steele, Fielding, and Haywood reflect the ambivalence of curiosity in individuals characterized primarily by their desire to know, such as the virtuoso, the ‘coffee house politician’, or the gossiping neighbour.

As the essay is a digressive, meandering genre, its analysis calls for a methodology which imitates the human learning process. Essayistic writing parallels the structure of neural networks as associative storage, in which content is represented by the dynamic state of neural cells interacting with each other, reshaping and changing. The polyphony of approaches by essayists illustrate a variety of ways in which curiosity constitutes the identity of individuals, ranging from Haywood’s demand for female education to Johnson’s fictitious diary of a scholar, a powerful statement for academic freedom regardless of ‘trends’ within the scientific community.

The homogeneous notion of its 'development' from intellectual vice to Enlightenment virtue, an assumption postulated by Blumenberg or Harrison, is re-imagined as a dynamic web of co-existing ideas, perceived as knots in a net. Ultimately, the analogy of the neural network illustrates the fact that there is no monolithic 'idea' of curiosity, but a vibrant network of different ideas whose interaction modifies and re-invents the identities of the curious.

Inger **Brodey** (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) 'What is in a toothpick case?' or Austen in Objects

Panel / *Session 342*, 'Old and New: Jane Austen's Engagement with Contemporary Society'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Janet Aikins Yount (University of New Hampshire)

This presentation presents a combination of historical objects associated with Jane Austen together with her own symbolic and gendered use of small objects in her novels. It argues that the role of the object in the "It narrative" more generally in sentimentalism colors her approaches to material culture per se. Historical objects that played a role in Austen's writing career are now in the Jane Austen House Museum and Chawton House. The approach of this presentation combines elements of Paula Byrne's largely biographical "Jane Austen: A Life in Small Things" and the psychology of objects used in Julie Park's "The Self and It: Novel Objects in Eighteenth-Century England." The argument is that rather than being quaint curiosities, Austen's objects (both fictional and historical) give us a window on her understanding of selfhood, material culture, and gender roles.

Esther **Brot** (King's College London) Status Inversion: Mis-Taking Fees and Honesty in City of London Prisons from 1700 to 1735

Panel / *Session 261*, 'Crime and Punishment'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jeanne Clegg (University of Ca' Foscari Venice)

This paper will argue that prison officers in the City of London prisons undermined their own status by choosing to abuse prisoners. Credit and honesty were entwined with male reputation in eighteenth-century England. Prison officers in the City of London made their living from the fees charged prisoners, i.e. for bail. Their aim was to earn enough to make the initial purchase of the title of their position worthwhile, as positions could cost up to 200 pounds. Officers ranked above prisoners, but remained below keepers of prisons and the officeholders in the Corporation of London committees. The most common form of abuse prison officers perpetrated was taking the wrong fees. In these moments of abuse, officers projected their higher rank, ergo inherent right to demand high fees from prisoners, and their desire to earn or increase their incomes. But they also made themselves vulnerable to prisoners, who were not without rights; one of which was to complain via petition to the Court of Aldermen about the abuses, instigating a process of investigation into the reputation of prison officers and veracity of the petitioners' claims. The prison officers created the conditions whereby a higher authority questioned their honesty, ethics and reputation due to information from those below. This put prison officers' social and job status in jeopardy. Prisoners' actions and prison officers' job failures mediated prison officers' status.

Olivia **Brown** (KU Leuven) Mary Shepherd on External World Skepticism

Panel / *Session 209*, 'Lady Mary Shepherd as a Scottish Philosopher'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gordon Graham (Princeton Theological Seminary)

Mary Shepherd (1777-1847) exercised an appreciable influence on the Edinburgh philosophical community. Her philosophical treatises and essays argued against Hume's skeptical theory of causation and critically engaged with the views of thinkers such as Berkeley, Stewart, Reid, and Brown. But perhaps most remarkably, Shepherd sought an original voice in metaphysical debates dominated by men. In the introduction to the first essay of her second book, *Essays on the Perception of an External Universe and Other Subjects Connected with the Doctrine of Causality* (1827), she explains that rather than analyzing Hume's reasoning—which she considers to be tedious and erroneous—she will instead take up the questions that he posed and develop her own answers to them. Rather than view her work as

a belated reaction to Hume and Berkeley, my paper proposes to take its cue from Shepherd's description of her project as a positive contribution to metaphysics and take it seriously as such. Focusing on her argument in her Essays about of how we indirectly know external objects, I argue that, from within the Scottish Enlightenment, Shepherd shines an original light on contemporary debates about external world skepticism.

Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh) Preaching the Scottish Enlightenment: Providence, History, and Presbyterian Identity

Panel / *Session* 147, 'Religion in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King's College London)

Ministers of the later eighteenth-century Presbyterian Church of Scotland were actively involved in the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment, with some, including Hugh Blair, William Robertson, and Adam Ferguson, making significant contributions, especially in the areas of historical scholarship and social thought. The Moderate party, led by Robertson, used their ascendancy in Scotland's national Church to promote openness, toleration and a new sense of Presbyterian national identity. Moreover, Moderate sermons, both as delivered from the pulpits and in published form, helped communicate Enlightenment ideas in natural and moral philosophy to a larger Scottish public. This paper will draw on my recent research on the sermon in the Scottish Enlightenment, and on the work of Richard Sher, Thomas Ahnert and Nicholas Phillipson, to explore how Scottish Moderate ministers treated the themes of providence and historical progress. It will explore how Moderate sermons portrayed a God active in history, using human actors, often in ways not intended by those actors, to advance the divine plan for the world, which for Moderate preachers involved progress towards a future world order characterised by peaceful commerce, universal benevolence and the abolition of slavery.

Vivian Bruce Conger (Ithaca College) Forgotten Labor: Deborah Franklin and Sally Franklin Bache in the Eighteenth-Century World of Commerce

Panel / *Session* 191, 'Women in Forgotten Archives of the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tara Zanardi (Hunter College)

A 1957 essay analyzing Richard Bache's detailed accounting of transactions he undertook on Benjamin Franklin's behalf, claims that "the greatest value of these records will be found in the light they throw upon" Franklin's properties that reflected his "industry and frugality" and that provided "his economic security during the latter part of his life." The author ignored Deborah Franklin's and Sally Franklin Bache's contributions—their industry and frugality—to that economic security. He might be excused because Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography did likewise. Yet little has changed over the decades. On the 300th anniversary of his birth, historians churned out numerous biographies that gave a slight nod to his wife's economic contributions and no nod at all to his daughter's contributions. The assumptions historians have made about eighteenth-century women's economic roles relegate Deborah and Sally—both of whom were indeed well known in Philadelphia—to minor roles in public memory. However, a deep analysis of the Franklin women's correspondence reveals that both were engaged in economic networks of friends and family and were fully integrated into the urban marketplace. As Cathy Matson argues, early American women's lives were a "complicated mixture of vulnerability and successful participation in the economy." How both women used this vulnerability and converted it into economic success is the subject of this paper. It explores how altered life circumstances presented women with opportunities for more active participation in the world beyond the household; how women expanded on extra-household production, business, and market exchange to sustain their families; and how women's unpaid labor created more fluid gender boundaries as they participated in the larger Atlantic world. Ultimately, this paper is an attempt to push back some conceptual boundaries that see only limited economic opportunity for eighteenth-century women.

Nicolas Brucker (Université de Lorraine) « Je suis avide d'histoires ». Les métamorphoses du narrateur dans Les Contemporaines

Panel / *Session 230*, 'L'identité narrative chez Rétif de la Bretonne'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30.
G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sophie Lefay (Université d'Orléans)

Dans les Contemporaines, l'intérêt qu'on porte aux histoires comme à leurs nombreux et truculents personnages éclipse les figurations de la fonction narrative. Or le dispositif énonciatif, loin d'être insignifiant, est le foyer d'opérations de transformation et de démultiplication de l'identité rétive. Il s'agit ici de rendre compte d'une étude exhaustive des narrateurs et conteurs qui apparaissent au long du recueil, et des types de dispositifs narratifs mis en œuvre. On mettra à jour le paradoxe d'une identité, par définition singulière (sur le mode de l'ipse), qui se construit sur la base d'un pluriel des voix narratives. Ce pluriel du narratif est l'effet d'une contamination : la diversité des histoires contées rétroagit sur la voix narrative, la portant mimétiquement au même processus de dissémination. Le phénomène actualise une inversion habituelle chez Rétif entre fiction et non fiction : le cadre du récit est le véritable enjeu de la création littéraire, et le narrateur est proprement le seul vrai acteur du récit. « Je suis avide d'histoires », avoue le conteur de la 26^e nouvelle (Le Premier amour). Cette avidité s'expose dans toutes les nouvelles, mais selon des modalités différentes. Elle traduit un désir de connaître, et plus encore un désir d'être, car le moi rétief se nourrit des vies des autres, y compris quand ces « autres » sont des femmes. L'avidité de la fiction a à voir avec la conquête sexuelle et plus encore avec le fantasme de changer de sexe. La démultiplication de l'identité du narrateur signifie donc une extension de l'identité narrative. Ce sont ces métamorphoses du « je » rétief que nous invitons à découvrir.

Nicolas Brucker (Université de Lorraine) Découverte de l'autre et herméneutique de soi : les Lettres westphaliennes de Charles de Villers (1797)

Panel / *Session 76*, 'Herméneutique de l'individuel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.05, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Les Lettres westphaliennes sont, comme l'écrit René Pomeau (1966) une « réplique aux Lettres anglaises de Voltaire » : dans le même ton, celui qui est propre aux « lettres curieuses », et avec le même regard sur l'altérité culturelle, elles sanctionnent, à l'autre bout du siècle, le déplacement vers l'est de l'épicentre intellectuel de l'Europe. L'Allemagne septentrionale est désormais le lieu où s'exposent les progrès de l'esprit humain. Histoire, géographie, diplomatie, médecine, poésie, mode vestimentaire sont successivement abordés : la variété des sujets, traités avec la légèreté qui sied au genre de la lettre, compose un tableau qui vante la puissance créatrice du génie allemand. La philosophie bénéficie d'un examen minutieux qui permet une comparaison entre les cultures nationales : Descartes est ainsi opposé à Kant. Ce dernier, nouvel Hermann, est la figure emblématique de l'identité allemande : il anéantit la métaphysique des causes premières pour mettre en lumière le jeu des facultés. Mimétiquement, le scripteur refuse d'expliquer (de l'extérieur), pour mieux comprendre (de l'intérieur) les réalités culturelles rencontrées. Et il traduit la vitalité identitaire du pays qui l'accueille par un style très personnel, poétique et dialogique, qui se veut un fidèle écho de ses rencontres avec l'Allemand, qu'il soit poète ou philosophe, aventurier ou bourgeois, magicien ou savant, et dont l'identité se lit dans une histoire qui a commencé avec Arminius et se poursuit dans les villes d'eaux de Dribourg ou Pymont. Le rédacteur, Français émigré avide d'aventures, renonce au face à face des identités : la découverte de l'autre est pour lui indissociablement liée une expérience de soi.

Maud Brunet-Fontaine (Université d'Ottawa / Université Paris-Nanterre) Moi multiple, historicité et universalité chez Condillac et Diderot

Panel / *Session 300*, 'Identité personnelle et universalité 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alex Bellemare (Université d'Ottawa)

Chez Condillac comme chez Diderot, le corps et la mémoire jouent un rôle crucial dans leur compréhension de l'identité personnelle.

Dans le Traité des sensations de Condillac, on remarque que la construction du moi de la statue est dépendante des sensations – et donc du corps. Il s'y trace la vision d'un moi fragmenté : la statue est successivement odeur, bruit ou son, saveur, couleur. L'identité est saisie grâce à la sensation, mais aussi grâce à la mémoire et au changement. Alors que la statue n'est plus odeur de rose, elle se souvient avoir été odeur de rose et elle a alors conscience de son identité.

Chez Diderot, le moi est également multiple pour des raisons corporelles et matérielles, mais son identité relève non seulement de la mémoire personnelle, mais aussi de la mémoire d'autrui sur soi (Rêve de d'Alembert). L'identité reposerait donc entre autres sur des rapports à autrui.

Dans les deux cas, leur vision du moi et de l'identité met à mal la vision d'un sujet métaphysique pré-constitué et le place plutôt dans l'histoire et dans le monde empirique. Nous nous interrogerons sur les effets d'un tel glissement dans le rapport à l'universel : la vision d'un sujet historiquement constitué ébranle-t-elle la possibilité de l'universel ?

Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth) ... you know that your papa is absolute': The Drama of Frances Sheridan and the Limits of Authority and Agency

Panel / *Session* 280, 'Reforming Theatre'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

The plays of Irish dramatist and novelist Frances Sheridan deliberately confound generic categories. While Oliver Goldsmith famously derided so-called sentimental comedy as a lazy and formulaic form of writing, Sheridan's sentimental plays (*The Discovery* 1763, *the Dupe* 1764, and the unfinished *Trip to Bath*, 1765) inject seriousness into farcical situations not as a means of flattering easy and consensual morality but as a way of staging very difficult, perhaps insoluble, ethical dilemmas.

As a Johnsonian pessimist who retains a broadly Christian morality but denudes it of teleological expectation, Sheridan is particularly interested in the choreography of emotional blackmail and the limits of legitimate parental and familial authority. In so doing, she manages to effectively weaponise certain supposedly submissive domestic virtues. She does not stage direct challenges to patriarchy, but she is adept at demonstrating the contradictions of patriarchal governance – and at confronting abusive male authority figures with the self-defeating and perhaps self-negating aspects of their inefficient rule. It is possible to theorise these conflicts not merely within various feminist traditions but within certain subaltern/colonial studies as well.

This paper will treat Sheridan as one of the most fascinating literary moralists of the mid eighteenth century, a writer obsessed with the notion of agency and with the practical and theoretical limits of agency. The dramatic world she creates is one in which virtue never seems to be its own reward and the reconciliation of warring forces is always tempered by a sense of profound regret for time and life wasted.

Anna Brunton (University of Oxford) Poetry, Politics, and Porticos: 'Antiquities of Athens' and the Mapping of Political Identity onto Ancient Greece.

Panel / *Session* 77, 'History and the Architect: Shaping Identities through Publications and Design'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Hague (Rowan University)

This paper traces how the idea of 'ancient Greece' was a blank slate onto which values of both political and aesthetic identity were mapped. George Wheler, who explored Greece in the 1670's, saw Greece as 'a Country of the Mind', and this reflects how he mapped his own cultural identity on to physicality of the ancient ruins. Almost a century later, Robert Wood, in creating a geography of ancient literary sites mapped on to the contemporary Greek landscape, alludes what he terms 'poetical geography'.

This paper centres on Stuart and Revett's architectural book 'Antiquities of Athens' (1762). Using the ideas of the cultural critic and theorist Mieke Bal, who suggests that the act of looking is framed by previous intellectual experience, it places Stuart at the centre of a group of Whig writers and politicians who were subscribers to *Antiquities*, some of whom also commissioned buildings from Stuart. It examines some of their poetry and political writings, and suggests that the language they used about ancient Greece shaped their experience and expectations of the buildings found in *Antiquities*; conversely, Stuart's own paratext echoes this very same language. Thus the paper suggests that their interpretation of ancient Greece allowed a new identity to be shaped, linking both architectural taste and politics.

Bruce **Buchan** (Griffith University) and Annemarie McLaren (Griffith University) Trading Places: Alexander Berry's Navigation of Humanity as Physician, Merchant, Landowner, and Natural Historian (Co-presented with Bruce Buchan, Griffith University)

Panel / *Session* 285, 'The Humanity of Enlightenment: from Humankind to Human Kindness'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Ahnert (University of Edinburgh)

Scotland's Enlightenment and Britain's Empire were inseparably entwined, such that the former's 'invention' of humanity bore the indelible impression of the latter. Coursing through the intellectual accomplishments of the Scottish Enlightenment was a conviction not only in the idea of a universal humanity, but a supreme confidence in being able to render it knowable in the terms of universal history: a charting of humanity's progress from 'savagery' toward 'civilization'. Scholarship on the Scottish Enlightenment has tended to prevaricate on its relationship with empire and colonisation. We argue here however, that by tracing the career and writings of one among a much wider range of travellers educated in Edinburgh, the connections between Scotland's Enlightenment with colonisation can be usefully explored. Alexander Berry (1781-1873) was educated in medicine at the University of Edinburgh between 1798 and 1800 and then travelled to China, Australia, Fiji and Aotearoa/New Zealand, before eventually becoming a prosperous landowner at Shoalhaven on the South Coast of New South Wales. Throughout it all, Berry speculated on the 'humankindness' of diverse peoples he interacted with as physician, merchant, land owner and as a natural historian. His career exemplifies the entangled interests (commercial, colonial, and scientific) that characterised the global circulation of Enlightenment knowledge in the context of Britain's expanding Empire. From the intimacy of his encounters with non-European and Indigenous peoples, and the trans-imperial networks of trade and expertise in which he was engaged, his speculations on humanity bore the marks of both Enlightenment and Empire.

Jennifer **Buckley** (University of York) 'How it may please you, time must discover': Essay-Periodicals and the Rejection of Ephemerality

Panel / *Session* 65, 'Writing Time: Temporalities of the Periodical in the Eighteenth Century 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nora Ramtke (Ruhr University Bochum)

In *Reading and the Making of Time in the Eighteenth Century*, Christina Lupton reminds us how daily life is flooded with small texts that allow us to enter into, and move between, different conceptions of time. Considering the implications of this for the essay-periodical, this paper examines how periodicalists capitalised on routine publication schedules to engage with the quotidian, while also imagining how their texts might benefit future readers. Daniel Defoe began his *Review* in 1704 but swiftly turned to contemplate the future of his work, speculating about the alternative life it might enjoy when republished in bound volumes. Contrary to Defoe, Henry Fielding imagined the slow death of many papers as they succumbed to the 'Injuries of Time' shortly after publication, and Samuel Johnson pondered whether future audiences would view his writing to the advantage or detriment of his reputation. Daring to dream about its potential future lives, the essay-periodical was anything but ephemeral. While contemporary readers had to wait for each instalment to be published, they could also pursue essays in an intensive manner upon their reproduction as complete volumes or extraction of specific moments to create *Beauties* (such as those for the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Rambler*). By contrast, readers today typically encounter essay-periodicals in bound collections or digital repositories. Once it becomes possible to dip in and out of the essay-periodical, temporality is constructed in new ways: each essay lives far beyond its original moment, reconfiguring its relationship with time. As individual essays are printed with their original dateline it becomes possible, for example, to read accounts of 27 August before 4 June as each reader creates their own unique path through time. This paper contends that the very boundedness and sequential arrangement of periodical essays facilitates their entry into timelessness and, hence their rejection of ephemerality. The concertina effect whereby the pauses between installments can be removed or elongated according to readers' inclinations, I argue, allows different temporalities to touch one another in ways the author never imagined.

Clare **Bucknell** (All Souls, Oxford) Goldsmith's *Beauties*: *The Deserted Village* Anthologised

Panel / *Session 27*, 'The Poems of Thomas Gray, William Collins, Oliver Goldsmith'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marcus Walsh (Liverpool University)

In this paper I want to think about the role of anthologies in the popular reception of Goldsmith's most famous poem, *The Deserted Village* (1770). Taking my cue from a comment of Roger Lonsdale's about 'the hypnotically influential way in which the eighteenth century succeeded in anthologising itself', I'll consider both why *The Deserted Village* was taken up so enthusiastically as an anthology-piece and how the various ways in which it was selected, abridged and excerpted shaped its reputation. As Lonsdale outlines in his edition's headnote, contemporary reviewers admired the 'beautiful structure' of Goldsmith's verse and its sentimental vignettes, but disagreed expressly – or chose to pass over – his diagnosis of a luxury-driven rural depopulation crisis. This partial view, I argue, created the conditions for a late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century practice of anthologising select passages from the poem under 'Descriptive' or 'Pathetic' headings – in particular, the familiar characters of the village parson and schoolmaster, which William Enfield excerpted for *The Speaker* (1774) and were still cropping up in an almost identical form in both mid-Victorian anthologies and early twentieth-century collections (David Nichol Smith's *Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse* (1926), for example). In the last part of my paper, I'll discuss later twentieth-century scholarly revivals of interest – both sympathetic and sceptical – in Goldsmith's political argument, and consider how much of a counterweight these offer to the poem's popular history.

Adam Budd (University of Edinburgh) *The Trade in Controversy: Business and Ideas on Andrew Millar's Imprint, 1763*

Panel / *Session 448*, 'Booksellers and Authorship'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alessia Castagnino (Fondazione 1563 per l'Arte e la Cultura)

This paper examines the social and business strategies of a major bookseller, Andrew Millar, focussing on his cultivation of controversy among authors on his imprint. Much of Millar's intellectual and cultural legacy can be understood in terms of the controversial works that he commissioned; this paper will focus on one year, 1763, to show the degree to which he involved himself in promoting important literary disputes. In 1763, when Hume departed for Paris, Millar became more deeply involved in publications by Hume's polemical adversary William Warburton, he agreed to advertise John Wilkes's *_North Briton_*, and he engineered Thomas Hollis' support of the radical cleric Francis Blackburn. With reference to previously unpublished archival evidence, including personal correspondence, this paper will argue for the importance of business interests for promoting those controversies that shaped the course of Enlightenment literary culture in London in the wake of the Seven Years' War.

Gavin Budge (University of Hertfordshire) *Education and the Rousseauvian Notion of Personal Development in Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth*

Panel / *Session 7*, 'Child-Rearing, Education, and Enlightenment Identity: The Influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

In *Practical Education*, (1798), the Edgeworths set out an educational programme emphasising systematic grounding in physical experience, which, they argued, would improve the retentiveness of pupils' memories through establishing a clear relationship to their perceptions. They were thus following the model of education in Rousseau's *Emile*, which developed Locke's emphasis on the epistemological primacy of sense perception.

Practical Education has regular references to Erasmus Darwin's medico-psychological treatise *Zoonomia*. I would claim that the Edgeworths appropriate Darwin's basic conception of disease as consisting of a complex of psychosomatic associations, and redeploy this in the service of their educational theory. Here, they resemble the Romantic poets William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who make use of Erasmus Darwin's materialist conception of the psychological workings of association in their accounts of the operation of the poetic symbol.

An example of the way a Darwinian psychological conception underlies the Edgeworths' educational theory would be their dismissal of rote memorization as a way of teaching geography and history, in favour of identifying in the pupil's personal knowledge 'a nucleus round which other facts insensibly arrange themselves' (*Practical Education* 1798 p

417).. This emphasis on the necessity of a personal connection helps to explain why the Edgeworths are so committed to the Rousseavian ideal of a dedicated personal tutor as integral to true education, as it is only through a personal relationship that a tutor can hope to discover the associative kernel which will make an authentic kind of knowledge possible for each pupil.

Constantina Raveca **Buleu** (The Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca) Ralu Caragea: Princely Life and Theatre in the Years of the Romanian Enlightenment

Panel / *Session 24*, 'Secret Societies'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

A quite strange, but prominent figure of the early 19th century's public life in Romania, the Princess Ralu Caragea (1799 – 1870) was the beloved and spoiled daughter of the *hospodar* (*vodă*) Ioan Caragea, who reigned between 1812 and 1818. A voluntary figure, full of enlightened ideals related to an equalitarian society whose members are harmonized by generosity, love and art, Princess Ralu paradoxically joined the war for the independence of Greece as a simple soldier fuelled by Freemason ideas and enthusiasm. Playing the soldier was not, actually, Princess Ralu's first role, because back in 1816 she started an improvised stage inside the court in order to play Voltaire and Corneille by using an ad hoc decoration and dilettantes, even courtiers as actors. In 1818 she will establish the first formal theatre in Romania, at a place named *Çișmeaua Roșie* (At the Red Fountain), and inaugurated it with a Greek and shortened version of Rossini's *The Italian Girl in Algiers*. After *Vodă Caragea's* deflection, the direction of the theatre is taken by poet and boyar Iancu Văcărescu, Princess Ralu's former aid and advisor, who launched the playing in Romanian within the theatre, being himself a rather paradoxical figure, as he simultaneously belonged to the high aristocracy and to a secret, Freemason organization aiming to overthrow all the so-called blue blooders. The paper intends to build a vivid picture of the essential period of the early modernization in Romania, when apparently incongruent ideas crisscrossed each other randomly. It was a decadent epoch, marked by the extinctions of the traditional, archaic social and cultural habits and the emergence of a new Romanian public life. Last but not least, Princess Ralu's figure and endeavors were taken up by writers, forming a distinct chapter of the Romanian fictional literature, especially of the novels. The paper intends to analyze the multilayered, socio-political and literary complexity of the Princess Ralu phenomenon, by integrating its demonstration into the vivid human and epistemic background of the Enlightenment.

Thomas **Buoye** (University of Tulsa) Capital Crime and 'Confucian' Justice: Did Eighteenth-Century China Have a 'Bloody' Code?

Panel / *Session 9*, 'Crime, Justice, and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century China and England'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Bricker (University of Ghent)

Faced with a noticeable increase in violent crime during the eighteenth century, Qing rulers responded with a multifaceted strategy of deterrence that expanded the number of death penalty offenses, reformed the procedures for sentencing capital offenses, and curtailed statutory pardons. The eighteenth-century flood of legislation, a Chinese "bloody code," was a dramatic departure from established legal norms. For example, informed by the Confucian notion of filial piety, the practice of pardoning felons who were the only sons to care for their aged or infirm parents was progressively circumscribed over the course of the eighteenth century. Curtailing this form of clemency kindled ideological, administrative, and legal issues that were readily apparent in the debates over the subsequent revisions to the law. With nineteen additional statutes added to the Qing code, the revisions to this pardon was only one salient component of a much broader unprecedented "legislative turn" in Qing rule that peaked during the eighteenth century. Fraught with political and ideological pitfalls, the response to violent crime was protracted and contested. It ultimately threatened to overwhelm the criminal justice system in much the same way that the British bloody code collapsed when it threatened the foundations of British criminal justice. While the negative impact of the respective bloody codes on the administration of criminal justice was similar, the Chinese response to failure of the "bloody code," especially the use of summary executions, could not have been more divergent from the British institution of penitentiaries. Relying on an examination of evolving legislation, case records, and official legal discourse, this paper will elucidate the significance of the changes in the pardon at the nexus of eighteenth-century conflict between legal principles and praxis.

Michael Burden (New College, Oxford) Mr Froment – or M. Forment – or Mr Fremont?: A French Dancing Master at the Battle of Culloden

Panel / *Session* 331, 'Facts and Fictions: Biographical Imperatives in Researching the Eighteenth-Century Dancer – The Oxford Dance Symposium'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurel Zeiss (Baylor University)

The subject of this paper is a dancer called John Baptiste Froment, noted by A Biographical Dictionary of the London Stage 1660-1800 as flourishing in England between 1739 and 1777. A French dancer, choreographer, and dancing master, he made his London debut at Drury Lane dancing a haymaker in the 1739 show, *Harlequin Shipwrecked*. He appeared regularly at all the playhouses in both main pieces and entr'act dances, but then, quite suddenly, he disappeared to the Edinburgh stage. Froment's name appears in the sources also as 'Fremont' and 'Fru ment,' and like much in A Biographical Dictionary, the biography offered is sketchy, emphasising performances rather than life details. Using newly discovered material, this paper will begin by examining a report of his arrest at the London Opera House in 1746, and will trace his involvement in the political unrest in the 1740s where he fought at the battle of Culloden, his turning King' evidence, and his confession to have been a spy for the King of France.

William Burgess (Queen Mary University of London) The Character of a Virtuoso: Butterfly Collecting in the Eighteenth-Century Satiric Imagination

Panel / *Session* 100, 'Collecting and Curiosity in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Richard Coulton (Queen Mary University of London)

The early eighteenth century collector was an easy target for satire. In satirical poems, plays and periodicals his study (like his brain) appeared cluttered with fossils, shells, antiquities, and dried insects – objects useless not just for their uncivilised origins in quarries and swamps, but for their very miscellaneity. Written satires of this 'virtuoso' character represented disorder using a set of tropes and emblems, but none were as ubiquitous as the collecting of butterflies. Satirists from Mary Astell, through Joseph Addison and Edward Young to Samuel Johnson parodied their virtuoso characters going into raptures at the discovery of a new species, accepting butterflies as rent, and losing their lives to catch lepidoptera. Together their parodic collectors hint at a collective satirical imagination engaged with the butterfly as a textual emblem for the trifling, useless and hobby-horsical pursuits of collecting natural history. In my paper I will explore how collecting butterflies could support crucial symbolic value in ridiculing the virtuoso collector. I will examine representations of butterfly collecting in satirical plays and periodicals to suggest ways in which these undermined the intellectual, moral and economic legitimacy of natural history collecting, especially how the butterfly became a symbol for alienating the virtuoso from ideals of eighteenth-century politeness. By teasing out a single characteristic of the widely-lampooned virtuoso collector, I hope to shed new light on how eighteenth-century constructions of character were used to control the spread of scientific knowledge by carefully limiting its legitimacy in the public eye.

Arthur Burns (King's College London) George III as 'Essayist'

Panel / *Session* 189, 'The Monarch as Author 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : László Kontler (Central European University, Budapest)

One of the most intriguing components of the Georgian Papers housed at Windsor Castle are what are described in the online catalogue as 'the Essays of George III'. Some 8,000 pages of manuscript writings fall under this label, but on closer inspection they defy easy classification. The GPP team has now transcribed the bulk of these papers, and Jenny Buckley of the University of York has conducted a preliminary categorization. In this paper, I will explore how closer inspection of the papers problematizes some of the ways they have previously been used by historians, but also offers some fresh insights on the preparation for monarchy undertaken by one of the longest serving eighteenth-century monarchs, not simply as part of his early education, but as part of a programme of what might now be called continuing professional development. It is also a case study of the way in which new approaches to the Georgian archive can create new perspectives on the monarch at their heart.

Simon Burrows (Western Sydney University) Remapping the Illegal Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century France

Panel / *Session* 348, 'The Bibliometrics of Enlightenment'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Juliette Reboul (Radboud University)

Among many other novel findings, the FBTEE database of the trade of the celebrated Société typographique de Neuchâtel empowered a significant reappraisal of the French clandestine book market, allowing us for the first time to try to quantify the different market sectors (e.g. livres philosophiques, piracies etc.) while simultaneously showing that the measures taken by the French government in August 1777 and June 1783 had very significantly undermined commerce in illegal works. In the dozen years preceding the revolution it was clear that the French government was able to operate a highly effective clampdown. Building on these insights, the current paper will present some of the preliminary findings of the Australian Research Council-funded FBTEE follow-on project, 'Mapping Print, Charting Enlightenment' concerning the geography, demographics, nature and policing of the illegal trade in the final years before the revolution. These findings call for a fundamental reappraisal of the types of books which were sold; the effectiveness of policing; and our understanding of how books circulated.

Karissa Bushman (University of Alabama in Huntsville) Goya's Dwarfs as Figures of Satire and Entertainment

Panel / *Session* 405, 'Perceptions of Variability'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Chris Mounsey (University of Winchester)

Francisco de Goya's art did not always depict the upper classes in Spain. While many of his famous works were portraits of the royalty and nobility, Goya also highlighted the poor, sick, and abnormal in his artwork. One example of this are his several depictions of dwarfs. Human zoos had been present within Europe for centuries, and in Spain the practice of keeping humans of different races or those with different physical features had taken a strong hold among the royalty and nobles. This practice is most notable in the court paintings of Goya's predecessor Diego Velázquez. Goya copied several of Velázquez's depictions of dwarfs in an early print series. What remains interesting about these prints is that Goya chose to copy the dwarfs rather than some of Velázquez's more famous paintings. This choice seems odd considering the main goal of the prints was to make money by selling them to people interested in Velázquez's work. Goya also used dwarfs in his original artworks which highlighted the abnormality of their stature in comparison to other humans. His 1793 painting, *The Strolling Players*, depicts a dwarf acting with a *commedia dell'arte* troupe. Goya's painting emphasizes that the dwarf uses his physical stature to entertain the crowd. Later in his career, Goya drew *Contemptuous of the Insults* (1816-20), in which a man, most likely a self-portrait gives a rude hand gesture to two dwarfs dressed up in Napoleonic outfits. In this case, Goya uses the dwarfism to satirize the French forces that earlier occupied Spain. This paper seeks to examine Goya's depictions of dwarfs and how they relate to the history of dwarfism in Spain. In doing so I will explore the historical contexts of dwarfs used for entertainment purposes within Spain as a way to better understand his artwork.

Elena Butoescu (University of Craiova) New Chapters in the Evolution of Taste: How Eighteenth-Century English Salonnières Shaped the Culture of Sociability

Panel / *Session* 26, 'Taste, Criticism, and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

Theories of taste were born at the turn of the eighteenth century in Britain and soon gained prominence in intellectual circles. The taste mode ranged from objective debates on beauty to a subjective notion; from a vehicle for philosophy to evaluator and negotiator of culture; from an ideological expression to a social phenomenon; from a moral form of judgment to an aesthetic concept. These avatars and chapters of Taste developed in close connection with the construction of the notion of public opinion in modern Britain. The political public sphere challenged established conventions as well as notions of authority and hierarchy; it ignored class distinctions and opposed uniformity. In place of positions of power and authority, the newly formed public sphere advanced a society that functioned

according to its own principles of differentiation. Not only did the notion of taste become a popular and a universal concept, but it also influenced elites and the general public, though in uneven ways. This pattern was commonly noticed in the phenomenon of the English literary salons, the Bluestockings being the most influential. Literary talk by women writers was as important as the theories on taste advanced by Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume. This article looks into the fashionable literary coterie of eighteenth-century England, often presided by women writers, with the purpose of connecting literary promotion, which was effective in shaping contemporary literary taste, to the theories of taste that anticipated the aesthetic judgment in the nineteenth century. Besides, the new social milieu shaped a new discourse which, though ridiculed, facilitated what Hume called “the conversable world.” The article will explore the extent to which the discourse employed in such conversations transformed women’s literary taste into an accepted critical category and contributed to the formation of literary reputations.

Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski (UCL-SSEES / College of Europe, Natolin) Stanisław August Poniatowski: The Monarch as Persuader

Panel / *Session* 189, ‘The Monarch as Author 1’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.16, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : László Kontler (Central European University, Budapest)

Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732-1798), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (r. 1764-1795) was an accomplished writer in both Polish and French, who could also communicate in English, Italian, German, Latin and Russian. He excelled as a memoirist, although death in exile interrupted the completion of his *Mémoires* when they had reached the year 1778. He took great care to influence western European perceptions of Poland through a network of contacts in the press and opinion-forming correspondents. This proved particularly important in demonstrating the flagrant illegality of the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, and in assuring a warm welcome for the Constitution of 3 May 1791. However, given the Commonwealth’s republican form of government and political culture, the king’s principal efforts as an author were devoted to persuading the noble citizens of his own country to support his policies. Some of this activity – notably his eloquent parliamentary speeches, many of which were published – was necessarily open. However, mainly because of the Russian hegemony which characterized most of his reign, some of the monarch’s most strongly argued cases were penned by him as pamphlets or articles, which were then published anonymously. In some cases questions of authorship have yet to be resolved fully.

Victoria Buyanovskaya (Higher School of Economics, Moscow) Rethinking ‘Dominant’ Identities: Deciphering Space in ‘A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy’ by Laurence Sterne

Panel / *Session* 474, ‘Travels Abroad’. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

My paper aims to describe space in “A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy” by Laurence Sterne as a solid semiotic construct, within which new mechanisms of identification and interaction are elaborated.

I will consider one of the key images of the novel – the image of the plain or the desert – as the basis for this space construct. The “oases” – the places where Yorick meets somebody – emerge in this desert spontaneously and continually and make it paradoxically dense, so that it could be compared to its contrary, the city. Thus, it becomes the new legitimate travelogue space, whereas the traditional travelogue objects, the city and the landmarks, are deprived of their specifics or even ignored. As I will try to show, this implies that “major” identities (national, geographical, social) become called into question or “ruined” in favor of complex and unique, “single” identities.

The acquiring of the “new” identity and the identification of the Other are possible in Sterne’s world only through the face-to-face communication. That is why small dialogues substitute an action and each of them could be called the true and unique “event of being” (in Mikhail Bakhtin’s terms). Sterne does not abandon the traditional travelogue issue of national character and customs; yet, the image of the nation is (re)constructed on the basis of seemingly insignificant, “personal” things. Such “re-identification” is strongly connected with Yorick’s chief mission: to erase the boundaries, both physical and mental. The traveler constantly finds himself in the center of deep conflicts which turn out to be insignificant for this “face-to-face” communication: so, he forgets that Great Britain and France are at war at the moment. As I will demonstrate, such challenging of the “dominant” identity markers led not only to the complete

and radical rethinking of the genre itself, but also challenged the wider discourse (as defined by Foucault) of the British mid-eighteenth Century.

Keith Byerman (Indiana State University) 'An Ethiop Tells You': The Self-Fashioning of Phillis Wheatley

Panel / *Session* 347, 'Slavery and Identity 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hilde Neus (Anton de Kom University of Suriname)

Thomas Jefferson, in his Notes on the State of Virginia (1785) claimed that people of African descent were incapable of poetry; he used as his example Phillis Wheatley, whose 1772 collection had garnered considerable attention on both sides of the Atlantic. Jefferson asserted that her verse was imitative and demonstrated no poetic sensibility. Though his comments come after her death, she had heard versions of them before.

How she saw herself, as a black woman, as a poet, and as a Christian, is the focus of this presentation. We have not only *Poems on Various Subjects* (1772), with variants, but also a number of poems planned for a second book, correspondence, and the frontispiece of *Poems*, which also needs to be read as a significant text. In this material, we see her offer conventional views of religion, but doing so on occasion as a spiritual advisor to those who would be considered her superiors. She is also overtly concerned with the sales of her book, arranging for delivery of copies to sellers and tracking actual sales. She writes about and to prominent figures, such as George Washington and the famous evangelist George Whitefield. The image that Scipio Moorhead produces of her shows a professional artist at work.

While she has been a subject of some controversy for generations, examination of the full body of her work reveals a confident black artist fully engaged in her eighteenth century world.

Christophe Calame (Haute Ecole Pédagogique Lausanne) L'helvétisme : les Lumières suisses en crise d'identité ?

Panel / *Session* 458, 'Identités et frontières'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean-Charles Speeckaert (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

Les travaux de Zeev Sternhell et d'Anne-Marie Thiesse ont montré l'origine culturelle et le caractère récent du nationalisme. Ce faisant, on a perdu de vue la question de l'identité nationale, beaucoup plus profonde dans le temps, et répandue dans l'espace. Depuis leur arrachement politique du Saint-Empire romain germanique, au 14^e siècle, les Suisses ont le sentiment d'un destin particulier, soustractif. Confrontés à la civilisation de cour, à Versailles comme à la ville, les Suisses expriment leur « nostalgie » (mot formé par les médecins suisses à leur usage, selon Jean Starobinski) du pays et de sa petite échelle. Beat de Muralt et surtout Rousseau, dans leurs critiques de la France, ne manquent pas de mettre en avant le sentiment helvétique, et même leur « citoyenneté », comme forme de loyauté à leur petite patrie. L'« helvétisme » est un mouvement littéraire suisse qui cherche à formuler un projet respectueux de la nature et des mœurs, pour l'adaptation des Lumières à l'histoire et à l'esprit de la Suisse. Et ce projet sera repris, à l'époque du nationalisme, par les auteurs qui cherchent à donner au pays une littérature propre. On étudiera tout particulièrement la thèse de l'« helvétiste » Gonzague de Reynold (1880-1970) sur le Doyen Bridel (1757-1845), pionnier de l'« helvétisme » en Suisse romande.

Michael Cameron (Dalhousie University, Halifax) John Thelwall's Ethical Romance

Panel / *Session* 208, 'John Thelwall 2: Thelwallian Identities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Judith Thompson (Dalhousie University, Halifax)

In the ongoing recovery of the radical romantic John Thelwall, one of the greatest challenges remains the coexistence of multiple, seemingly contradictory identities and orientations: progressive and retrogressive, poetical and political, idealist and materialist, philosophical and sensationalist, antiquarian and activist. My paper, drawing from work in progress on the first full Thelwall biography, confronts this challenge by looking at Thelwall as a writer of romance. In particular, Thelwall's little-known first novel of 1792, *The Rock of Modrec, or the Legend of Sir Eltram*, subtitled "an

ethical romance,” epitomizes and magnifies his lifelong contradictions. A cross between chivalric quest romance and a lurid gothic novel, it resembles a modern video game or action movie, whose hero fights and fends off monstrous and metamorphic villains and temptresses, performing and suffering acts of extreme and random violence which conflict uneasily with the moral messages of social sympathy and enlightened kindness he learns and espouses. In this, the first novel of a man who would soon become England’s leading orator and champion of the working-class, there is little sign of politics, and some might dismiss *The Rock of Modrec* as merely a bizarre piece of indulgent juvenilia. On closer inspection, however, one sees here germs of the “politico-sentimental “ principles and techniques of Thelwall’s influential “seditious allegories” (William Godwin was one of its admiring readers). More to the point, this novel, composed at the same time as *The Peripatetic*, manifests the same political awakening, registering the volcanic impact of revolutionary experience upon enlightenment ideals. It therefore offers unique insight into the development of, and unresolved tensions within, not only Thelwall himself, but his romantic radical generation.

Erica Camisa Morale (University of Sourthen California) *The Poetry of G. R. Derzhavin: From Deism to Discovering the Self*

Panel / *Session* 34, ‘Being Human: Self, Soul, and Individualism’. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh)

In my paper, I propose a reading of some of G. R. Derzhavin’s poems that responds to existing scholarly readings of his religious poetry, like Joachim Klein’s “Derzhavin and Religion: The Ode ‘Disbelief Comforted’” and Pierre Hart’s “Derzhavin’s Ode ‘God’ and the Great Chain of Being.” They maintain, respectively, that “Disbelief Comforted” is anti-Voltairean and that “God” unsuccessfully attempts to reconcile faith and reason. I claim, on the contrary, that Derzhavin’s concept of the “I” derives from a curious encounter of Russian Orthodoxy with Voltairean deism. According to Orthodox spirituality, God is located in humans’ inner reality, whereas, according to Voltaire’s deism, God is an indefinable soul, which comprehends the whole universe and in which everything participates. The point of connection between these philosophies might be found in neo-Platonism, which conceives of God as a Unity comprehending everything and which was very familiar to the Fathers of the Orthodox Church. Derzhavin integrates both these perspectives, locating God in the universe around him and in the individual’s inner life. For him, humans can comprehend the whole universe, like a “soul able to feel, to hear,/ To know everything, to judge, and to conclude” (“The Immortality of the Soul”).

Derzhavin goes even further and, as an enlightened intellectual, places this soul in a concrete individual, making truth and freedom both the subject of knowing and an ethical behavioral parameter. So Derzhavin turns to Stoicism and Epicureanism, which, as Andrew Kahn has shown, were widespread in eighteenth-century Russia. By assimilating these ideas as well, Derzhavin overcomes neo-Platonic spiritualism and gives his lyric “I” a realistic character, as poems like “Country Life” and “To Eugene” show.

These few examples, I suggest, show how prolific and varied a movement the Russian Enlightenment was and how it was in constant dialogue with different national cultures and philosophical viewpoints.

Geneviève Cammagre (University of Toulouse-Jean-Jaures) *Diderot, une morale des conditions ?*

Panel / *Session* 360, ‘Diderot et la Morale 2’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gerhardt Stenger (University of Nantes)

Le troisième des Entretiens sur Le Fils naturel propose de fonder la dramaturgie et la morale de « la tragédie domestique et bourgeoise » non sur les caractères mais sur les conditions, leurs « devoirs », « leurs avantages, leurs inconvénients, leurs dangers » aux prises avec les circonstances de la vie. Après le relatif échec de son théâtre, dans quelle mesure Diderot a-t-il maintenu, adapté, voire remis en question, dans sa réflexion morale, les catégories de la condition sociale et des relations familiales ? On se proposera d’examiner la question au travers d’exemples tirés de ses récits (contes, dialogues) et de sa correspondance.

Sonia Campaner Miguel Ferrari (Pontificia Universidade Católica de São Paulo) *Chica da Silva: Slave and Queen in Colony Brazil?*

Panel / *Session* 347, 'Slavery and Identity 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hilde Neus (Anton de Kom University of Suriname)

Chica da Silva: slave and queen in Brazil colony

We intend to discuss the notion of Identity in the colony through a case study: Chica da Silva(1732-1796). She was a slave, later freed, who lived in Arraial do Tijuco (Brazil) during the second half of the 18th century. Many stories were created about Chica da Silva: "Witch, seductress, heroine, queen, or slave: who, after all, was Chica da Silva?" To answer this question we refer to the various books and researches published about Chica da Silva so that we can use her as a medium through which we can trace the relationships between individual history, the historical context and the context of Enlightenment thought in Portugal. Portugal, as a Catholic country, seeks to follow the tide of modern thought, but this condition imposes clear limitations. In Catholic countries, individual autonomy is limited by man's existential condition: he is under the dependence of a supreme being who commands the laws of nature and of the human condition itself, and whose representative on earth is the king. But how does this thought develop in the colony? What are its characteristics? We intend here to at least indicate ways to answer this question. The relationship between individual history, historical context, and philosophical basis will allow us to shed new light on the life of women of her period. J. F. Furtado affirms that "The myth of Chica da Silva has been used to support the thesis that, in Brazil, the bonds of affection between free whites and colored women(..) somehow mitigated the exploitation inherent in the slave system. However, we must not forget that, despite the economic benefit it brought to many of these women, this practice disguised a dual exploitation – both sexual and racial – as these women were never elevated to the condition of spouse." Chica da Silva and other former slave women embraced the values of the white elite with a view to finding a place in that society for themselves and their descendants. Chica herself had several slaves.

Valérie Capdeville (Université Paris 13) On the Newness of British Sociability in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 341, 'Newness in the Eighteenth Century: Launching the BSECS/Boydell and Brewer 'Studies in the Eighteenth Century' Book Series'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

After the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, new social practices and sociable spaces emerged in redefined political, economic and cultural environments: new habits of consumption for example, new tastes for exotic drinks and modern fashions and an unprecedented thirst for the news progressively transformed the manners, values and social interactions of the British. By challenging the hegemonic model of French sociability through processes of imitation, rejection and hybridization, British society succeeded in developing a distinctive model of urban sociability. On presenting this collection which aims to provide innovative readings of some various facets of British sociability by investigating its evolutions and dynamics, with its inherent tensions and paradoxes, I will highlight the newness, originality and modernity of British sociability in the long eighteenth century.

Veronika Čapská (Charles University, Prague) The Gift of a Letter: Letter Writing and Gift Exchange in Central Europe in the Long Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 83, 'Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 2'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Teodora Shek Brnardić (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb)

Ever since the publication of "The Essay on the Gift" by Marcel Mauss humanities scholars have been well aware that material exchange makes social ties visible for us. The same can be said about the exchange of letters. Thus, in my paper, I will approach correspondence as not only textual but more broadly material and cultural exchange. I will look at collections of Central European correspondence, such as for example the letters between Anna Katharina Swéerts-Sporck and nuns of the Sonnenburg abbey (which I recently edited), letters between Nicolaus Adaut Voigt and Gelasius Dobner or extensive correspondence of Josef Dobrovský, and I will examine various epistolary practices and gifting patterns they convey.

In line with the growing interest in current humanities to explore jointly historical actors and material objects (diffuse agency), I will explore what epistolary sources can tell us about formation of individual or collective identities, as well as about social lives of things in the long eighteenth century. At the same time, I will draw attention to complexities of gifting practices that are not limited to gifts as objects but encompass patronage, hospitality, advice, credit or various forms of service. These phenomena are often not recognized as gifting practices by scholars who prepare critical editions of historical records. My paper thus aims to increase interdisciplinary awareness and to point out that cultural anthropology of gift exchange is highly relevant for research in epistolography.

Brycchan Carey (Northumbria University) A Caribbean Clerical Naturalist: Griffith Hughes and *The Natural History of Barbados*

Panel / Session 296, 'Eighteenth-Century Natural Histories and the Environmental Humanities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tess Somervell (University of Leeds)

One of the paradoxes of the growth of biology as a discipline is that much of the groundwork for current theories of evolution and ecology was laid by clergymen enumerating the wonders of creation the better to understand the creator. Scholars have long recognised the role played by so-called 'parson naturalists', from John Ray to Gilbert White to William Paley, but the few studies of their work tend to represent them predominantly as rural, English, and Anglican. In fact, there were clerical naturalists of many nations and many denominations. This paper briefly examines one, Griffith Hughes, the Welsh preacher and colonial vicar who in 1750 produced an extensive, if eccentric, *Natural History of Barbados*. While Hughes's method was quickly revealed as amateurish, his lavishly illustrated book rapidly became a bestseller, introducing a generation of naturalists to the wildlife of Britain's oldest Caribbean colony. Using Hughes as an example, this paper argues that British clerical naturalists were as deeply implicated in the development of colonial ideology as they were in growth of creation theology and natural history. Closely reading Hughes's compendious and eclectic introduction, the paper concludes that we must understand colonial natural history as neither exotic or extraneous, but rather as an integral part both of the development of British natural history and of British colonialism.

Susan Carlile (California State University, Long Beach) Charlotte Lennox: Speaking Truth to Power

Panel / Session 222, 'Women Writers and Identities of Reform (Western Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies)'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Regulus Allen (Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo)

Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752) has long been enjoyed as a satirical novel. Yet, Lennox's entire oeuvre contains a myriad of sardonic, sarcastic, humorous, mocking, ironic, tongue-in-cheek writing. Lennox was responding to the anti-feminist satire that was regularly on offer by authors like John Dryden, Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, Joseph Addison, Henry Fielding, and Samuel Johnson who employed satire to protect civilization from corruption by attacking hypocrisy, arrogance, greed, vanity. This often violent form of writing was frequently directed at women, as Felicity Nussbaum in *The Brink of All We Hate* (1984) has expertly demonstrated by exposing the antifeminist satiric tradition and elucidating the "deeply disturbing elements [that] create[d] a poetic fiction of [male] power and authority" (3). Lennox, whose father was a Scot, may have been influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, which Karen O'Brien argues created a vocabulary in which women were social agents. Although some have described Lennox as capitulating to the male-dominated print marketplace, in fact she employs various versions of satire throughout her 43-year career (from 1747 to 1790) to take back some of that power for women. I will expand on Ashley Marshall's 2013 work in *The Practice of Satire*, which challenges "the standard cliché about the dearth, let alone the death, of satire in the third quarter of the eighteenth-century" (240). Lennox's prolific career certainly proves otherwise. Marshall focuses on *The Female Quixote*, but this essay will analyze other satirical enterprises by Lennox and will specifically discuss a number of her verse satires in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1747), her "Trifler" installments in her magazine *the Lady's Museum* (1760-1), and her comedy *The Sister* (1769). These mid-century works employ a range of satirical modes, including parody, mocking deflation of conventions, and distributive justice satire rather than direct attack, which would have been immediately dismissed. Lennox savily critiques and interrogates systemic sexism and in some cases does so to suggest reform.

Eric Carlsson (University of Wisconsin-Madison) *Pietists and Enlighteners at Halle: On a Protestant Trajectory*

Panel / *Session* 403, 'Lutheran Communities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Philipp Reisner (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)

Writing in 1794 in a *Berlinische Monatsschrift* issue commemorating the centenary of the founding of the University of Halle, the Prussian Oberkonsistorialrat W. A. Teller told a story about the progress of theological Enlightenment at the institution. The narrative starred three principal actors—A. H. Francke, S. J. Baumgarten, and J. S. Semler—and sketched out the contours of what became a standard account of the relationship between Pietism and *Aufklärung*. Teller lauded Francke for his biblicism, irenicism, critique of Orthodoxy, and practical bent. Baumgarten had raised scholarly standards by introducing text criticism and history, preparing the way for Semler to distinguish between theology and religion and pursue a wholly free stance towards the dogmatic tradition. No doubt Teller, who had recently argued for a “pure philosophy of Christianity” that dispensed with dogma and focused on heartfelt piety and social activism, saw the trajectory culminating in his own work.

This paper considers the Tellerian account from the angle of religious identity. Noting that Francke strongly opposed Halle's early *Aufklärer*, that Semler (who grew up in Pietism) spent his early career trying to overcome the legacy of Pietist “enthusiasm,” and that Baumgarten sought to mediate between these worlds, I ask what weight should be given in our narratives to the actors' self-conceptions. Focusing on their divergent understandings of what it meant to be “enlightened,” I will suggest that while Teller's story reflected a demonstrable shift in cultural hegemony over the course of the eighteenth century both at Halle and among Prussia's elite more broadly, it oversimplified diverse notions of *Aufklärung* and offered a too- neat story that was later easily put to polemical use by both liberal and neo-orthodox theologians. Appreciating how religious thinkers conceived of themselves and their projects relative to *Aufklärung* also underscores the deeply theological roots of the concept.

Diego Carnevale (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II) *Fake Identities and Border Controls in the Eighteenth-Century Kingdom of Naples*

Panel / *Session* 136, 'Impostors and Fake Identities in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Maria Rao (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II)

During the 18th century, procedures to control people mobility were strengthened throughout Europe. The main purposes were to limit smuggling and wandering, as well as to contain the spreading of epidemic diseases. But these controls were established also to respond to the new demand of demographic knowledge by absolutist governments. New procedures for investigation and verification of mobile people joined or replaced the previous ones, determining, according to the contexts, the continuation or transformation of the techniques of circumvention of controls by those who did not want to be recognized – or found. Among the Italian states, the Kingdom of Naples was the first to adopt more complex systems of mobility control, in the early 18th century. Focusing on the interaction between administrative procedures and control avoidance practices, the paper intends to show a first classification of the different types of techniques adopted by various social actors to move illegally. Furthermore, it aims to identify which subjects mostly resorted to these techniques.

Olivia Carpenter (Harvard University) *'Rendered Remarkable': Race, Color, and Character in The Woman of Colour*

Panel / *Session* 295, 'Eighteenth-Century Constructions of Race'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Schoene (Cornell University)

Taken from a larger project on characters of African descent in novels of the long eighteenth century, my paper questions the relationship between Enlightenment identities and the construction of fictional blackness within the novel form. Examining the anonymously-authored novel *The Woman of Colour* (1808), my essay argues that this text

challenges perceived notions from the period about racial identities and bodies of color, the central problematic of the novel's title. Though the title character has a name, Olivia, the novel's title points to questions of color to define Olivia's story. Olivia's name, other characteristics, and larger identity are obscured by the darkness of her status as "of color", which hangs over the rest of her narrative. As Roxann Wheeler's research in *The Complexion of Race* points out, "skin color emerges as the most important component of racial identity in Britain during the third quarter of the eighteenth century." However, Olivia's multi-ethnic background makes her racial body and its blend of colors somewhat illegible to other characters. Instead, I argue, Olivia's black racial heritage becomes visible via its interaction with another category of Enlightenment identity: her gender. My essay traces how themes of gender, sexuality, courtship, and marriage are rendered particularly "black" in Olivia's story. Hers turns out to be one of several eighteenth-century narratives deeply concerned with black characters' ability to overturn, refigure, or otherwise disrupt normative iterations of the sex/gender system as determined by white European culture. Olivia's blackness thus becomes so much more than an innate quality hidden within an ambiguous body; its primary function in the texts works outside of and beyond the character of Olivia to rearrange networks of homosocial desire and to trouble the very foundations of Enlightenment identities as they carry over into the early nineteenth century.

Rosalind Carr (Queen Mary, University of London) Enlightenment, White Fragility, and Conflict in Warrane/Sydney, 1788–1800

Panel / *Session* 165, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 3: Performing Whiteness in Colonial Spaces: A Transoceanic Analysis'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Onni Gust (University of Nottingham)

Motivated by an Enlightenment faith in progress, the first British colonisers of Warrane invaded New South Wales convinced that their presence was friendly. When their attempts to 'civilise' the Eora people were resisted, however, the British responded with violence – using the gun to force sociability and European civilisation on the Eora people.

Understanding why and how the ruling officer class in Warrane (named Sydney) deployed violence is important today when some historians seek to argue for a benevolent British empire. Contributing to this debate, this paper will show that Enlightenment values, including humanitarianism, did not negate violence. Instead, they changed how colonial violence was understood and justified by colonisers. To explore this, I will apply the 21st-century concept of White fragility to assess colonists' emotional responses to conflict with Eora people, especially attacks by the Eora on the Sydney colony. I will argue that the inability to recognise that their notions of progress were not universal and to understand why their presence was resisted is key to understanding how White fragility led to frustration which in turn led men of feeling to enact extreme colonial violence.

On the late eighteenth-century colonial 'frontier', White fragility was manifested in these officers' continuing belief that they were friends with the Eora rather than invaders of sovereign land. Focussing on frustration, this paper will emphasise the importance of men's performance of civility in comprehending the impact of Enlightenment epistemology on colonial rule at the end of the eighteenth century and, more broadly, to understanding Whiteness and power in colonial history.

Gerard Carruthers (University of Glasgow) New Light on Robert Burns: The Poet, Regional Enlightenment, and Presbyterian Politics

Panel / *Session* 149, 'Robert Burns and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Prescott (University of Glasgow)

This paper examines the way in which Burns's first book, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786) emerges crucially via a battle between Moderate and Conservative Presbyterians in Enlightenment Ayrshire. The subscription list for this publication, its contents and the long-lasting enmity it engenders in some quarters has at their roots an intra-confessional ideological struggle, most especially over ideas of heresy. The events before and after the publication of Burns's tome involve the circulation of scurrilous manuscripts, pamphlet-wars and action in ecclesiastical and civil courts. Burns's book itself represents a defiant, triumphalist note on behalf of the Moderates. This little understood context casts new light on both Robert Burns and the cultural state of late eighteenth-century Scotland.

Anton **Caruana Galizia** (Newcastle University) Innovation and Enlightenment Identities in Eighteenth-Century Sicily: The Baron De Piro and Sugar Production at Avola

Panel / *Session 435*, 'Merchants and Merchandise'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. M1, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

Can all eighteenth-century innovation be identified with the Enlightenment? Innovation, in its various manifestations, is commonly understood as a sure marker of any insurgent intellectual culture that seeks to replace an older one. This is true to such an extent that the history of any such intellectual movement is able to identify its protagonists according to the innovations they brought to the world. The Enlightenment continues to be identified by its key innovators: Newton, Lavoisier, Herschel – the list is extensive. In 1733 the Baron de Piro claimed to his Austrian overlords in Sicily that he had successfully introduced innovations in sugar production at his stato in Avola. A minor nobleman from the much smaller neighbouring island of Malta, de Piro would make a highly unlikely addition to the list of celebrated Enlightenment figures. In the Sicilian context historians are more likely to refer to the reforming zeal of Domenico Caracciolo in the second half of the eighteenth century, a figure whose encounters with leading intellectuals in Paris and London informed his policies as Viceroy of Sicily in the 1780s. De Piro's enterprise at Avola was, however, part of the last attempt to revive the sugar industry in Sicily, and did initially deliver some success. This paper will offer an analysis of the Baron de Piro's involvement in sugar production and locate his attempts at innovation in their specific historical context. Drawing on recent perspectives that have modified historical evaluations of eighteenth-century Sicily, and on archival sources in Sicily and Malta, it will describe the local and global factors that affected the enterprise. In conclusion, it will offer an argument that, although the Baron de Piro himself cannot be identified as a figure of the Enlightenment, his ambitions for himself and for his household meant that he was nonetheless receptive to innovation.

Flávio **Carvalho** (Federal University of Campina Grande) Gender Trouble and Kant's Philosophy: Autonomy, Emancipation, and Education for Diversity

Panel / *Session 73*, 'Enlightenment and Education'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.04, 50 George Square.
Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

Brazil is one of the countries where crimes against the LGBTQI Community are most committed. There are many social causes for this immense violence, such as religious fundamentalism and ethnic discrimination. Faced with this current situation, this article intends to discuss ethical and political comprehensions which promote respect and dignity to all citizens. We defend a hypothesis that from Immanuel Kant's thoughts it's possible to construct a discourse of respect and inclusion by considering the diversity of gender. Our theoretical support is based on "Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals", "An answer to the question: What is Enlightenment?" and "On Pedagogy". We will also argue with Paul Guyer, Michel Foucault and Judith Butler. Our hypothesis has three movements: i) In the first movement, it's a question of approaching the epistemic territory of gender issues and affirming that the sexual element (biological aspect) isn't fundamental to "gender identity". ii) In this movement we search in the Kantian writings a kind of defense of freedom and autonomy of the subject, whose basis is in reason, but when it concerns some moral and ethical construction, so we cannot dispense the social and historical influences. iii) The third one intends to deal with the project of the emancipation of the subject advocated by Kant, by analyzing what people are in their own historical moment, by making an ontology of the present (see Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?"). It's a kind of self-fulfilling project of the subject, which is linked to the experience of to take care and to be oneself in spite of hegemonic patterns, by passing also through recognition – non-recognition and self-recognition (see Judith Butler, "Giving an account of Oneself"). As a corollary we finally defend the project of education for emancipation as an exercise of autonomy and adulthood (see Kant, "On Pedagogy").

Dylan **Carver** (University of Cambridge) Sacred Privacy? Inside Robert Adam's Lost Gothic Chapel

Panel / *Session 77*, 'History and the Architect: Shaping Identities through Publications and Design'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Hague (Rowan University)

Among historians of the Gothic Revival, the 4th Duke of Northumberland's decision to remodel his ancestral seat, Alnwick Castle (1852–65), has long seemed to concentrate within it the judgement of his wider social milieu against the gothicism of the eighteenth century. More specifically, the duke's scheme signalled his contempt for a style of 'rococo' Gothic architecture, which first had emerged in the 1750s, but which had been pushed to new extremes at Alnwick by Robert Adam, when he had installed his suite of neo-Gothic interiors (1769–86). In this damning response to Adam's work, historians have identified one part of a complex shift, whereby, beginning at the turn of the nineteenth century, English connoisseurs increasingly invested Gothic architecture with a civic, or representative function. However, this transformation was only possible, they argue, because critics like the Duke of Northumberland forcefully purged the Gothic of its lingering associations with rococo whimsy.

In my paper, I will suggest that Adam's work does not easily fit into this account of the transition from eighteenth- to nineteenth-century gothicism. There are features of his design that invite us, instead, to begin modifying the received narrative. To this end, I will focus on the reception history of the chapel at Alnwick. This was the most magnificent of the state rooms in the castle, but also the most controversial: tourists who visited the chapel in the 1790s and 1800s were often disturbed. What I aim to show, by discussing a selection of these visitors' diaries, is how tricky people found it to decide if Adam's rococo Gothic architecture was indeed a public style. Did it pull the Gothic into the privatized sphere of domestic luxury, or did it, rather, make an alternative kind of public space visible? In turn, these questions indicate some of the ways in which moral and aesthetic categories entered into, shaped, and were contested at the level of tourists' personal experiences.

Alessandra Casati (Università degli Studi di Bari 'Aldo Moro') From Baroque to Enlightenment: Sebastiano Ricci, Gianbattista Tiepolo and the Lombard identities (Milan 1991)

Panel / *Session* 351, 'The Italian Eighteenth Century: Exhibitions between Complexities and Identities (1911–1998)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Massimiliano Caldera (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Piemonte (Italy))

The XVIII c. represented for Lombardy an era of great social and political changes, continuous economic downturns, philosophical debates and finally great results in the field of architecture and the figurative arts. Starting from the first two decades of the century, when a new trend was developed compared to the XVII c. tradition, churches, public and private buildings were renewed in the centres of the former Duchy of Milan, involving also 'foreign' masters such as Sebastiano Ricci and Giambattista Tiepolo. Despite the traditional studies, dated back to the pioneering ones of W. Arslan, there are no exhibitions aimed to show to a wide audience the multifaceted nature of the XVIII c. in Milan and, generally, in Lombardy until 1991. For example, in 1930 at the "Exhibition of Italian Art 1200-1900" in London at the Royal Academy only three Fra Galgario's portraits were exhibited and even at the Venice exhibition in 1929 the Lombard presence was limited to a few paintings. Portraits and genre paintings, with their documentary traits, appeared at international exhibitions such as that of "Italian Art from Cimabue to Tiepolo" at the Petit Palais in Paris in 1935, where there was the famous Ceruti's Lavandaia. Only in 1991, thanks to R. Bossaglia and V. Terraroli, a great exhibition on the XVIII c. - "Il Settecento lombardo" - with its 'encyclopedic' pattern, based on the examples of the Thirties, took place. It was divided into sections of painting, sculpture, architecture, scenography, applied arts and supplied a first panorama of neoclassical artistic production (between Arcadia and Enlightenment). The proposal aims to frame the Milanese exhibition in 1991 in a long process of recognition of the artistic identity of Lombard XVIII c., highlighting the contact points with the figurative culture of the previous century and the subsequent developments.

Alessia Castagnino (Fondazione 1563 per l'Arte e la Cultura) The Role of Translations in the Shaping of National Scientific Cultures during the Enlightenment: The Case of the Italian Peninsula

Panel / *Session* 110, 'Language and Community'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniela Haarmann (University of Vienna)

In recent years, historians have gradually started to take a close interest in translations as result of various processes of cultural and intellectual "negotiation" and, at the same time, as sources to deeply understand historical phenomena and investigate the ways in which ideas and texts were disseminated and re-elaborated in new contexts.

The eighteenth century has proven to be an ideal research field to analyse these dynamics: during that period, in fact, translations became an extraordinary vehicle for the dissemination, and reception of a large number of texts and ideas, distinguishing themselves as a tool for the formation of new scientific, political, economic, philosophical and historiographical languages. Important developments have recently taken place also in History of Science. Scholars have begun to reflect on the rise of modern national scientific cultures trying to identify the interconnections and the modalities of exchange of knowledge across national boundaries and claiming the importance of transnational and interdisciplinary perspectives.

My paper aims at discussing some of these questions, focusing the attention on the role played by translations in the shaping of the Italian scientific culture during the eighteenth century. Trying to combine different methodological and theoretical approaches (Cultural History of Translations, History of Science and Book History), I will examine some of the most representative translations of scientific works published in the Italian peninsula. A particular attention will be paid to the strategies of paratextual interventions (e.g. insertion of introductions and footnotes) adopted by translators and publishers in order to carve out a place in which they could analyse, compare and discuss different theories and practices, thus contributing to the progress of scientific knowledge.

James **Caudle** (University of Glasgow) The Clubs of James Boswell and Robert Burns in Late-Georgian Britain: Is There an “Enlightenment” in This Club?

Panel / *Session* 313, ‘Scottish Clubs and Societies at the Margins of Enlightenment’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosalind Carr (Queen Mary, University of London)

A listing of the clubs to which James Boswell and Robert Burns belonged shows some overlap with some of the alleged goals of the enlightenment, some overlap with the alleged goals of the counter-enlightenment, and much more evidence of clubs which were chiefly or merely ludic. More Dionysus than Apollo, more wine and song than studious improvement. It is said that when the astronomer Laplace was asked by Napoleon about the place of God in his scientific calculations, he replied, “Je n’avais pas besoin de cette hypothèse-là”: “I have had no need for that hypothesis”. Does one even need a hypothesis of the ‘Enlightenment’, whether big-E or small-E, singular or plural, to analyze the clubs of Scotland in the age of Burns and Boswell? Or does such a superimposition of concretized modern theories of The Enlightenment onto the analysis of the clubs and memberships in 1750-1800 tell us more about our own preoccupations than those of the men of that era?

Penelope **Cave** (Wolfson College, Oxford) Women on the Title-Page: Celebrity Endorsement of Musical Scores

Panel / *Session* 53, ‘Music, Reputation, and Commerciality in Eighteenth-Century London – The Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

Celebrity endorsement is no new phenomenon. Performers’ names and their association with an aria, duet, or instrumental piece, alongside the prestigious venues where they received audience approval, were not uncommon as a marketing ploy in the late eighteenth-century. This paper will highlight a few female performers, and the works associated with them, as case-studies to explore their contributions to the work: the comedic actress, Dora Jordan and ‘the Blue Bell of Scotland’; Angelica Catalani, whose melodic embellishments were recorded for posterity, and who, along with Gertrud Mara, Elizabeth Billington, and Joséphine Fodor, jostled to appropriate a Paisiello aria to themselves; and lastly, the singer and instrumentalist, Sophia Corri/Dussek, whose name was summoned as celebrity performer, female composer and arranger. Her artistic success in varied roles is evidenced in a number of varied title-pages, and her independence overcoming her husband’s desertion, and father’s bankruptcy.

Scores, reviews, and letters are a valuable means of recording the content and effect of a performance at this time. In examining some of the works that were personalised by female musicians of considerable ‘quality and distinction’, it is possible to gain a lesson in their interpretational use of ornamentation. The reception history elucidates their popularity, and confirms the wisdom of using their names to market musical scores. In exploring what lies after (as well as behind) the title-pages enhanced by these women, not only is their artistry exhibited, but also their acute professionalism in the music business.

Susanna **Caviglia** (Duke University) Jean-Baptiste Greuze's Genre Paintings and the Construction of Italian Identities

Panel / *Session* 437, 'Painting Modern Life'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Deniz Eyüce Şansal (Bahçeşehir University)

The publication of the abbé de Saint-Non's *Voyage pittoresque* (1781-1786) officially marked the origin of French studies concerning Italian people's mores and customs. However, artists were already familiar with these kinds of perfunctory sociological studies through the popular 'recueils' of customs which proliferated after the publication of the 'Recueil de la diversité des habits' by François Deserps (1562). During his stay in Italy between 1756 and 1757, the French artist Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) executed a series of paintings whose figures are portrayed with typical Italian gestures (physiognomies, attitudes, bodily expressions). These paintings have generally been considered by scholars to be the result of Greuze's passing interest in traditional Italian culture filtered through a moralizing narrative which characterized his early work. Greuze, however, created a series of conventional types that corresponded to the idea of a particular culture, integrated into a pictorial ethnographic narrative. This paper will demonstrate how these paintings are the result of a deep moral reflection on the contemporary status of Italy generally as a social, moral and aesthetic phenomenon. As such, they constituted yet one more element in the long-standing patriotic debate underway in France, whose aim was to affirm the nation's political and cultural superiority over the rest of Europe.

Özlem **Çaykent** (Istanbul 29 Mayıs University) Cross-Cultural Description of Time: Islamic Histories and Eighteenth-Century European World History

Panel / *Session* 466, 'Orientalisation'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tina Janssen (University of Warwick)

Towards the late eighteenth century, a great number of works have contributed to the production of colonial knowledge. A number of exiting researches have shown the relevance of the east as a literary and historical object in Europe in these works. It is also known that from the sixteenth century onwards an intellectual curiosity started a niche of scholarship that specialised in Oriental/Eastern cultures and histories. The reasons behind these efforts are stated as attempts to define, categorize, conquer the "other". A part of these efforts were translations of a number of Islamic histories and literary texts into European languages. This engagement of textual cultures created a highly thought-provoking era where scholars stirred an intellectual world of common influences, imagery and sources.

This paper will link these interconnected mind-worlds through looking at descriptions of time and temporality in some of these translated historical and literary texts together with the histories dealing with the wider world in 18th century Europe which made use of these translations. The focus will be on some widely circulating texts such as in the histories of Muhammed bin Cerîr Taberî (839-923), A'il Abu'l-Fida (1273-1331) or the romances like *Eskandarnâmas* (Alexander Romances). Remarkably these Islamic texts were conveyed through the erudite historians of the 17th century, like Edward Pococke (1604-1691), Simon Ockley (1678-1720), Adrian Reland (1676-1718) and Johann Jakob Reiske (1716-1774) to the popularly read authors of the Enlightenment, like Voltaire and Edward Gibbon. The result was a connected time scale and cross chronological links between two intellectual regions forming a chronology of "world civilizations" or in other words a narrative that constitutes a chronology of cultures.

Miriam **Cera** (Universidad Autónoma, Madrid) History of Architecture and the Emergence of Spanish National Identity

Panel / *Session* 144, 'Peripheral Identities in the Hispanic World 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Enid Valle (Kalamazoo College)

The Enlightenment was responsible for the emergence of Spanish national identity. As several scholars have shown, culture played an essential role in this process. Throughout the eighteenth century, Spanish intellectuals supported by academic institutions and, as a last resort, by the monarchy, reconsidered the country's past and conducted several

projects, with unequal success, in order to study it and make it known. Initiatives of this kind were motivated, to a large extent, by foreign critiques to the situation in the country, but also, by a feeling of decline among Spaniards. In this context, architecture, considered the expression in stone of the country's image, played an essential role, and so did the firsts "histories" of Spanish architecture. All these texts show a deep controversy on what should be called "Spanish". This paper seeks to analyze the role of history of architecture in the construction of Spanish national identity by focusing on the first history of Spanish architecture, the *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su Restauración* by Llaguno and Ceán Bermúdez. Its protracted writing process (1768-1829), and the singularity of its double authorship, render this work a direct witness to the evolution of thought in Spain during six decades that were crucial in forming the idea of the nation. It shows significant contradictions regarding Hispano-Arab culture or the origin of several styles, such as Gothic, but also, concerning the geographic area of Spanish architecture

Ivo Cerman (University of South Bohemia) Catholic Criticism of Natural Law

Panel / *Session* 68, 'Catholicism and the Enlightenment'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh)

The secular natural law, as founded by Samuel Pufendorf, his followers and critics, was not particularly welcome by theologians in the Catholic countries of Europe. In the Catholic countries of southern Germany and the Habsburg monarchy, theologians repudiated even the more moral version of natural law created by Christian Wolff. This criticism preceded attempts to draft their own modern style Catholic natural law, which I have analyzed in *SVEC* 20°11/7. The following paper would focus on analyzing the main points of criticism expressed in the writings of the Benedictine Anselm Desing, the Jesuit Georg Langer and others.

Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne) Les désignants comme outil de cartographies des savoirs dans l'Encyclopédie

Panel / *Session* 48, 'L'ENCCRE et les recherches sur l'Encyclopédie à l'ère du numérique : résultats et perspectives 2'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Le Sueur (CNRS, Institut Camille Jordan)

Longtemps, les réflexions sur la façon dont l'Encyclopédie a dressé une cartographie de l'ensemble des savoirs de son temps se sont échaufaudées à partir du seul « Système des connaissances humaines », une des pièces liminaires du premier volume de l'œuvre. Depuis les salutaires mises en garde de Jean Ehrard au début des années 1990, on sait que ce système n'est pas représentatif du traitement effectif des champs de connaissance à l'intérieur des 28 volumes d'articles et de planches. Mais seule une édition électronique balisant avec précision les mentions de ces champs de connaissance qui indexent la plupart des articles (les "désignants") permet d'envisager de premières investigations approfondies sur le sujet.

La présente contribution fera le point sur le travail déjà accompli en ce sens dans l'ENCCRE à travers la constitution critique de 312 domaines de connaissance (incluant les planches) et leur regroupement dans une quarantaine d'ensembles thématiques ; elle tentera ensuite de définir les différentes directions d'enquête et d'analyse que ce premier travail ouvre pour reprendre à nouveaux frais la question de la cartographie des savoirs dans l'Encyclopédie, et suggérera les développements informatiques ultérieurs que ces orientations de recherche appellent à leur tour — selon une logique féconde d'échanges collaboratifs entre recherche et méthodes numériques.

1 Jean EHRARD, « L'Arbre et le labyrinthe », in S. Auroux et al. (éd.), *L'Encyclopédie, Diderot, l'esthétique* (Mélanges en hommage à J. Chouillet), Paris, PUF, 1991, p. 233-239 ; « De Diderot à Panckoucke : deux pratiques de l'alphabet », in A. Becq (dir.), *L'Encyclopédisme*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1991, p. 243-252.

Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne) Nouvelles perspectives sur De Felice à la lumière de sa correspondance générale

Panel / *Session* 456, 'F.-B. De Felice : l'encyclopédiste, le journaliste, le médiateur culturel'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rolando Minuti (Università degli Studi di Firenze)

L'édition critique de la correspondance de F.-B. De Felice réalisée par L. Burnand dans le cadre d'un projet du Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique et librement disponible sur le site de l'Université de Lausanne (www.unil.ch/defelice/home/menuintst/presentation.html) apporte de multiples éclairages sur la trajectoire de cet étonnant passeur des Lumières européennes. La présente communication entend prendre la mesure des perspectives de recherche originales que suggère ce corpus d'un peu plus de 500 lettres, en particulier autour des motivations, des principes et des stratégies qui soutiennent l'activité incessante de l'éditeur d'Yverdon.

Marcel Chahrour (University of Vienna) **New Layers on Top of Older Epistemological Substrata: Trachoma, Vienna Medicine, and the 'Orient'**

Panel / *Session* 408, 'Resilience of Eighteenth-Century Science in the Habsburg Monarchy 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Marianne Klemun (University of Vienna)

New layers on top of older epistemological substrata:

Trachoma, Vienna medicine and the "Orient"

European academic Medicine underwent a change in perspective in the first half of the 19th century. Scientists (and physicians) shifted their focus from holistic towards localist explanations, thus also forming new entities in illnesses. In Vienna Medicine, this process was closely linked to a specific style of thinking of the 18th century. Influenced by the Leyden School of Herman Boerhaave, Vienna medicine was directed by Boerhaave's student Gerard van Swieten focusing on pragmatist diagnostic and therapeutic methods and a general skepticism of medical systems. The scientific "change of paradigms" of the 19th century in Vienna medicine grew on these "epistemological substrata".

Physicians educated within this framework encountered a series of epidemic eye infections following Napoleon's invasion of Egypt 1798. Using elements of the humoristic explanation models of antiquity, climate and imbalances of the organism were initially blamed; this very general set of explanations was step by step replaced by more specific explanations, employing a closer look at both the circumstances of infection and the course of the illness in the layers of the infected organ itself. This change was strongly supported by the 18th century style of thinking, especially present in Vienna's military medicine.

Using the example of the academic discussion about diseases of the eye, the paper discusses how both this "18th century style of thinking" and the encounter with the Ottoman Empire contributed to the development of localist explanations for diseases in the period between 1800 and 1840. The Trachoma as a scientific object and as a specific illness was "dis-covered". During the process of "uncovering" this scientific object, new layers were added to the epistemological foundations of the 18th century: a localist perspective allowed a focus on single organs and their physiology and anatomy, and a change in understanding the transmission of diseases. In encountering what was to become the "Orient" in this period, older paradigmatic approach

Sohini Chakravarty (Delhi Public School R.K. Puram) **Interpreting the Architecture of Dalhousie Square, Kolkata**

Panel / *Session* 161, 'Architecture'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Joana Balsa de Pinho (University of Lisbon)

History entails a continuous discovery of change and continuity. It helps us to compare ways in which power and control are exercised. It also throws light upon historical and current identities. In the process of unfolding the various sources of history we keep on explaining and analyzing the past thereby creating curiosity. We keep on searching for our identity which is becoming extremely significant today.

In the same note thereby heritage sites assume greater relevance as sites of learning tasks as efforts are being made currently made to discover knowledge from sites rather than through textbooks or teachers. Heritage walks are an

experiential method or kinesthetic method –activity based learning and helping expand our knowledge base. It engages tangible and intangible heritage and shaping identities in the global context and helps us appreciate and understand cultural heritage of art and architecture.

Author and cultural philosopher George Steiner has written an essay in which he proposes an ideal education. The disciplines he rates highest are mathematics, music, architecture and genetics. He writes that architecture is of particular value because of the extraordinary degree to which it intersects with many other disciplines. The story of architecture has a decidedly historical dimension, and of course buildings tell us much about the thoughts and lifestyle of people from both the recent and distant past. Architecture does more than tell us about the architects and patron who built things; it is also a reflection of people who used them. Architecture and aesthetics have a considerable effect on the general public.

Architecture developed from an *ars mechanica*, a craft carried out by artisans, to emerge as a science. Colonization initiated a new phase in Indian architecture. Among all the colonial powers like Dutch, Portuguese and French it is the English who had a profound influence on architecture of India. T.R. Metcalfe observes “the British in India had used the classical architecture and European architectural styles generally, to proclaim their Raj (rule) as an enduring empire like that of Rome”.

Elaine Chalus (Liverpool University) ‘Minerva is not the presiding Deity of the Hustings’:
Speechifying at the Essex County Election of 1830

Panel / *Session 377*, ‘New Light on Political Participation in Eighteenth-Century England: Voting, Ballads, Speeches, and Emotional Mobilisation’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King’s College London)

The editor of the Essex County Election Report of the Speeches Delivered at the Hustings, and of the Interesting Proceedings During the Contest of Fifteen Days for the Representation of the County of Essex ... (1830), concluded his introduction to the volume with an apology to his readers: ‘Observations may have been uttered in the course of the contest, which the speakers in their cooler moments regret; but we are sure that every liberal-minded man will make ample allowance for the warmth of feeling excited by a popular Election: Minerva is not the presiding Deity of the Hustings.’ The Essex election of August 1830 had been precipitated by George III’s death and followed hotly on the heels of an eccentric and bad-tempered contest which had taken place only a few months earlier, in March 1830. As a result, emotions in the county had barely had time to settle down before the summer election campaign began. This paper draws upon the speeches and reports from the hustings over the course of fifteen days of polling (the maximum period that a poll could last) to explore the hustings as a temporary but uniquely valuable political performance space: a symbiotic space that involved candidates, voters and non-voters alike, and where the participatory theatricality of Georgian elections reached its apogee. It argues that while the affective daily speechifying of the candidates sought, of course, to secure votes, it also served a wider purpose. It generated an ongoing dialogue among the candidates that involved voters directly, providing the latter with much fuller understandings of candidates’ characters and opinions, and fostering a sense of inclusivity and political belonging (temporary though it may have been); moreover, the open, public nature of the hustings, with its ceremonial trappings, reinforced this and underlined the importance of voting and of the electoral process itself.

Nadine Chambers (University of Central Lancashire) The Afterlife of White Settler-Colonial
Introductions: Thinking about ‘Black’ and ‘Indigenous’ in the Present-Future

Panel / *Session 128*, ‘Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 2: Imperial Identities and Afterlives’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosalind Carr (Queen Mary, University of London)

My research takes Jamaica/Xamayca as an anchor; a geographic foundation to begin mapping a response to the question of relationship between Caribbean migrants and Indigenous peoples in the shadow of settler-colonialism over land, peoples, and raw material? I lead with the question: What could the celebration of Black History Month mean in Indigenous territory settled as Canada without required treaty of consent (unceded)? My research aims to simultaneously consider historical events in colonial Jamaica/Xamayca and events in Indigenous territories in British

Canada in the 18th century to demonstrate how British policy and practice of coding racial identities ('Negro', 'Native', 'Indian') made for different systems of accounting for humanity (people to protect; people to make treaty with; people as property) and therefore distinct records in British colonies. Out of the countless unique historical events that constitute settings where Black and Indigenous introductions would have happened, my work critically appraises the impact of settler-colonial management of space and time via forced migrations of people, land, and records in the past that impact on the present-future. I will explore the significance of Atlantic and Pacific connections to the Jamaican part of the Caribbean in the 18th century found in ongoing research about Black and Indigenous peoples, unceded places, and primary archival sources linked by war-for-profit acquisition and acquisition of profit-for-war. These gaps of knowledge of Black and Indigenous encounters in the British historical record I refer to as the afterlife of introduction by white colonial disciplinarity- (both military and academic). I created this phrase to position work on the afterlife of slavery (Hartman, 2006) in conversation with the mythology of 'vanishing Indians' (Wolfe, 2006) and concepts of Indigenous extinction. By examining introductions, it may be possible – without romantic or tragic guarantees – to contribute to the written record Black scholarship about Black peoples and places that engages Indigenous peoples and geographies.

Flora **Champy** (Princeton University) 'To be something, to be oneself and always one': The Construction of Identity in Rousseau's Political Thought

Panel / *Session 281*, 'Rousseau and Identity: His Theories and Practices'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30.
G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Dan Edelstein (Stanford University)

Rousseau's seminal analysis of alienation in the *Discourse on the origins of inequality* brings to light a central question: how can our social environment determine our seemingly spontaneous reactions so strongly that it can even uproot innate feelings? Is it possible to use this influence in a productive way? At first sight, Rousseau brings a radically unambiguous response in the first pages of *Émile*: one must acknowledge the overwhelming power of social structure over individuals, and decide therefore whether to raise a man or a citizen. Choosing between developing natural feelings or the moral ties to a community will enable the pupil "to be something, to be oneself and always one" (tr. Allan Bloom) – in contrast to "these men of our days", standardized European "bourgeois" equally unable to fulfill their "inclinations" and their "duties".

However, a closer look reveals the complexity of Rousseau's thought on this issue. *Émile's* dramatic opening itself underlines the exceptionality, if not impossibility of a man who would be "himself and always one." Is *Émile's* identity really single-faceted? How does he learn his place in society? Is he prepared for a possible change of social identity? We propose to study the complex interplay between identification and distance through which the educator shapes *Émile's* identity. While *Émile* as a child is supposed to identify with Robinson Crusoe, as a teenager, he should absolutely avoid any identification with the heroes from ancient history. This account differs from the *Considerations on the Government of Poland*, in which Polish children are recommended to identify with national heroes, and with Rousseau's own early experience of identification with Plutarch's heroes, related in the *Confessions*. Put together, these three texts may help us providing an answer to a crucial question: does Rousseau's political and moral system acknowledge the possibility of a complex, multilayered identity?

Chin-Sung **Chang** (Seoul National University) 'The Western Painter from the Eastern Capital': Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818) and His Vision of Europe

Panel / *Session 290*, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Eun Kyung Min (Seoul National University)

A passionate admirer of European art and civilization, Shiba Kōkan emerged as the first outstanding Japanese exponent of painting in the Western manner in late Edo Japan (1615-1868). He introduced the technique of copperplate etching, making a significant contribution to the development of Japanese graphic arts. His pictures in oils laid the foundation for Japanese Western-style painting. Furthermore, he held enthusiasm and respect for European cultural and scientific achievements. His interest in geography and astronomy led him to study Western scholarship. Although he pursued a painting career throughout his life, Kōkan was an enthusiastic advocate of Western learning who played an important role in transmitting scientific information to his countrymen and bringing an awareness of

the world outside Japan. Aware of the technological advancement of Europe, Kōkan devoted himself to attaining deeper understanding of Western science and awakening his contemporaries to the world beyond the confines of Japan. His meeting with the Dutch scholar and merchant-trader Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812) in Edo (present-day Tokyo) in 1780 or 1782 radically transformed his life. He fashioned himself as the most eminent advocate of Western painting and called himself “the Western painter from the eastern capital.” Divorcing himself from the mainstream of Tokugawa life, he became a nonconformist in insular and xenophobic Edo Japan. In this talk, I will explore the ways in which Kōkan fashioned his self and identity as a painter in the Western manner and occupied a unique place in his culture and how his self-promotion as the master of Western painting had an enormous impact on the modernization of Japan.

Eileen **Chanin** (Australian National University, Canberra) Recovering Lady Chambers in an Age of Relationships: Some Facets to Late Eighteenth-Century Identities

Panel / *Session 202*, ‘Gendering and Identity’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Pérez Hernández (Universidad Complutense de Madrid / Nottingham Trent University)

In 1885, F.G. Stephens, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, confused the identities of two prominent individuals of the late eighteenth century. Correspondence in the journal *Notes and Queries* corrected him. ‘There were two celebrated men of the name of Chambers, namely William, 1726-1796, and Robert, 1737-1803. Both were knighted...Sir William Chambers was an eminent architect...Sir Robert Chambers was a distinguished lawyer, who finally became Chief Justice in Bengal. He it was who married, as Dr Johnson said, the beautiful Miss Wilton; she went with him to India in 1773, and returned with him to England in 1799.’ Even this sketch was incorrect, as Frances Chambers née Wilton returned to England in 1791. Drawing her out from the vantage of letters and other documented evidence — as this paper does, highlights how the late eighteenth century, while an Age of Celebrities, was also significantly an Age of Relationships. It reflects on the complications of establishing individual identity in an age of celebrity, connections, empire, familial responsibility, liberty, and patronage.

Katherine (Katie) **Charles** (Washington College) Speaking Across: Literary Form and Speech in *Obi; Or, the History of Three-Fingered Jack*

Panel / *Session 80*, ‘Jamaican Connections’. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tom Rodgers (University of Portsmouth)

From 1780-1781, a fugitive slave and Maroon leader known as “Three-Fingered Jack” terrorized the Jamaican plantocracy before being “ambushed and killed” by bounty hunters. Twenty years later, the figure of Three-fingered Jack was a household name and folk hero whose renown circulated London, the provinces, and the colonies through print texts and pantomime theatre. According to Diana Paton, these multiform afterlives provided an “important site for the formation of opinion about slavery, for British readers and theatre-goers.” This paper analyzes William Earle’s overtly abolitionist *Obi; Or, the History of Three Fingered-Jack* (1800), and examines the novel’s invocation of orality as a tool for representing difference. Building on cultural and historical work done by Srinivas Aravamudan, Frances Botkin, and Kelly Wisecup, as well as Paton, this paper takes a media turn to think about how Earle’s novel represents the relations between speech and power, orality and print. In particular, how does the novel problematize those relations by using structurally set apart forms like interpolated tales and footnotes? Primary attention will be paid to the enslaved mother Amri’s interpolated tale, “Makro and Amri,” and the friction created between her oral tale-telling and the epistolary novel that contains it. While “orality,” within the print form of the novel, is always a fiction, this paper considers how *Obi* uses and interrogates the concept of orality as part of its effort to represent cultural and racial difference, a project that is simultaneously problematic and flagged as such by the novel’s reliance on awkward and set-apart forms.

Isabelle **Charmantier** (The Linnean Society) The Unknown Indigenous Artists of British Enlightenment Natural History

Panel / *Session* 296, 'Eighteenth-Century Natural Histories and the Environmental Humanities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tess Somervell (University of Leeds)

Taking the art collection of the Linnean Society of London as a case study, this paper looks at the many drawings, paintings and illustrations of the natural world collected and commissioned by the Society's Fellows in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These Fellows came from varied backgrounds, including surgeons, medical doctors, reverends and army soldiers. They were part of the British colonial enterprise, exploring and settling in Burma, Nepal, India and the West Indies. Their observations about the botany and zoology they studied were sent back to the Society to be read to other Fellows at meetings and published in the Society's journals. Yet the artwork accompanying these observations was not generally drawn by the authors themselves but by indigenous artists. The identities of these artists remain unknown in most cases, but historians and art historians have recently begun to highlight their importance in the construction of natural historical knowledge in Enlightenment Britain. The images they drew to accompany textual descriptions of new plants and animals were often the first to be seen in Europe. These artists were steeped in their own visual and technical traditions, yet they were expected to conform to Western standards of depicting plants and animals, that mirrored taxonomic and nomenclatural objectives. The resulting works reflect the meeting of different cultural, sociological and ecological concerns.

Isabelle **Charron** (Musée canadien de l'histoire / Canadian Museum of History) Une famille seigneuriale écossaise établie aux abords du Saint-Laurent au XVIIIe siècle. Cadre de vie, culture matérielle et identités.

Panel / *Session* 458, 'Identités et frontières'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean-Charles Speeckaert (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

En 1763, suite à la Guerre de Sept ans, la Nouvelle-France est officiellement cédée à l'Angleterre par le traité de Paris. Dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent, la population d'origine française, devenue canadienne, vit surtout en milieu rural. Le régime seigneurial, implanté sur ce territoire plus de cent ans auparavant, y perdura encore longtemps. De nombreux militaires britanniques s'établirent au Canada après la guerre et certains d'entre eux se virent octroyer des seigneuries vacantes ou délaissées par leurs anciens propriétaires. Ce sera le cas de l'Écossais John Nairne (1731-1802), qui en 1761, à trente ans, décide de s'installer dans la région de Charlevoix en compagnie d'un frère d'armes, Malcolm Fraser.

Au cours de cette présentation, nous explorerons la vie de Nairne, seigneur écossais en milieu francophone, et de certains membres de sa famille à travers une sélection d'objets et de documents, dont une collection de vêtements préservée au Musée canadien de l'histoire. Nous évoquerons certains aspects de la culture matérielle au manoir seigneurial, le rôle de Nairne et de sa famille dans le développement de ce qui allait devenir La Malbaie, et tenterons d'esquisser certaines hypothèses sur leurs identités respectives.

Laurent **Châtel** (University of Lille / Magdalen College, Oxford) Hestercombe's Paradise Restored: An Identikit of Eighteenth-Century Garden Experience

Panel / *Session* 35, 'British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dana Arnold (University of East Anglia)

Recent work on Hestercombe in relation to the 300th anniversary of Coplestone Warre Bampfylde (1720-1791) brings to light the benefit of a mediation of historical gardens through the use of 'Augmented Reality' new technology in order to improve the transmission and access of historical gardens to future generations in the twenty-first century. Creating a Hestercombe garden smartphone "app" is an innovative tool to provide extra layers of information which a visit today might not provide in situ; although forward looking, the tool has a historically basis, with a prior selection of data about the "visit" which one assumes today might have constituted the ideal garden tour. The key elements which structured the visit can thus help us define an "identikit" of the experience, immersion and response by visitors.

Apurba **Chatterjee** (University of Sheffield) Imaging Nature in Early British Indian Empire

Panel / *Session* 472, 'The Meaning of Nature'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.12, Old Medical School.

Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Easterby-Smith (University of St Andrews)

This paper is a part of my ongoing PhD thesis where I focus on the role of images produced both for and by the British and the Indians, and their attendant politics in the creation and consolidation of the British Indian rule between the mid-eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. I examine how the legitimacy of imperial authority was constructed through imagery in accordance with the contemporary political discourse. Applying conceptual history to understand the semiotics of power in the formation of imperial self-image, I suggest that political changes under the Britons were accompanied by conceptual changes. In this paper, I argue that an important aspect of British imperial authority was the idea of demonstration of command over the natural environment of India. From the latter half of the eighteenth century onwards, classification of the natural world as foregrounded by Carl Linnaeus became indispensable in the scientific explorations and colonisation of new lands and peoples. In the age of the Enlightenment, zest and curiosity to understand India's nature came to be accompanied by a tendency to tame the wilderness of Indian exotica thus rendering it useful for British economic interests. The artistic representations of Indian flora and fauna are in this context, parts of the complex entanglements of scientific knowledge and the political imperatives of British rule in India. Using images of Indian flora and fauna as historical evidence, here I study how nature itself was embroiled within the wider reconfigurations of power in the narratives of imperialism. The results thus show the imagery of nature as a leitmotif of British political presence reflecting on its extent and limitations, and give crucial insights to British Indian empire as a cultural regime.

Evelien **Chayes** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen) A Jewish Woman's Library in Seventeenth-Century Venice

Panel / *Session* 63, 'Women, Books, and Cultural Authority'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton

Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rindert Jagersma (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

Tracing book lists of Venetian Jews goes to the heart of the far-reaching circulation of artefacts and ideas when Venice stood out as crossroads of plural identities and confessions. Such a reconstruction of hitherto invisible personal patrimony (libraries) and book-trade ultimately founds a new model of cultural cross-fertilisation and of the validation of plural identities at work in 17th-century Venice. These ferments course through a nodal network from Western and Central Europe to the Eastern Mediterranean, at its centre, Venice.

My hypothesis posits as the chief brokers rabbis and merchants in the Veneto region and French agents of French patrons. Archival evidence, up to now exploited little and that only as economic history, illuminates, behind these rabbis and roaming merchants, a key role of Jewish women. Studying, through archival evidence, the micro-history of the Venetian ghetto and that of Giulio Morosini's – prior to conversion: Samuel ben David ibn Namias – estranged wife Letitia Namias (d. 1668), will allow us to discover a life wherein female and Jewish identity did not prevent Letitia from undertaking a fervent intellectual and economic activity but did probably deter posterity from learning more about her and from attributing any importance to her library. Parting from this case, we will especially raise the question of the intellectual cum economic status of Jewish women's libraries within the transborder network in which they operated.

Jeng-Guo **Chen** (Academia Sinica) Friendship Without Love: Ideas of Friendship in the Scottish Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 193, 'Adam Smith and Masculinity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 5,

Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Breashears (St Lawrence University)

Focusing on Adam Smith's and John Millar's discussions of friendship and sociability, this talk provides an overview of differentiated ideas of friendship of the Scots luminaries, including Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, William Cleghorn, Adam Ferguson and some others. It argues that while Hutcheson, Cleghorn and Ferguson take pain to reinstate the notion of love in human bondage, as informed by the (Neo)Platonic notion of friendship and Christian ideal of charity, in the face of modern Epicurean suspicion of intimacy in social associations, Smith and Millar propose general, cool,

impartial and necessary friendship for developed or commercial society. Friendship, in Smith's and Millar's writings, appears to be naturally and spontaneously corresponding to societal developments. To Smith and Millar, friendship is, on the one hand, different from kinship, and, needs not to be sanctioned and romanticized as disinterested passion or self-denial, on the other. By redefining modern friendship, as this talk will emphatically argue, Smith and Millar are arguing for a distinct virtue and property of modern society that make individuals appreciate and acknowledge the necessity and value of sociability.

Xi Chen (Wuhan University) *The Unconscious Enlightenment by Sensualizing Morality: The Reversed Disciplining Hidden in *Pamela; Or, Virtue Rewarded**

Panel / *Session 393*, 'Fabrication of Enlightenment Identities: Sensation, Perception, and Cognition of Eighteenth-Century Prose'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rebekah Andrew (University of Birmingham)

Rethinking the subject of the "moral disciplining" in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; Or, Virtue Rewarded* outside the traditional interpretations, this paper aims to uncover how the reversed disciplining game, which is manipulated and practiced by the male protagonist -Mr. B to the female protagonist – Pamela, the maid, is played through the strategy of "sensualizing morality". It is right in the overwhelming narrating and presenting of Pamela and the nearly absence of expressing and commenting of Mr. B in this epistolary novel that we find a hidden leading of the morally dominated Mr. B. Beneath the text of Pamela's disciplining of him in spiritual morality, there is a subtext of Mr. B's disciplining of Pamela by sensualizing morality, which fabricates Pamela's identity of being enlightened in unconscious through expanding and diversifying her "virtue" in four respects below: endowing the concept of chastity with "body" and "sensibility"; highlighting the double advantages of "sensitized morality" practically and esthetically over the religious morality; shaping the individual "enlightenment self" through secularization of Puritanical moral principles; providing multiple possibilities of constructing new form of "virtue" with the game of sensual writing. As the result of this sensualising disciplining, Mr. B successfully cultivates a "double life" in Pamela of "social moral identity" in sense and "private moral identity" in sensuality, which ensures the ever-lasting vitality and fascination of love and sex in their marriage. The new form of moral identity relies more on Richardson's unique literary creativity than just the mirroring of realistic world, which distinguishes this novel by shedding a new light on the rich ambiguity and unpredictability of enlightenment discourses in the 18th century.

Sophie Chessum (The National Trust) *Reviewing Historic Interior Finishes: Work in Progress at Clandon Park*

Panel / *Session 374*, 'Making Rooms: Interiors, Identity, and Makers'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Taylor (The Open University)

Clandon Park is grade I historic house in Surrey designed in the 1730s by naturalised Italian architect Giacomo Leoni for Thomas and Elizabeth Onslow. The house was given by Gwendolen, Countess of Iveagh to the National Trust in 1956; it was accepted primarily for its magnificent baroque plaster ceilings and its association with the Great Speaker Arthur Onslow. During refurbishment works in the late 1960s guided by interior decorator John Fowler, two 18th century wallpaper schemes and a number of other early papers were re-discovered; this led to a reappraisal of the interiors and a new appreciation of their significance. In the early 2000s new research, including comprehensive paint analysis, built on this work and a better understanding gained of the primary schemes.

Very sadly, the house was severely damaged by fire in April 2015. This paper will review evidence for decorative interiors in the house, focusing on the Speakers' Parlour and State Bedroom. It will briefly examine the decorative choices open to successive Onslow family members in the context of other high status houses. It will explore revelations since the fire and the challenges and opportunities facing the National Trust team in the conservation, restoration and remaking of this magnificent house.

Ainoa Chinchilla Galarzo (Complutense University of Madrid) *A Hidden Identity: Francisco de Zamora, Undercover Agent of Godoy's Diplomacy in Revolutionary Times (1792–1799)*

Panel / *Session* 444, 'Traditional and Unconventional Identities of Diplomacy of the Iberian Monarchies in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Irene Andreu-Candela (University of Alicante)

Diplomatic relations between Spain, France and England in the late eighteenth century, were altered with the beginning of the reign of Charles IV of Spain and the outbreak of the French Revolution. In the first place, secret diplomacy became essential to achieve peace, alliances or declaring wars. The difficult moments that took place between these powers, motivated the use of an informal diplomacy, which worked parallel to the official diplomacy. It is in this circumstance, in which we would like to present some of the most important secret agents during the government of the Spanish Secretary of State, Manuel Godoy.

Francisco Antonio de Zamora was a royal agent and used his position as a member of the Royal Council of Castile to travel around the country as one of the main spies of the minister from 1792 until he fell from grace in 1799. Therefore, in our paper we intend to study the work of this informant and political confidant which he carried out in the Iberian Peninsula on Manuel Godoy's orders, participating in highly relevant diplomatic and military conflicts at the time such as the Convention War or the British bombardment of the city of Cádiz.

From the documentation kept in the National Historical Archive, the National Library of Spain and the Royal Library, all located in Madrid, it is the objective of this presentation to know his capacity to modify the complex link that united or separated the Madrid-Paris-London axis. In the same way, we would like to highlight Zamora's ability to establish secret negotiations, both with allies and enemies. A new agent, which could be said to have a "double identity", that laid his services to the politics of the Enlightenment period.

Harvey **Chisick** (University of Haifa) Individualism and Its Perceived Dangers in the Later Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 34, 'Being Human: Self, Soul, and Individualism'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh)

Individualism developed relatively late in western thought. This is so largely because the main traditions that western cultures have drawn on emphasize collective responsibility rather than individual autonomy. For the Greeks the polis is primary and the individual realizes himself as citizen; for Christianity (pace Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual*) it is the heavenly city to which all is oriented. With Locke, psychology is a matter of the physical individual and the way his or her mind develops; contract theory puts the individual before the collectivity; and for Mandeville and Smith self-interest is seen as conducive to the general good. Self-interest and individualism are viewed as legitimate and beneficial. Moreover, self-interest was perceived as a social equivalent to gravity, and so, a sound basis for sciences of man and society.

The self-interest that Enlightenment thinkers advocated was enlightened self-interest, which is to say self-interest that took into account the individual's rationality and awareness of his or her dependence on society. Around mid-century there were expressions of concern that self-interest unrestrained by reason or social responsibility could become a danger to society and the state. It was about this time that the term 'egoism' was coined. In this paper I will examine two foci of this concern. The first is a number of plays written within a few years of each other and taking as their theme unrestrained self-interest. These are A.J. Du Coudray's *L'égoïste* of 1774, J.F. Cailhava's *L'égoïsme* of 1777 and N.T. Barthe's *L'Homme personnel* of 1778. The second focus of concern with excessive self-interest is the essay contest proposed by the Academy of Besançon for 1779, which was held over for the following year, on the subject 'Les funestes effets de l'égoïsme.' These plays and essays, and contemporary assessments of them, suggest that while awareness of the difficulties of an ethic of unbridled individualism had grown, no effective alternative seemed available.

Julie **Choi** (Ewha Womans University, Seoul) Hannah More's Evangelical Projects and their Far-flung Korean Consequences

Panel / *Session* 180, 'Private Women, Public Consequences: Domesticating the Enlightened Subject at Home and Abroad 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nancy Cho (Seoul National University)

Hannah More, the staunchly religious conservative female authority of her time, was highly revered for her religiosity and charity. She was also a social celebrity, a writer of plays, and intimate of some of the leading figures of her time including such diverse figures as Samuel Johnson, David Garrick and William Wilberforce. Her dedication to opening schools for the poor as a Christian act of enlightened service has been too easily disparaged by many as a righteous elitism, but in this paper I examine how her "Christian" efforts indirectly served as inspiration for the opening of the first school for girls and women in Korea by an American Methodist woman, Mary Scranton, that has grown into the largest women's university in the world today, Ewha Womans University.

Yohwan Choi (Université Paris 8) Physique ou métaphysique ? Problèmes des sciences naturelles dans les *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*

Panel / *Session* 74, 'Entre physique et métaphysique : quête de l'identité de la pensée des Lumières'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Young Mock Lee (Université nationale de Séoul)

Qu'est-ce qui différencie l'ambition des *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* de celle du Dictionnaire philosophique ? On remarquera d'abord son envergure encyclopédique, et, parmi les divers sujets abordés, la forte augmentation des articles sur les sciences naturelles mérite notre attention particulière. Non seulement ces articles reflètent sa préoccupation scientifique, mais ils sont aussi les témoignages de l'actualité : les enjeux scientifiques tels que la génération spontanée, la population de l'Amérique, la préformation, etc. Il est patent que les partis pris de Voltaire sont aujourd'hui obsolètes et ils se prêtent davantage à une archéologie du savoir qu'aux sciences naturelles proprement dites. C'est dans ce sens que Jacques Roger et Michèle Duchet ont signalé que chez Voltaire, celles-ci sont fortement conditionnées par la « religion de Voltaire ». Certes, ces problèmes ne trouvent guère leur origine dans les *Questions*. Mais ce qui a changé, c'est leur encadrement dans le contexte lexicographique. Dès lors, nous ne pouvons pas ignorer l'effet que produit cet ordre capricieux de l'alphabet, ce, d'autant plus que nous nous rappelons que seulement avec la disposition des articles, les lexicographes de 'Long Enlightenment' pouvaient produire un message effectif.

Posons la question à l'envers. Qu'est qu'il y a de commun entre les deux dictionnaires ? C'est qu'ils appartiennent à la « tradition française de la lexicographie de combat » et qu'ils se livrent, chacun à leur tour à une « guerre de dictionnaires ». L'un contre l'orthodoxie et le clergé, mais l'autre ?

Malgré le ton amical de l'introduction, les *Questions* ne se contentent guère d'être des additions accessoires à l'*Encyclopédie* dont il avoua être le panégyriste. Au contraire, elles représentent le champ de lutte fraternelle de Voltaire contre le matérialisme athée triomphant. Les *Questions* sont le sol où la « plante exotique », cet apologétique du déisme voltairien, quoique anachronique, prendra sa racine.

Mathilde Chollet (TEMOS (CNRS FRE 2015) Le Mans Université) Habitante, créole et épistolière : une identité féminine en situation coloniale au temps des Lumières

Panel / *Session* 458, 'Identités et frontières'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean-Charles Speeckaert (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

Les mots font défaut dans le vocabulaire français pour désigner sans périphrases les filles et femmes de colons, réduites de ce fait, par la langue même, à la place de subordonnées que réserve aux femmes la société française d'Ancien régime. Ce rôle secondaire accordé aux femmes des notables des îles à sucre, est confirmé par le peu d'études qui leur sont consacrées, faute de sources. Elle laisse supposer, à tort, une passivité, une absence d'identité propre de ces femmes de colons. C'est pourquoi la correspondance entretenue par Catherine-Renée Girard des Rouaudières, créole dominicaine, fille et épouse de riches habitants de l'île, revêt un intérêt particulier. En effet, celle-ci prend la plume régulièrement pour écrire à sa fille, qu'elle a envoyée en métropole afin de lui assurer, dit-elle, une bonne éducation. Dans la bonne centaine de lettres envoyées par Catherine entre 1768 et 1791, s'affiche une

personnalité complexe, qui ne peut qu'intéresser le chercheur en quête de l'identité de ces riches habitantes de l'époque des Lumières.

Tout à la fois créole, n'ayant jamais vu la métropole, riche habitante et épouse d'un noble cultivé venu de France faire fortune à Saint-Domingue, comment cette femme se présente-t-elle, face à cette fille lointaine et attachée à la métropole ? Comment cette identité métissée transparait-elle dans sa correspondance ? Quels indices permettent de repérer l'agentivité de ces femmes, oubliées de l'historiographie, longtemps évoquées simplement dans l'ombre de leurs époux ?

Décentrer le regard s'avère essentiel. Les repères biographiques concernant cette femme, les rapports à son environnement (l'habitation, la famille, les esclaves) ainsi que la délicate question politique à Saint-Domingue seront notamment évoqués. Ils caractérisent en effet le discours épistolaire que Catherine Girard porte sur elle-même, dans le contexte particulièrement fécond des Lumières caribéennes.

Andres Wulff Vissing Christensen (University of Aarhus) Handling the Mentally Ill: Practices in the Ecclesiastical Administration of Denmark-Norway, c. 1700–1750

Panel / *Session* 369, 'In Pursuit of Salvation, Subjectivity, and Sanity: Ideas and Practices Regarding Mental Illness in the Legal System of Denmark-Norway'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Søren Peter Hansen (Technical University of Denmark)

This paper examines how members of the Danish-Norwegian clergy thought and expressed ideas of mental illness and the abnormal in relation to their administrative tasks as officers of the state. As central players in the rural state administration, the clergy oversaw the care and placement of people considered mentally ill, which gives hints of the practices of the absolutist political system. At the same time, many also took part in the discussions within the various movements of religion, philosophy and political thinking that flourished throughout Europe. As subjects of research, members of the clergy thus allow for analysing several angles and perspectives to assess the dynamics between ideas and practices.

As an illustrative example, this paper will use archival sources regarding the clergy's administration of the so-called "dårekister" ("loony bins") or confinement instruments in attempt to trace and analyse how currents of religion and enlightenment mingled into understandings of society at that day.

Difeng Chueh (Feng-Chia University) Finding An Ideal Old Gentleman in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*

Panel / *Session* 340, 'Masculinity and Sociability'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosamund Paice (University of Portsmouth)

By reading the name of the novel, most readers may presume that Henry Fielding's "Tom Jones" mainly illustrates the life experiences of Tom Jones and their consequences to the eponymous character and people around him. This assumption, however, only partially answers Fielding's intention of incorporating portrayals of other male characters in this novel. As I will argue, Fielding includes other male characters in the novel in order to reveal not only how a young male character becomes a gentleman with the help of other male characters, but also how these male characters demonstrate characteristics of an ideal old gentleman. In this case, Fielding's "Tom Jones" presents a masculine ideal with age-based responsibilities and cross-age ones. Based on this argument, this paper will examine in what ways Fielding depicts Squire Allworthy, Squire Western and Mr. Benjamin and then look into how his depictions construct features of an ideal old gentleman. In this case, Fielding's "Tom Jones" offers readers an opportunity to better understand what it means to be old and to be a gentleman respectively in the eighteenth century. Besides, after comparing the features of being old and those of becoming a gentleman, I want to demonstrate how the overlapping parts of these two concepts enrich readers' understanding regarding the form of a masculine ideal in eighteenth-century England.

Heewon Chung (University of Seoul) 'Make a formal Descent on the Territorys of the Heart':

Embodied Sensibility and the (Mis)fortune of Virtue in Richardson's *Pamela* and Sade's *Justine*

Panel / *Session* 216, 'Private Women, Public Consequences: Domesticating the Enlightened Subject at Home and Abroad 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nancy Cho (Seoul National University)

My presentation reads de Sade's *Justine: ou les malheurs de la vertu* (1791) as a bitter sequel to Richardson's *Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded* (1740). Pamela was undeniably the icon of the eighteenth-century culture of sensibility, a celebrity character across the whole of Europe, embodying the newly brandished value of sincerity as virtue. Contemporary and recent critics have read Richardson as the author most responsible for linking the worth of the modern individual subject with the integrity of her words and her body regarding the truth of her subjective experience. This paper reads Pamela by focusing on the double process of her subjectification and de-subjectification. For Pamelists, the force of her virtuous sentiments serves as bond for the virtue of her bodily text. For Anti-Pamelists, her words are mere cant and signs of deepest hypocrisy. Unfortunately for Justine, nobody reads virtue in her body, scoffing at the premise of professed virtue as basis for moral authority. To cite from Montesquieu, "laws are always local" and de Sade's libertines do not choose to embrace the universal ideals of the virtuous citizen. Through Justine's misfortunes, de Sade parodies both Richardson's and Rousseau's ideal of a transparent virtue that can be read by all well-meaning and virtuous fellow citizens.

Tomasz **Ciesielski** (University of Opole) Handwritten Newsletters as a Correspondence in the Eighteenth-Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Panel / *Session* 83, 'Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 2'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Teodora Shek Brnardić (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb)

An interesting phenomenon in the information flow of the Commonwealth at the beginning of the Enlightenment era was the preservation of importance of handwritten newsletters that in the second half of the eighteenth century still constituted a popular form of distribution of the so called living word from the centres of political and cultural life to the provincial areas. Concurrently, they were a source of information more attractive than printed newspapers, as the latter were known to be censored.

Handwritten newsletters were often drafted in a form of a letter and remained in the regular correspondence circulation. They constituted a response to social demand, as well as individual needs – in order to provide themselves with constant inflow of information regarding the affairs of the Commonwealth and the neighbouring countries, almost all aristocrats living in provincial areas or staying abroad had their own paid correspondents or ordered newsletters written by individuals of various reliability, skilled in writing and acquiring information. Such newsletters were usually of regular nature and their creators were quite well – paid; they sometimes could allow employing copyists. However, they usually played the role of personal informants and viewed their newsletters either as ordinary correspondence or as attachments to their letters. The basis for presenting the handwritten newsletters as a special form of correspondence shall be constituted by one of collections of letters and newsletters – created in the 1770s by Jędrzej Kitowicz for a priest named Michał Lipski.

Chris **Clark** (University of Newcastle, New South Wales) Austen's Friendless Heroines: The Isolated Identities of Anne Elliot and Emma Woodhouse

Panel / *Session* 370, 'Jane Austen'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Linda Troost (Washington & Jefferson College)

This paper will look at the two isolated Austen heroines and examine the reasons for their isolation. Both indicate that they have chosen their positions as loners. Emma Woodhouse and Anne Elliot are very different women, as Emma and *Persuasion* are very different novels. Emma is isolated by her wealth and her status, and her idea of that status. Anne Elliot has deliberately isolated herself from other women, choosing to wallow in her grief and hugging to herself her "superiority of mind" as some sort of comfort. But their respective endings are quite different as well. Emma's isolation remains even after her marriage, her circle is not widened by the event and surrounding happenings actually shrink her contacts with other people. Anne, however, is brought by her marriage to Captain Wentworth to a

reinvigorated connection with the world and with society. Through her marriage she makes new friends, acquires new, and dear, relations. Anne Wentworth moves Austen's heroines firmly into the new century.

Lorna Clark (Carleton University) *Growing up Burney: Youthful Effusions in the Family Archive*

Panel / *Session 36*, 'Burneys and Identity'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Engel (Duquesne University)

The pressure of family identity and politics affected more than one generation of Burneys. Beyond Frances Burney, and her intense relationship with her father Charles Burney, were other family members: siblings, half-siblings, cousins, nieces, nephews who also participated in the family ethos, and felt the pressure to "write & read & be literary." These tendencies can be seen most clearly in the works of juvenilia preserved in the family archive. The children of Esther and Charles Rousseau Burney, first cousins who married, thus bequeathing creative genes from both sides, grew up in a Bohemian household and responded to the stimulus by producing an abundance of creative works. This paper will explore a selection of these works in light of the impulse and desire shared by members of the family, to fulfil their 'Burney identity' through literary and artistic expression.

Henry Clark (Dartmouth College) *Merchant Encyclopedias and the Great Divergence*

Panel / *Session 114*, 'Marchands sans frontières? Cultures, Networks, and Identities of Early Modern Capitalists 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Felicia Gottmann (Northumbria University)

A compendium by the Ming scholar Sung Ying-hsing, *The Making and Wonders of the Works of Nature*, had scarcely appeared before a remarkably successful campaign of state suppression consigned it to oblivion for centuries. In Europe, meanwhile, an encyclopedic tradition was gathering steam that would culminate not only in Diderot and d'Alembert's famous *Encyclopédie* but in a whole series of encyclopedic compendia by and for merchants, from Jacques Savary's 1675 *Le Parfait négociant* through Pancoucke's 1783 *Encyclopédie Méthodique: Commerce*. In his recent book *A Culture of Growth*, Joel Mokyr argues that the so-called Great Divergence between East and West that began around 1800 was a function of a broad-based "culture" conducive to fostering an Enlightened economy in Northwest Europe, centered notably on an international "republic of letters." In the present paper, I will ask what the tradition of merchant encyclopedias in the long eighteenth century might tell us about

Andrew H. Clark (Fordham University) *Seeing Double: Visual Portraits in Lafayette's *Princesse de Clèves* and Riccoboni's *Ernestine**

Panel / *Session 309*, 'Portraiture'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sandra Gómez Todó (University of Iowa)

In this paper, I examine the use of visual portraits by Lafayette in *La Princesse de Clèves* and Riccoboni in *Ernestine*, a rewriting of sorts of Lafayette's *Princesse*. Considering these portraits in light of theories of portraiture in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and in particular in light of the role of female artists played in portrait painting in the Ancien Régime, I argue that portraits in the novels allow us to see and read double, to provide and structure an alternative narrative to the one that appears to be mapped out for the characters and readers. At stake is the way in which the portraits force us to rethink what History and *histoires* are. Portraits help the novels perform that which the novels can't do yet. And they also attempt to give substance and thingness status to these "singular" characters and acts: as Richard Brilliant, Hans Belting, and others has argued, to have a portrait and a copy of a portrait is to denote the existence of that which is represented. By producing the portrait of the singular in their works, creating its double, that which is unbelievable and unaccountable becomes already possible.

Sophia Yumi Clark (Vanderbilt University) *Violating the Bourgeois Sphere: A Picture of Torture in Iffland's 'The Foresters'*

Panel / *Session* 181, 'Representations of Legal Practices and the Law in the Age of Goethe'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatiana Korneeva (Freie Universität Berlin)

This paper aims at analysing August Wilhelm Iffland's "The Foresters: a Picture of Rural Manners in Five Acts", a popular bourgeois drama from 1785, by examining the integration of legal themes – namely torture and corruption – in the text.

As a playwright, Iffland is best known for his sentimental bourgeois plays and dramas, often described by the author as 'Familiengemälde' (family pictures), which, along with the plays of August von Kotzebue, enjoyed wild popularity amongst theatre audiences from the late 18th century until about the early to mid-19th century. One of Iffland's earliest successes, "The Foresters" ("Die Jäger: ein ländliches Sittengemälde in fünf Aufzügen"), draws on crime and the criminal trial process as the framework of its plot. Iffland's source material for "The Foresters" was the author's first dive into the popular practice of adapting the contents of criminal court cases into literary or theatrical narratives and announcing them as such.

The focus of the analysis will be the play's engagement with contemporary discourses on theatre and on legal reform in the 1780s, and the extent to which Iffland's early work actually explores these problems in the bourgeois milieu. By staging serious legal themes in a domestic, bourgeois setting for an enlightened audience, Iffland's "The Foresters" allows us a glimpse at how popular plays tried to make sense of the complex relationship between the progressive legal reform efforts in the German territories and the legacy of seemingly outdated legal institutions, such as torture.

Frederic Clark (University of Southern California) Writing the 'Ancient and Modern History of the World': *Historia Universalis* and the Antecedents of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*

Panel / *Session* 428, 'Enlightened Historiography: The Practice and Theory of History in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Anton Matytsin (University of Florida)

Despite the oft-trumpeted opposition between categories of "erudition" and "Enlightenment," a trope as old as Enlightenment itself, recent scholarship has highlighted the profound debts owed by eighteenth-century thinkers to the earlier world of erudite humanist scholarship. Perhaps nowhere are such continuities clearer than in the perpetuation of a historical genre at once deeply ancient yet profoundly modern—namely, universal history or *historia universalis*. The uses of universal history in early modern and Enlightenment scholarship are all the more important as renewed attempts at universality have likewise transformed the practice of historical writing in the twenty-first century, from new concepts like "big history" and "deep history" to the rise of global and transnational studies.

This paper will examine how historians in the seventeenth and eighteenth century attempted to link antiquity and modernity into a single, "universal" narrative. In 1776, the English historian Edward Gibbon published the first volumes of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Gibbon's paradigm of "decline and fall" maintained that the ancient world had swiftly and dramatically crumbled into a millennium of medieval darkness, torn asunder by what Gibbon labeled "barbarism and religion." Yet Gibbon, whose *History* extended all the way to the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, hardly considered himself merely an ancient historian. Rather, as he claimed, his *Decline and Fall* would do nothing less than "connect the ancient and modern history of the world." Yet Gibbon, long considered one of the inaugurators of modern historical method, hardly devised this program *ex nihilo*. This paper explores diverse precedents for his synthesis of the ancient and modern, by examining universal histories authored by such figures as G.J. Vossius (1577-1649), Christopher Cellarius (1638-1707), and Jacob Perizonius (1651-1715), and Georgius Hornius (1620-1670).

Jeanne Clegg (University of Ca' Foscari Venice) Daniel Defoe and the Representation of Law Enforcement

Panel / *Session* 130, 'Daniel Defoe 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

In past studies of Defoe's representation of law enforcement, I have foregrounded aspects of 18th century practice which in his time would have been taken for granted, but to which, because of the radical changes since introduced into policing and the judicial system, we have become culturally blind, and drawn attention to narrative choices which emphasise, enlarge upon, downplay or pass in silence over certain features of the system. This paper will summarise my findings and offer conclusions about the rhetorical force of those choices, comparing them with those of semi-official journalistic reporting of prosecutions for property crime. Whereas the Old Bailey Proceedings select, expand and omit in order to reinforce trust in the authorities' fight against crime, Moll Flanders and Colonel Jacque explore weaknesses in the system and may have indirectly encouraged the greater professionalisation that was already beginning to transform law enforcement. They show, for instance, more failures than successes in detecting and catching thieves: victims slow to act, neighbours and employees over-hasty and brutal in arrests, and constables and justices manipulated into siding with thieves. They also point to public readiness to compound with thieves, suggest the possibility of corrupting court officials and grand jurymen, expose muddled indictments and the prosecutorial bias of the accused speaks trial – and so on. At a broadly literary level, Defoe's use of eyewitness narrators and attribution of direct speech to all concerned may well have influenced the reporting of court cases, which from the 1730s begin to offer verbatim transcripts of testimony thus opening up the workings of justice to a new level of public scrutiny and judgment. Finally, Defoe's multilayered representation of hypothetical interactions between and among criminals and their antagonists, representation that shows not only how episodes evolved but how they might have evolved differently, constitutes an important experiment in the representation of social and personal relations, particularly among men and women who left no written records of their own.

David Clemis (Mount Royal University, Calgary) Personal Identity, Intoxication, and Addiction in Enlightenment Medicine and Law

Panel / *Session* 115, 'Marginal Mental States'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanne Schmid (Freie Universität Berlin)

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the nature of intoxication and the problem of chronic drinking became matters of increasing concern for English medical and legal writers. With the advent of cheap, high alcohol by volume spirits from the 1690s, and the increasing anxieties about popular drinking evident in the press and tracts of moralists, it is not surprising that both doctors and lawyers undertook to explain the effects of intoxication on the body, cognition, and moral agency. But neither within nor across these professions do we see a coherent consensus on the nature of alcohol intoxication nor the capacity of chronic drinkers to control their behaviour. In the wake of the seventeenth-century medical revolution, early eighteenth-century iatro-mechanical thinking often assumed a strongly Cartesian conception of the relation between the mind and the body. The challenge to such positions, with respect to understanding intoxication, was the obvious cognitive and affective effects of the imbibing an intoxicating, material substance, such as alcohol. It was only after a very long, post-Lockean development of neurological thinking, from the work of David Hartley through to William Cullen and Thomas Trotter, that the effects of alcohol and chronic drinking could be understood, in medical terms, as a disease. Over the course of this development, there was considerable contention over the cognitive capacity and moral agency of intoxication persons. Eighteenth-century legal writers, too, wrestled with understandings of intoxication, particularly in relation to the problem of the criminal liability of intoxicated defendants. While formal jurisprudence was quite clear that intoxication is no defence – drunkenness did not prevent the establishment of *mens rea* – some legal writers were uncomfortable with this principle, and juries sometimes acquitted on the basis of the intoxication defence. This paper explores these tensions within eighteenth-century medical and legal writing on intoxication in relation to wider Enlightenment concerns about the nature of consciousness and personal identity.

Emma Clery (University of Southampton) Working-Class Voices in the Fiction of Mary Wollstonecraft: Intersectionality and Enlightenment Feminism

Panel / *Session* 50, 'Law and the Politics of Poverty'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Peter Denney (Griffith University)

The struggle for subsistence was at the core of Mary Wollstonecraft's concerns. In *Mary* (1788) and *The Wrongs of Woman*; or, *Maria* (1798) she not only dealt with the limited opportunities open to middle-class women without

means, but also the daily battle to survive for women at the bottom of the social scale. Critics of the two works have tended to emphasise the romantic plotlines. Heightened awareness today of gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace better enable us to identify an alternative current of thought in the narratives. Mary dwells on the corrupting and socially divisive nature of charity without hope of resolution. The heroine is driven to expend her wealth on rescuing those in poverty, yet tormented by what she sees as their ingratitude. In *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft first broke through this impasse with a radical conclusion: 'It is justice, not charity, that is wanting in the world.' She went on to build her critique of economic morality on first-hand experience of the restrictions and prejudices faced by women workers in the literary marketplace, and observation of the political activism of labouring-class women during her time in Paris. These insights are most strikingly presented in the first person account of Jemima, jailor at the private insane asylum in which the main protagonist has been incarcerated by her husband. Jemima describes a range of employment, paid and unpaid, relating her experience of economic exploitation, physical abuse and rape in unprecedented documentary detail. Her discourse, elicited sympathetically in dialogue, contrasts sharply with customary sentimental treatments of female victimage on the one hand, and comparable rape trial testimony on the other. *The Wrongs of Woman* conducts the enlightenment enquiry announced by its title through a series of inset narratives of the lives of other women, intermittently employing the spoken voice. The paper asks whether current thinking on intersectionality, with its emphasis on women marginalized and oppressed differently according to race, class, or sexuality, resonates with the representational methods used in her final work.

Maryanne Cline Horowitz (Occidental College and UCLA, Los Angeles) *Continent Allegories in the Religious Space of the Low Countries*

Panel / *Session 71*, 'Conquering Europe: The Continent Allegories and their Cultural Popularity in the Eighteenth Century'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Moisan-Jablonski (Kazimierz-Wielki-University in Bydgoszcz)

Based on site visits in Belgium and Netherlands in July 2018, this paper focuses on the sculpted portrayal of Africa, America, Asia, and Europe in four extant Jesuit pulpits of the turn of the eighteenth century. The decor of the base of the pulpits echoes the Jesuit theme of global missionary endeavor evident in engravings, as well as in Andrea Pozzo's ceiling of S. Ignazio in Rome. We shall consider the rival impact of Ortelius's title page which suggests a hierarchy from dress to undress in all female personifications versus Jesuit engravings of well-clothed personifications with inclusion of male personifications. The issue of the cause of skin color, so different in Ortelius's text than in his frontispiece, fades from significance as a distinguishing marker given that the material of the pulpit base is usually a dark brown wood: therefore, the portrayals— sometimes around a globe—focus on physiognomy and costume.

This paper considers the pulpits in Church of St. Jacob, Bruges; Gourke Church, Tilbourg; and The Cathedral of Our Lady, Antwerp. The examples of Hendrik Frans Verbruggen's pulpit in Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Mechelen, Belgium, I shall feature as exhibiting the influence of the style of Artus Quellinus and Hubert Quellinus in their sculptured West tympanum of the Amsterdam Town Hall, which I analyze in "Exotic Female (and Male) Continents: Early Modern Fourfold Division of Humanity" in forthcoming co-edited book "Bodies and Maps: Early Modern Personifications of the Continents" (Brill Press). Particularly noteworthy is Verbruggen's accompanying vegetative altar railing featuring ethnographic putti: a European baptizes an East Asian amid a decor featuring American Indians bedecked with feather headdresses.

Lucy Cogan (University College Dublin) 'My Soul has lost its splendor': Paradigms of Selfhood in William Blake's *The Four Zoas* (1797)

Panel / *Session 291*, 'Bardic Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosamund Paice (University of Portsmouth)

In *The Four Zoas*, his great, unfinished epic poem, William Blake explicitly transforms the complex and self-contradictory mythopoeia he had been developing during the early part of the 1790s into a psychomachia. The narrative recounts an extended conflict within the psyche, ending with the restoration of the self to wholeness. Ironically, however, though he worked on it for up to a decade Blake could not resolve the manuscript into a complete

and coherent work. Yet while *The Four Zoas* as a text may fail to achieve the unity of identity that was its narrative aim, the manuscript is a record of Blake's dogged struggle to achieve that unity rather than a celebration of the chaos. So why did he abandon it? If Blake's poetry is at its core an attempt at the working out of complex personal and emotional truths, then *The Four Zoas* may simply have outlived its usefulness to him. During his stay at Felpham in Sussex from 1800-3 Blake underwent a spiritual crucible described in letters to his friend Thomas Butts and in *Milton: A Poem*. This moment represented a paradigm shift in his thinking. Once he emerged from the other side of this experience his conception of the nature of identity and particularly his identity as a poet-prophet had changed utterly.

The Four Zoas is a poem that seeks the impossible: to produce unity out of division. The messy manuscript of Blake's epic is the product of his efforts over a period of time to think through his changing beliefs but the solution when it came to it could not be integrated into the existing structure of his mythopoeia. The significance of *The Four Zoas* is thus not simply in its failure to achieve this impossible ideal, a failure which was arguably built into the structure from the beginning, but in how it fails, as it is the manner of its failure that reveals the ways in which Blake's spiritual and prophetic project was evolving past its original parameters.

Virginie **Cogné** (Université du Québec à Montréal / Université de Rouen) La construction de l'opinion publique dans un contexte d'éloignement : l'exemple de la *Correspondance de quelques gens du monde sur les affaires du tems*, janvier et février 1790

Panel / *Session 302*, 'La presse et la formation de l'imaginaire impérial et national en France et en Angleterre durant la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle (1750–1790)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Burrows (Western Sydney University)

Dans une société où l'accès à l'information est à la fois un facteur de démarcation identitaire et un impératif pour se considérer comme participant au monde, le positionnement personnel nécessite la construction d'une opinion publique imaginée et idéalisée. Un périodique comme la *Correspondance de quelques gens du monde sur les affaires du tems*, publié en janvier et février 1790, devient un vecteur de cette opinion pour les gens qui n'y participent pas en créant une forme d'espace public.

La *Correspondance de quelques gens du monde sur les affaires du tems*, périodique à forme d'expression personnelle, mobilise neuf personnages stéréotypés pour échanger sur les nouvelles. Sept d'entre eux sont à l'extérieur de Paris et s'enquière de nouvelles aux sujets divers réclamant des formats de transmission qui s'apparentent à ceux des lieux de sociabilité. Bref, il n'est pas question de lire ce qui pourrait être dans la *Gazette*. Deux autres personnages envoient des informations à la campagne depuis Paris. La connaissance d'information est pour eux une marque de distinction, comme leur apparition dans des lieux mondains. Cette mise en scène suggère qu'une distance culturelle se crée entre les gens isolés et ceux qui ont accès à l'espace public.

Cette communication propose l'analyse de ce périodique pour en comprendre les dispositifs capables de reconstruire l'ambiance des espaces publics mondains en 1790 et d'y faire participer les lecteurs qui ne peuvent y accéder par leur statut ou leur éloignement. Ultimement, les objectifs sont d'expliquer les modalités de création de l'opinion publique dans la presse à la fin du XVIIIe siècle en démontrant que les auteurs développent des méthodes de narration pour concevoir le périodique en un espace de diffusion.

Helen **Cole** (Independent Scholar) Book Illustration and Graphic Representation: Viewpoint and Perspective in Literary Illustration, 1700–1750

Panel / *Session 289*, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christina Ionescu (Mount Allison University)

This paper introduces graphic representation as a new and interdisciplinary approach to the study of eighteenth-century book illustration. It focuses on two interrelated aspects of graphic representation, the use of viewpoint and perspective. Graphic representation is a wide-ranging topic that encompasses all the ways in which we communicate using visual media. I will be examining how elements of design are strategically used in a selection of images and how we might interpret their effect in the illustration of novels published in the early eighteenth century.

Megan Cole (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) Corporeality and Proto-feminist Agency in Enlightenment Women's Writing

Panel / *Session* 131, 'Enlightenment Feminisms'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania)

This paper explores early feminist theories of identity formation through the treatment of mirrors in the works of Margaret Cavendish and Mary Astell. I argue that Cavendish and Astell's disparate treatment of mirrors crystallizes one of early feminism's central debates: the role of corporeality in female identity formation. I read moments from two feminist utopian projects against each other: Cavendish's commitment, in *The Convent of Pleasure* (1668), to women having "a great Looking-Glass, that [they] may view [them]selves and take pleasure in [their] own beauties (105)", and Astell's injunction in *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694) that "your glass will not do you half so much service as a serious reflection on your own minds" (52). These moments reveal Cavendish and Astell's respective theorizations of the female body and its relationship to female agency. By prioritizing mirrors, Cavendish makes visible the female body, and rehabilitates an object used as an extension of the male gaze into a tool of female identity formation. While mirrors are often sites preparing women for entry into a patriarchal world, this mirror enables women's independent pleasure, autoeroticism, and self-construction. In this, Cavendish casts the female body as a crucial site of feminist possibility. Conversely, Astell negates the potential of the corporeal body as a site of freedom. Her dismissal of the mirror is a disavowal of the female body, rendered here as irreparably tainted by patriarchy. Astell encourages women to instead concentrate on mental pursuits, which, to her mind, have legitimate feminist potential. By doing so, Astell articulates a disembodied feminism which entirely abstracts the female body. On the cusp of the Enlightenment, the corporeal, specular fantasy of Cavendish and the cerebral, rational proposal of Astell offer alternate visions for the kind of identity formation independent women might engage in.

Nathalie Collé (Université de Lorraine) Book Illustration and Graphic Afterlives

Panel / *Session* 289, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christina Ionescu (Mount Allison University)

I propose to explore in this workshop the graphic and visual afterlives of eighteenth-century literary classics. Collectively and in their great variety, these particular types of afterlife take us beyond the page, stage and theatre into realms as varied and unexpected as TV, cinema or computer screens, shop windows or galleries, Internet sites or even the human body. I will establish the concept of the "graphic afterlife/lives" of literary texts and apply it to eighteenth-century studies and illustration via a few canonical examples, and particularly *Gulliver's Travels*. I will first briefly trace the genesis of afterlife studies, then outline the evolution of the concept of "afterlife" from the textual to the (icono)graphic sphere. I will subsequently explain what I mean by "graphic afterlife/ves," and finally show how the term applies to book-, but also non-book-illustration. I will argue that graphic afterlife has taken its own pictorial turn in the digital era and that we have now entered a post graphic afterlife era. In approaching illustration from the perspective of afterlife studies, I would like to show that illustration is a much broader concept and reality than has often been claimed, and an essential one when it comes to the diffusion, consumption, and perpetuation of literary texts. The afterlives of eighteenth-century fiction have indeed invaded not only bookstores and libraries, theatres and stages, TV and cinema screens, Internet pages and shops – to the point of having become an industry, and a very lucrative business in some cases –, but also academic scholarship and fields, where it is now considered a vogue.

Peter Collinge (Keele University) Women, Business, and Eighteenth-Century Provincial Workhouses: Open and Hidden Investment in the Supply Chain

Panel / *Session* 240, 'Providing for the Poor: Provisioning, 'Professionalisation', and the Parish Politics of Illegitimacy'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tim Hitchcock (University of Sussex)

The contribution made by women to family enterprise in the long-eighteenth century has long been acknowledged by scholars such as Davidoff and Hall, but a paucity of business accounts and correspondence often makes it difficult to identify the specific roles they played. Beyond trade directory entries, newspaper adverts, apprenticeship indentures and insurance records, even locating women in business can be problematic; whilst linking producers and service suppliers to customers is extraordinarily difficult below the level of elite consumers. To address these lacunae, this paper draws on surviving overseers' vouchers, being catalogued as part of the Poor Law, Small Bills and Petty Finance project. By identifying women named in the vouchers who either owned businesses or worked in wider family enterprises supplying goods and services to the parish poor, it assesses the range of their commercial activity and, through micro-case studies, the contributions women made to individual enterprises. It will demonstrate that apart from wishing to ensure that money collected as part of the poor rate was recirculated within parish economies, repeat orders placed by the overseers show that these enterprising women were accepted as members of the commercial environment, recognised for the consistent (if not always the finest) quality of goods they supplied, and for their ability to meet orders in a timely fashion. Analysing eighteenth-century provincial supply chains through overseers' vouchers will also generate a greater appreciation of the poor law system as a significant consumer of goods and services in local economies.

Laura **Colombo** (Università degli Studi di Verona) Identités et intertextualités féminines face à l'altérité

Panel / *Session* 170, 'Identités genrées'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Odile Richard-Pauchet (University of Limoges)

L'intertextualité onomastique entre Zamore et Mirza d'Olympe de Gouges, Mirza de Mme de Staël et Ourika de Mme de Duras n'est plus à démontrer. D'autre part, comme le rappellera beaucoup plus tard Baudelaire, les yeux de la dame créole rendent les poètes aussi « soumis que [ses] noirs », instaurant une relation entre femme et esclavage qui passe par le détour de l'amour, bien que masculin et courtois en ce cas. Toutefois, les isotopies qui caractérisent l'esclavage, ou l'infériorité le cas échéant, s'appliquent bien plutôt aux femmes, telle la « servitude » évoquée par Roxane à la fin des Lettres persanes, ou la soumission que constitue souvent le mariage. Or ces thèmes sont énormément débattus depuis les traités d'éducation aux romans aux Cahiers de doléances, mais qu'en est-il lorsque les écrivaines se penchent sur l'altérité féminine extra-européenne, et les retombées de cette relation en ce qui concerne l'identité féminine ? Les femmes partagent l'intérêt des Lumières pour le voyage, source de confrontation et d'apprentissage, pour l'utilisation savante du dépaysement et du relativisme. La femme étrangère, que ce soit Péruvienne, Tahitienne, Africaine ou esclave, interpelle les écrivaines par plusieurs thématiques, depuis celles concernant l'oppression, l'infériorité, le sacrifice, à celles concernant la non-violence, la compassion, le dévouement, la liberté ou l'égalité. Le but de notre communication sera de vérifier – dans un corpus qui couvre le long XVIIIe siècle, depuis les noms qu'on a cités au début de cette proposition à Mmes de la Fite ou de Montbart à la comtesse de Merlin, pour un regard rétrospectif – comment ces images de l'altérité féminine, et les modulations qu'elles permettent, contribuent, par affinité ou par contraste, à construire l'identité féminine, depuis la discussion sur la beauté physique ou morale aux exigences éthiques dont ces écrivaines sont porteuses.

Thomas **Combe** (Griffith University, QLD) Gentlemen in Brutal Nations: Technology, Progress, and Identity Formation in the Exploration of Australia

Panel / *Session* 228, 'Gentlemanly Identities'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Montana Davies-Shuck (Northumbria University)

In 1768 the President of the Royal Society, Lord Morton, wrote out some 'hints' for Lieutenant James Cook and the other 'gentlemen' about to depart for the Pacific aboard HMS Endeavour. Although known to historians of science and British colonisation in the Pacific, these 'hints' have yet to receive the scholarly attention they deserve. This paper seeks to contextualise the 'hints' by focussing on the tension between two kinds of Enlightenment identity formation animating them: that of British 'gentlemen' and the 'natives'. The key to understanding this tension lies in the mechanistic turn in natural philosophy during the seventeenth century that helped establish a set of assumptions within European thought that connected technology with progress. With British expansion into the Pacific in the late 1700s, Lord Morton's 'hints' were offered by the Society as part of a broader effort to coach colonial travellers on how

best to observe and record the land and people they encountered in a manner ‘conducive to the improvement of True Philosophy’. It is clear from the ‘hints’ that the expedition’s official objective of observing the transit of Venus hid the more important task of finding a great southern continent that ‘might prove highly beneficial to Britain’. However within the ‘hints’ also lies the insistence that Cook and his crew observe the Indigenous population to determine ‘their progress in Arts of Science, Especially their Mechanics, Tools, and manner of using them’. This paper argues that the ‘hints’ make clear the assumption within the Society, and European thought in the late eighteenth century more generally, that technological progress could be used as an ethnographic metric of civilisation. They are thus a window on the twinned development of Enlightenment natural history and natural philosophy with the equally significant designation of Australia’s Indigenous population as, in Joseph Banks’ words, ‘the most uncivilizd savages perhaps in the world’.

Melanie **Conroy** (University of Memphis) *L’Esprit de société* and Networked Identities

Panel / *Session* 44, ‘Formal and Informal Educations’. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Wolf (Birkbeck, University of London)

Marc Fumaroli has called the impulses giving rise to the *sociétés* and *cercles* of eighteenth-century Paris “l’esprit de société,” and written that it was “un phénomène à la fois trop insaisissable et trop évident pour qu’un mot suffit à le définir.”* The impulse to socialize outside the confines of hierarchical structures like the family, church, and military were not totally new but in the eighteenth century some of these social networks—notably salons and academies—took on increased intellectual significance. To what extent did participation in *sociétés* and other less hierarchical groups create a “networked identity,” or the awareness of participation in a networked group? In this paper, I look at the individual self-perceptions of core members of eighteenth-century French *sociétés* and *cercles*. Using data from the Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques “Société savantes”** and the Salons Project***, I reconstruct and analyze the networks of salon and academy members. I argue that the many of core participants in Enlightenment French culture were strongly aware of the network effects of their *sociétés* and *cercles*, including what would later be called “strong” and “weak” ties. In fact, “l’esprit de société” is itself evidence for self-affirmation that participants found in eighteenth-century networks because participants sought to make ever more connections in a variety of social formations.

* Marc Fumaroli, Preface to Jacqueline Hellegouarc’h *L’Esprit de société* (2000: x).

** Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. “Société savantes.” Available at: <http://cths.fr/an/>

*** Melanie Conroy and Edmondson, Chloe. (2018). The Salons Project. Stanford Digital Repository. Available at: <https://purl.stanford.edu/bw629xf8940>

Alison **Conway** (University of British Columbia, Okanagan Campus) Elizabeth Inchbald among the Cisalpines

Panel / *Session* 43, ‘Enlightenment Religious Identities’. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura M. Stevens (University of Tulsa)

The history of literature’s engagement with debates concerning religious toleration in the 1790s has been cogently analyzed, most notably by Mark Canuel and Colin Jager. But the focus of these studies has rested on British Protestantism and debates between Dissenters such as Joseph Priestley and Church of England orthodoxy. This paper will examine Elizabeth Inchbald who, while affiliated with English Jacobins such as Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, was a life-long practicing Catholic. I will read her novels in relation to the Cisalpine movement of the late eighteenth-century, which sought independence from Rome for English Catholics and engaged in British conversations about religious pluralism. How does Inchbald’s understanding of tolerance engage the language of the Cisalpines? And how do her representations complicate the logic governing toleration as it is represented by her Dissenting colleagues?

Ciara **Conway** (Queen's University Belfast) Musical Distribution and Empowerment in John O'Keeffe's *The Castle of Andalusia* (1782)

Panel / *Session* 253, 'Traditions of Song'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Roberts (Queen's University Belfast)

In late-eighteenth century London, the Covent Garden and Haymarket stages were often occupied with the musical comedies of Irish playwright John O'Keeffe (1747-1833). These musical comedies ranged from three-act comic opera mainpieces to two-act musical farce afterpieces, which proved extremely popular with the eighteenth-century London theatregoer. Favourable reviews of O'Keeffe describe him as 'the English Molière' and 'the most brilliant of English dramatists'. Writing in *A Dramatic Synopsis* (1804), drama critic Thomas Gilliland states that O'Keeffe's dramas conveyed 'some of the best music known to the stage'. O'Keeffe is known to have hummed Irish tunes to composers he was working with in London, who then transcribed and adapted them accordingly. However, musicologist Alex Klein argues that the effect Irish music had on the London audience was 'one of mockery than of genuine cultural interest', which led to further prejudice against Ireland. Klein assumes that O'Keeffe allocated Irish music to Irish characters and does not take into account the wider distribution of Irish music amongst characters in O'Keeffe's musical works. This paper will address the use of Irish music in O'Keeffe's comic opera *The Castle of Andalusia* (1782). It will investigate the comic opera's blending of musical identities and the allocation of Irish based airs to Italian soprano Giovanna Sestini (1750-1814) and Irish contralto Margaret Kennedy (d. 1793). The unconventional distribution of Irish music in *The Castle of Andalusia* can be read as O'Keeffe tackling a fixed notion of musical hierarchy, the empowerment of Irish music and identity on stage, while contributing to the complexity of contemporary sub-textual analysis in O'Keeffe's London works.

Suzanne **Conway** (Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia) New Identity for The Child and The Family in French Art

Panel / *Session* 159, 'Women and Children in the Arts'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanna Caviglia (Duke University)

Responding to Rousseau's ringing exhortation, "Let women once again become mothers, men will soon become fathers and husbands again", artists began to visualize the role of the "new child" within the "new family". Strongly influenced by John Locke, Rousseau set forth a new construct of children, childhood and the family. The new child was defined as inherently good and pure, yet vulnerable physically, emotionally, morally and intellectually thus needing careful and specific nurturing and education that only a loving family could properly provide. I will argue that following on the heels of the publication of *Emile* the resonance of Rousseau's "instruction" was so intense among the upper middle class and some of the aristocracy that it resulted in new subject matter in French painting and prints. The new imagery included maternal breast-feeding, newly sentimentalized maternités and family portraits, portraits of fathers with their daughters not just their male heirs, and portrayals of the teaching of fraternal feelings to siblings among other subjects. One of Rousseau's strongest pleas was for maternal breast-feeding. By the 1770's unprecedented formal portraits of elegant women nursing appear. Now the act of breast-feeding itself was comprehended as the principle means of establishing not simply an emotional bond between mother and child but also as the means by which the capacity of children to form all emotional bonds was created. Portraits such as Claude-Nicolas Ledoux with his daughter represent fathers as emotionally bonded to their children regardless of gender. Anonymous fathers are portrayed as an intrinsic part of the nuclear, sentimentally connected family as they visit their infants in the nursery, and as openly loving parents and husbands happily ensconced at the heart of the family. Rousseauian fathers are bonded to their offspring from birth and participate at only a slight remove in their emotional education. Considered as a whole this new, intimate, imagery creates a group portrait of the new family whose bonds and strength are the result of the new identity of the child. This newly valued child bound the family as a unit.

Elizabeth Heckendorn **Cook** (University of California, Santa Barbara) Arboreal Wastopias in the Later Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 357, 'Botanical Identities 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Benharrech (University of Maryland)

What is the value of a dead tree? Artists and writers began to answer this question differently at the end of the 18th century. This essay puts the aesthetic theory of the picturesque into conversation with New Materialist theories revaluing what's designated as garbage. Often anchored in urban figures and settings, from Baudelaire's flâneur to contemporary dumpster-divers and Freegans, modernism's provocative transvaluations of urban waste emerge out of an early modern history of wastescapes, which I examine here in relation to later 18th-c. British poetry depicting dead and dying trees in rural settings.

Throughout the long early modern period, forests and trees constituted a rich intersection of the ways humans value the natural world, from raw material to sites of emotional attachment. The poems I examine derive their strange charge from the instrumentalism of improvement discourse and the techno-optimism of the New Science. Against these, dead trees locate an alternative order of value. Gilpin's influential *Remarks on Forest Scenery* (1791) encodes the triumph of the picturesque over utilitarian values; poems by Anna Seward and Charlotte Smith explore the tensions between these modes. Austen's ironic appropriation of Gilpin's silvicultural picturesque in *Northanger Abbey* reconnects these ostensibly incommensurable values in a single landscape (indeed, emblematically, in a single sentence), dismantling the tidy binaries that structure our concept of a singular Value into a productive mess of conflicting yet co-existing values.

I close with a brief discussion of Mark Dion's *Vivarium* (2006), which draws on the same mixture of categories and affects as the dead trees of these earlier texts. A spectacular Western hemlock log laid out in an 80-foot-long greenhouse sustains a mass of lush parasitic biocommunities through the nutrients released by its decaying body – yet it can do so only because of the elaborate environmental controls of the museum installation. The fallen hemlock, itself on life support, is a *memento mori*, both an exhilarating embodiment of vibrant matter and also an elegiac reminder of what is missing.

Alexandra Cook (University of Hong Kong) Indigenous Peoples and Eighteenth-Century Plant Prospecting

Panel / *Session* 324, 'Botanical Identities 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Giulia Pacini (College of William and Mary)

Prospecting for medicinal and other useful plants was a major early-modern economic and scientific endeavor, whether at home or abroad. The Swedish botanist, Linnaeus, famously prospected for economically useful plants within his own country during trips to Lapland, Gotland and Öland. So economically important were plants that modern empires could not have arisen, much less survived, without them: quinine, tea, sugar, spices, etc. The acquisition of new plants came at a cost, however—above all a human one: large numbers of prospectors died in the process. A leading group of prospectors were trading company medical personnel, who were felled in vast numbers either by scurvy or by tropical diseases. Another category of prospecting victims has received less attention: the peoples who traditionally used these plants, and who often shared their knowledge with Europeans without credit, much less compensation. Scholars such as Raj, Grove, Schiebinger, and Cook have noted the persistent tendency to fail to acknowledge those who assisted European plant prospectors. Indigenous' agency is denied; the local 'go-between' or conduit of critical plant knowledge is passive, unnamed, even omitted from the story. The resulting history is lopsided and inaccurate, yet acknowledging and compensating indigenous inputs is hardly a straightforward matter. For over twenty years development specialists, anthropologists, legal experts and others have debated what is meant by 'indigenous knowledge' ('IK'). While the term IK might suggest a defined body of knowledge, one not subject to change, most knowledge systems are by their very nature changing, hybrid and owned by no one. Many plants may also be used by more than one group, as is the case with neem, widely used in South Asia. The fluidity of knowledge likewise destabilizes the notion of IK. It is the hitherto unplumbed depths of the concept of IK with respect to 18th c. plant prospecting that I aim to investigate in my paper. By examining the IK debate, we can consider the historical instances with a more sophisticated appreciation of the identities – both human and plant – implicated in eighteenth-century botanical prospecting.

Daniel Cook (University of Dundee) Walter Scott's Authorial Identities: The Shorter Fiction

Panel / *Session* 346, 'Sir Walter Scott'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Emma Macleod (University of Stirling)

Scott's works often include an insistent, and frequently intrusive, narrative voice. In many of the Waverley novels and related series, the narrator is even named and given an elaborate backstory, as is the case with Chrystal Croftangry. He extended the practice with the shorter pieces he contributed to periodicals throughout his career, many of which have yet to be examined in detail. In the Gothic, or supernatural, stories he wrote for the periodical press, the role of the author figure is especially pronounced. In 'Phantasmagoria', the narrator claims that a mysterious old lady transmitted the present story to him, simultaneously demoting his role of author to that of mere transcriber and promoting himself to sceptical commentator. This dual authority allows Scott to deliver a seemingly conventional tale of maligned superstition while wittily interrogating the generic expectations of eighteenth-century Gothic. "It would have been easy for a skilful narrator to give this tale more effect", writes Simon Shadow, the nominal editor, but he chooses "to limit himself strictly to his authorities". Elsewhere, writing under the famous banner of THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY in 'Death of the Laird's Jock', Scott mocks the assumptions of such authorities, including himself, who stifle creativity. Scrutinising a selection of the famous and lesser known periodical stories, this paper will offer new insights into Scott's authorial identity, in theory as well as practice.

Lucy Cooper (University of Worcester) 'The Office of a Critic is an Exercise of Authority':
Eighteenth-Century Anglican Clergymen and the Authoritative Critical Voice

Panel / *Session 262*, 'Criticism: Canon Formation and Patterns of Influence'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30.
G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Corrina Readioff (University of Liverpool)

Throughout the eighteenth century, literary criticism acquired an increasingly authoritative position in the expanding print market, and critics themselves assumed an increasingly professional and authoritative role. As arbiter of literary and, therefore, arguably cultural value, the critical voice became a significant component in the production, distribution, and reception of literary texts. Contributing significantly to the wide range of contemporary critical voices were several eighteenth-century Anglican clergymen. Through scholarly textual editing, essays on the purpose and nature of poetry, historically contextualised literary analyses, and the production of native literary histories, clerical figures such as the Bishop of Gloucester, William Warburton, Rector of Kiddington, Thomas Warton, and the Bishop of Worcester, Richard Hurd, considerably extended the literary-critical debate. Disseminating their literary opinions in print, lectures, and private letters, such clergymen contributed markedly, and visibly, to the literary-cultural landscape of eighteenth-century England, and the growing contemporary enterprise to recover and establish a native literary-cultural heritage.

This paper will explore the role of the 'clergyman critic' in the context of critical and ecclesiastical authority. Arguing that like the Eighteenth-Century Church, contemporary literary criticism was an institution which centred on authority and regulation, it will consider how the contribution of clergymen to the quickly evolving institution of eighteenth-century literary criticism potentially influenced the reading practices and reading choices of the general public. Ultimately, the paper seeks to interrogate the function of Anglican clergymen as literary arbiters and figures of moral authority, and the role of their criticism in the development of a native literary canon.

Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London) The Advent of the
Urban/Commercial/Radical Handshake in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Panel / *Session 340*, 'Masculinity and Sociability'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.10, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Rosamund Paice (University of Portsmouth)

In terms of styles of meeting and greetings, the long eighteenth century in Britain saw not only change, but change within change. The traditional custom of bowing deeply and removing the hat (for men) and curtsying (for women) was becoming attenuated into a slight nod and lifting of the hat (men) and a quick bob and inclination of the head (women). And there was something strikingly new. This paper explores the urban/commercial/radical origins of the egalitarian handshake. Not only did this new custom originate between men of broadly equal social status but it also spread slowly between men and women. The emotional and cultural ramifications of these changes are analysed – including opposition to hand-shaking as overly intimate and 'unhygienic'.

Beth **Cortese** (Aarhus University) Beings and Estates: Property, Inheritance, and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Novel

Panel / *Session* 413, 'The Cosmopolitan Identity of an Enlightenment Philosopher: David Hume 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Nicoli (Lichtenberg Kolleg, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

This paper will focus on the intersection between property and identity in the Enlightenment. Namely, the philosophical conversations about property ownership and its impact on the individual and society in the work of John Locke and David Hume. I will consider how Enlightenment debates about ownership of property as obtained through labour for individual benefit and as a social construct necessary for the public good inform representations of inheritance and identity in eighteenth-century novels. I will explore the extent to which property affects the notion of identity in the novel, not only in terms of class status, but also in relation to self-possession or self-assurance and virtue. While Locke's model of property attained through labour is integral to the formation of identity in Robinson Crusoe (1719), property obtained through merit fuels family conflict in Samuel Richardson's Clarissa (1748-9). In Clarissa, an individual's right to own property and the criteria that determines their right is questioned when the youngest female grandchild is chosen over her own father and elder siblings to inherit her grandfather's estate, therefore bypassing the traditional inheritance practices through the testator's rejection of primogeniture. I argue that the possession of an estate is portrayed as influencing an individual's self-possession in the novel because the transference of property through the testator's will impacted a person's future, financial independence, familial relations, and sense of self-worth.

Phoebus **Cotsapas** (Stanford University) Publicity for the Encyclopédie? Reimagining Rousseau's *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*.

Panel / *Session* 359, 'Conceptual Rousseau'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Devin Vartija (Utrecht University)

The Discourse on the Arts and Sciences (1750) is not Rousseau's most widely studied, best argued or most original work, but its genesis is a key episode in Enlightenment mythography. Recounting in the Confessions his road-to-Damascus moment on the way to visit Diderot at Vincennes, Rousseau writes that upon reading the title of the Dijon Academy's prize essay contest, he "beheld another universe and became another man." Jean-Jacques's autobiographical writing lends support to the view that this event marked the birth of Rousseau the anti-philosophe, critic of society and of progress, precursor of romanticism, prophet of revolution.

I do not wish to claim that this version of the story is false. What I want to offer in my proposed paper is an alternative reading of the First Discourse, a reading that I believe is justified by the text itself as well as by other writings of Rousseau's and his contemporaries. I will suggest that far from signalling Rousseau's rupture with the Encyclopédistes, the First Discourse can be read as the work of a thinker who believed in the Encyclopédie, whose first volume was published in 1751. I will argue that the Discourse's blistering social critique announced several key themes of Diderot's and d'Alembert's project, most importantly the significance of social utility in evaluating, situating, criticising and promoting the arts and sciences in mid-eighteenth-century France. Through a close reading of Rousseau's text alongside key passages in d'Alembert's Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie and Diderot's article 'Art', among others, I aim to show that the First Discourse gestured towards and also informed the way in which the Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers would treat its object.

Parker **Cotton** (Wycliffe College, University of Toronto) The Faith of a Sceptic: Bayle's Christian Identity

Panel / *Session* 108, 'Irreligious Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Devin Vartija (Utrecht University)

Pierre Bayle continually identified as a Christian of good standing. Bayle scholarship has been divided over whether we take Bayle at his word, as a fideist Christian (Labrousse, 1983; Popkin, 2003), or see him as an atheist, or, at least leaning towards atheism, and claiming fideism as a self-preservation tactic (Mori, 1999; Israel, 2001; McKenna, 2012).

I find the view of Bayle as a genuine fideist compelling due to biographical information: his continued involvement in a church, apparently genuine conversion to Catholicism and later return to Calvinism, and the relative safety of expression in the Netherlands. Despite this, the articles appearing to undermine Christianity in the *Dictionnaire*, while not necessarily contradicting a fideist position—faith is not based on reason, after all—are difficult to work into a coherent narrative when read against Bayle’s repeated attacks on Christian doctrine and institutions.

I argue that a more complicated picture of Enlightenment faith identities emerges when we consider how Bayle speaks of virtuous living. The traits he consistently praises when biography Christians are those of humility and peaceable living, both traits that emerge in sceptical doubt (Dictionary ‘Melancthon’, ‘Pascal’). This complication of religious identities, that Christian doctrine and institutions can be challenged and that faith requires our knowledge claims to submit to ethical living, contributes to a larger disruption of a rationally inclined Enlightenment. Right belief is defined not by assent to specific doctrinal claims but by one’s ethical behaviour. “These actions” make you a good Christian as opposed to “these” beliefs.

Richard Coulton (Queen Mary University of London) *Commercial Enterprise and Knowledge Production: James Cuninghame and the Natural History of China*

Panel / *Session* 219, ‘The East India Company and the Production of Knowledge’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Markman Ellis (Queen Mary University of London)

This presentation focuses on the efforts of James Cuninghame (c. 1665-1709), a British ship’s surgeon, to research and disseminate knowledge about China during two trading voyages. Cuninghame travelled twice to China: firstly to Amoy (Xiamen) in 1698-99; then, under the aegis of the New East India Company, to the island of Chusan (Zhoushan) in 1700-03. In particular I will explore how practices of commercial enterprise and natural history knowledge production variously enabled and constrained one another within what was (from a European perspective) a remote and often unforgiving cultural context.

Knowledge of China was both limited and precious for contemporary Europeans, especially trading companies seeking to open new routes for exchange and to bring new commodities to market. Moreover, within London’s intellectual circles there was a growing appetite for global natural historical and ethnographic knowledge, inspired not least by the intellectual and public agendas of the Royal Society. In China, Cuninghame responded to such impetuses through activities including observing and collecting local flora and fauna; recording observations in journals and correspondence; commissioning indigenous artists to produce botanical paintings; and participating in the production of a hydrographical chart of the Zhoushan archipelago.

Cuninghame was among the first to transmit scientifically significant botanical collections from China to Europe. His findings participated in an emerging discourse of China and contributed to Enlightenment projects for securing universal knowledge. This interdisciplinary presentation is part of my ongoing research into the multimedia archive of James Cuninghame, which I am conducting in partnership with Dr Charlie Jarvis of the Natural History Museum, London.

Joan Coutu (University of Waterloo) *Venus: Statues, Identity, and the Aesthetic Turn*

Panel / *Session* 35, ‘British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 1’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dana Arnold (University of East Anglia)

This presentation will consider the positioning of classical statuary as expositions of identity at country houses in Britain in the eighteenth-century. Venuses, Dying Gauls, Apollo Belvederes, Apollinos, and other classical figures populated gardens, filled vistas, and greeted visitors at the door. Some were casts and copies and others antique originals. As many case studies have shown – Blenheim, Rousham, Holkham, Stowe, Wentworth Woodhouse, Woburn Abbey, etc. – these statues were far more than simply generic expressions of classicism; each was chosen, often to work with others, to articulate a precise commentary about the owner of each house. Building on these excellent individual analyses, this presentation explores the shifting nature of these constructed commentaries, notably in terms of narrative, in relation to the rise of aesthetics at mid-century, and in tandem with the emergence of ‘professional’ archeology in the age of digging and dealing. Core to the discussion will be the role of exemplum and

the idea of a canon as Britain's philosophical relationship with history and the past evolved over the course of the century.

Brian Cowan (McGill University) *Mr. Spectator and the Doctor: Joseph Addison and Henry Sacheverell*

Panel / *Session 89, 'Politeness and Civility'*. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh (Swansea University)

Joseph Addison and Henry Sacheverell were almost exact contemporaries. Born within two years of one another, both men attended Magdalen College, Oxford in their youth, and they both took up their studies at the college in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. From this moment onward, the lives and public careers of Addison and Sacheverell would be curiously intertwined. Scholarship and college life would bring them together as friends, but politics and public fame would pull them apart. A contrast between the agreeable Addison and the distasteful Sacheverell is commonplace in eighteenth-century studies, and not without reason. As perhaps the chief proponent of a new culture of 'politeness' for post-revolutionary Britain, Addison is well known for his friendliness, if not perhaps for his volubility, in company. Addison's powerful reputation as the patron saint of eighteenth-century politeness did not sit well with his ties to Sacheverell, whose firebrand reputation was deeply controversial in his lifetime and only declined further as time went by. For this reason, the youthful friendship of the two Magdalen scholars has been a source of awkwardness for later commentators. This paper places the friendship between Addison and Sacheverell within the context of post-revolutionary political and literary culture and argues that their friendship must be taken seriously if the social complexities of that period are to be fully understood.

Helen Cowie (University of York) *Vicuña, Silk of the Andes: Domestication, Acclimatisation, and Conservation*

Panel / *Session 296, 'Eighteenth-Century Natural Histories and the Environmental Humanities'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tess Somervell (University of Leeds)

This paper focuses on shifting human relationships with the vicuña, a wild relation of the llama and alpaca prized highly for its silky fleece. Carefully managed by the Incas, who hunted the animals every four years in sustainably-managed round-ups, or *chakkus*, vicuñas were slaughtered indiscriminately by the Spanish conquistadors and their descendants and were subject to some of the earliest colonial conservation legislation. They subsequently became targets to domestication and acclimatisation in the eighteenth century – both in the Americas and in Europe; the New Granadan botanist, Francisco Jose de Caldas, outlined a scheme to transfer vicuñas from Peru to Bogotá, and the Peruvian priest, Juan Pablo Cabrera, succeeded in the 1840s in interbreeding vicuñas and alpacas at his estate in Macusani. Exploring the vicuña's important role in indigenous and European commerce, the paper examines the various strategies devised to exploit and protect the animal and assesses their wider significance. I focus in particular on the important role of Native American practices and knowledge in shaping European uses of the vicuña and the camelid's importance in past and present debates about wildlife conservation.

Abby Coykendall (Eastern Michigan University) *Cruising Dystopia in Gulliver's Travels*

Panel / *Session 380, 'Queer Swift'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Declan Gilmore-Kavanagh (University of Kent)

What's not queer about *Gulliver's Travels*? Heterosexual marriage is quickly dispensed with by the first few pages, marginalized as phenomenon meriting no tale to tell. Indeed, *Gulliver's* honeymoon possesses almost no interest for the reader or for the character himself, certainly nothing comparable to the goings-on within the private quarters of his dear old friend Master Bates. As ever in Swift's works, scatology is seldom far from the surface in *Gulliver's Travels*. The body appears hyper-embodied, made estranged and carnivalesque, as if it were a separate character doggedly shadowing the main character that he can never quite accommodate or shed. Rarely is *Gulliver* wearing attire befitting

his environs; whether he be large or small, clothed or unclothed, space holds no place for his aberrant, abjected corporality. While there are numerous queer interludes on which to dwell in this novel, those upon which my paper will focus mostly occur in Part 2—when the diminutive Gulliver is declared a “freak of nature” by the Brobdingnagians, yet tasked with performing the incidental gestures of normative humanity and masculinity upon the stage. Gulliver is here compelled to perform a self as if his miniature self had no such self to stage besides the “as if” virtual self of simulation. This clever staging of the very staging of norms is what to me registers as most quintessentially queer about Swift’s novel. Much like José Muñoz’s *Cruising Utopia* and *Disidentifications*, *Gulliver’s Travels* betrays the performativity that underlies call to normativity, as well as the precarity of any body interpellated outside its frame.

Joseph Cozens (University College London) *The Dragoon State: Soldiers and Riot Control in Britain, c. 1789–1819*

Panel / *Session 107*, ‘IHR British History in the Long Eighteenth Century Panel: The Force of the State, 1789–1819’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Steve Poole (University of the West of England)

Outbreaks of popular unrest were commonplace in eighteenth-century Britain and particularly so in the decades after the French Revolution (1789). This paper uses military records to analyse the deployment of soldiers on riot duty. It argues that over time the British government developed effective mechanisms for supplying troops to disorderly localities and that magistrates in urban and industrial areas became increasingly reliant on soldiers to maintain public order. Light cavalry and especially regiments of Dragoons were regarded as particularly adept at suppressing protests. The paper demonstrates that the militarisation of crowd control in Britain between 1789 and 1819 was closely associated with the social stresses of war, industrialisation, and state formation.

Michelle Craig (University of Glasgow) *Enlightenment, Scholarly, and Personal Identity in William Hunter’s Library*

Panel / *Session 2*, ‘Anatomising the Anatomist’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Richard Bellis (University of Leeds)

The physician-collector, William Hunter (1718-1783) amassed a museum that encompassed among other things, medical and scientific specimens, ethnographic items, fine art, and numismatics. His fine library contained around 10 000 printed books and manuscripts on his death. It covered many of his major interests – it was not merely a medical library, but a library of wider scholarly, and antiquarian note. As a Scot living in London, and a friend to the likes of William Cullen, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume and Adam Smith, both Hunter’s library and his correspondence networks provide a valuable case study into the identity of Scots in London society, and the reception of enlightenment ideas within the professional classes of London. Using the library itself as evidence, in terms of provenance, composition, and Hunter’s own engagement with his books, this paper will particularly explore to what extent Hunter engaged with the key ideas of both the Scottish and wider European enlightenment.

Sean Creighton (Independent Scholar) *Loveless Overton: An Eighteenth-century Bajan Antislavery Activist*

Panel / *Session 383*, ‘Slavery and Identity 2’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal Millan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

While numerous 18th century white anti-slavery activists and campaigners have become established figures in consequence of historical research, less well-known are the identities of individuals from various black communities who strove to oppose slavery. While several black 18th century activists left behind printed personal testimonies as narratives, other individuals appear as traces in archives and other records awaiting discovery. Recent research has led to the discovery of a free black Bajan man, Loveless Overton (c.1780 – c.1840), which reveals a fascinating life-story, encompassing service in the British army as a trumpeter, initiation as a freemason and raising a family in Brighton. His life-story includes imprisonment and release from jail with the assistance of elite British Army officials in

Barbados and a subsequent return to Ireland. Set within an Enlightenment context, the life of Loveless provides insights into gaining acceptance and inclusion in military and Masonic circles, clashes with Bajan colonial authorities for helping a mis-treated slave, purchasing slaves to ensure individuals' freedom and alerting the Hibernian Negro Friends Society and Quakers in Belfast about enslaved sailors from Bermuda. Unable to read or write, Loveless maintained relationships with family and friends in Barbados, served as a military officer's servant after leaving the British army and was described as 'a respectable man of colour' in Belfast newspapers. This paper aims to highlight the role of black activists in raising issues of inequality and acceptance. In addition this paper aims to challenge the perception of eighteenth century black identities in the UK and by military and colonial authorities.

Michèle **Crogiez** (Université de Berne) Les expérimentations agronomiques du duc de La Rochefoucauld (1743–1792)

Panel / *Session* 151, 'Sciences et Mouvement des Lumières dans les campagnes/Science and Enlightenment Movement in the Countryside'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (Université de Lille)

Héritier d'une dynastie aristocratique pluriséculaire, le duc de La Rochefoucauld ne se contente pas de jurer paresseusement de sa situation. Il voyage, encore très jeune, à Genève, dans les Alpes, en Italie, en Suède, dans le sud-ouest de la France, ainsi que dans les diverses garnisons du régiment dont il est colonel. Dans le salon parisien de sa mère, la duchesse d'Enville, une femme aussi riche que passionnée de sciences, il a croisé et croisera toute sa vie des esprits tournés, chacun à leur manière, vers les sciences, surtout les sciences qu'on n'appelle pas encore expérimentales : successivement Quesnay, Mirabeau, Turgot, Malesherbes, Jefferson, Mazzei, Young – ce dernier rencontré grâce à son cousin, le duc de Liancourt (1747-1827), qui a attiré Young en France – Dolomieu, Poivre, Dupont de Nemours. Sa pratique agronomique s'ancre dans une pensée préalable, à la pointe de la recherche du temps, et se réalise, sur ses terres, en l'occurrence le duché de La Rocheguyon, parmi beaucoup d'autres actions en faveur de la population locale : éducation primaire et professionnelle, médecine, philanthropie. Son immense fortune lui permet d'essayer toutes sortes de cultures : navet, arbres fruitiers, vigne, vers à soie et même l'élevage des moutons mérinos, visiblement sur des principes théoriques et livresques plus qu'agricoles, conformément à un tour d'esprit confiant dans la science et la raison, typique de l'école physiocratique. Ce tour d'esprit est d'autant plus facile à cerner que le duc l'a mis en œuvre également dans son action politique. En cela, il incarne très bien l'aristocratie réformiste et progressiste de l'époque des Lumières, capable d'enthousiasme et d'expérimentation, au péril d'un idéalisme lourd de déconvenues plus ou moins prévisibles. Une aristocratie bienveillante et réformiste, mais sûre de son autorité, qui s'accorde le droit et s'impose le devoir de réformer les pratiques paysannes au nom de la science.

Nicholas **Cronk** (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford) Voltaire's 'English letters': Between Fact and Fiction

Panel / *Session* 425, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIIIe siècle – La lettre entre les nations 1 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth Century – Letters between Nations 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Décultot (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

Voltaire lived in England for two and a half years between 1726 and 1728, and around 30 letters that he wrote in this period have survived. It was Lucien Foulet who first studied this corpus, and even now it remains a challenge to describe it with precision. Since the completion of the Besterman edition, other Voltaire letters from this period have come to light.

Interpretation of this corpus is fraught with difficulty. To what extent does it present a balanced picture of Voltaire's epistolary exchanges in this period? How significant are the inevitable gaps? And, since autograph manuscripts for some of these letters have not survived, can we be sure they are authentic? Furthermore, there is the question of the *Lettres philosophiques*, the work known familiarly by Voltaire as his 'lettres anglaises', begun while he was in England. This is a polemical work that pretends – in the English edition at least – to be based on genuine letters written from England. But are we correct in assuming that these letters are necessarily fictive? And what might be the links between the apparently fictive letters about England and the genuine ones? Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*

established a sense of English identity that had important consequences for the way in which the Enlightenment saw and defined itself.

What styles of Enlightenment identity emerge from this corpus? The distinction between 'real' and 'invented' letters is not self-evident. Voltaire's 'English letters' provide a fascinating case-study of how a sense of national identity can be tested and displayed in epistolary form; and as Voltaire seeks to describe a sense of English identity to his French (and for that matter English) correspondents, so he also comes to reflect on his own identity as a Frenchman.

Barbara Crosbie (Durham University) Subordination and Self-Realisation: The Diary of an Eighteenth-Century Adolescent

Panel / *Session* 397, 'Juvenile Writing, Identities, and Self-Presentation in Eighteenth-Century Europe'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

This paper focuses on the diary of an adolescent named Ralph Jackson (1736-1790), covering the years he spent as an apprentice living in Newcastle upon Tyne. Ralph came from a well-to-do family and his experiences reflect his relatively privileged status, but the copious and often mundane entries in his diary provide a rare insight into life as a live-in apprentice. This was not a discursive diary and there are very few entries in which his feeling or opinions are explicitly expressed. Nonetheless, as he recounted the activities of each day Ralph revealed far more than he may have realised. The increasing autonomy expressed in this diary can be seen as a ubiquitous aspect of youth transition. However, Ralph grew up during a period in which the early-modern patriarchal household was transforming into the modern family home, making his account of adolescent self-realisation even more significant in historical terms. Moreover, Ralph's teenage rebellion serves as a striking reminder that identities could still be shaped by religion during the Age of Enlightenment.

Sara Crouch (The University of Sydney) 'A curiosity in my own character': Authorial Identity and Legacy in Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771)

Panel / *Session* 93, 'Smollett and Enlightenment Identity'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Phineas Dowling (Auburn University)

This paper considers the influence that sensibility, sensation, and Lockean 'solidity' had over male authorship and relationship during the eighteenth century. Bearing these terms in mind, while also being alert to the ways in which the distinction between them is always unstable, this paper argues that 'touchiness' underpins the authorial identity of, and identification between, eighteenth-century male writers. Touch, especially when it is violent, is motivated by a desire to breach or open the skin in order to disrupt the border between self and other. Tactile sensation draws attention to the limits of the self and, in certain circumstances, transgresses those limits. This phenomenon is rendered uncomfortable, often intensely so, when touch is deliberately violent, or when one is sensitive to touch. With this in mind, this paper examines the violent touches meted out and experienced by certain celebrity authors. This discussion is supported by a close reading of Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) and interprets the novel as a defence of Smollett's reputation (after it had been attacked by Phillip Thicknesse and Laurence Sterne), and notices, in particular, that Smollett frequently deploys images of skin and tactile sensation that are in turn comic and graphic, to sustain its satire and secure a posthumous legacy for its author. It is a contention of this paper that Smollett was deeply preoccupied with his authorial identity, reputation, and legacy and that these concerns characterize his private correspondence towards the end of his life as well as taking up considerable thematic space in his final novel.

Ildiko Csengei (University of Huddersfield) The Psychopathology of War in William Godwin's 'Mandeville: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century in England' (1817)

Panel / *Session* 471, 'The Intellectual History of War in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christy Pichichero (George Mason University)

Charles Mandeville, the protagonist of Godwin's eponymous novel from 1817, is the precursor to dark and psychologically complex literary characters like Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), Brontë's Heathcliff (1847) and Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). In a reversed *Bildung* narrative driven by malformation rather than progress, the passive, brooding and depressive Mandeville transforms into a true Gothic villain by the end of the novel, fuelled by rage and antipathy toward his doppelgänger, the naturally benevolent and successful Clifford. Like many future novels depicting similar, Byronic heroes, Mandeville can arguably be seen as a character study on the sources of human evil. This paper will argue that the leading contextual element that underpins Mandeville's psychopathology is the traumatic childhood experience of war and its adverse effects on the human mind. At age three, the English Mandeville witnessed horrific cruelties in Northern Ireland during the Ulster Rebellion of 1641. Following the young Mandeville's survival and successful escape to England, the narrative of his life remains one of isolation, mental breakdown and decline. This paper will re-interpret Mandeville's story as an early account of war trauma, and explore contextual connections with the Napoleonic wars, together with Godwin's – as well as his country's – post Waterloo sentiments. The paper will also reflect on the implications of the Byronic hero's roots in an early psychology of war trauma.

Tili Boon **Cuille** (Washington University in St Louis) Forging National Identities: Scotland's Past and France's Future

Panel / *Session* 446, 'Afterlives of Ossian'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Cliona Ó Gallchoir (University College Cork)

In the 1760s, Scots scholar James Macpherson received a grant financing his travels through the Highlands in search of the Scots national epic. His mission turned out to be more successful than anticipated, for he returned with the epic poems *Fingal* and *Temora*. The discovery of a national epic in which the British, French, and Germans alike recognized their cultural origins captured the collective imagination and the Ossian craze spread through Europe like wildfire. Macpherson's fame turned to notoriety, however, when the epics were exposed as a hoax. Far from being faithful translations of a Scots original, as Macpherson claimed, they proved to be part translation of written fragments, part transcription of oral narrative, and part embellishment, and were promptly demoted from archaeological evidence or historical document to mere literature.

I consider how the Ossian epics came to inform French national identity in the transition from Revolution to Empire in the domains of philosophy and politics. Strong affinities in the interests of natural and moral philosophers in Edinburgh and Paris paved the way for the epics' favorable reception, for they depicted a more authentic version of nature and society, marred only by doubts as to the authenticity of the epics themselves. The Auld Alliance between France and Scotland was reaffirmed when France offered refuge to the exiled Stuart line. The ensuing Jacobite rebellions were associated with popular uprisings and separatist movements throughout Europe, including the Corsican nationalists and the French Revolutionaries. The epics therefore appealed to those on both sides of the political spectrum, namely arch-enemies Napoleon Bonaparte and Germaine de Staël, who sought to reconceive the French nation in the wake of civil strife. Napoleon considered the blind bard his court poet, Scots legend inspired the state art he commissioned, and the inaugural act of the folklore society he founded, the *Académie Celtique*, was to confirm the epics' authenticity. The Ossian craze thus operated at the vanguard of what soon became a pan-European interest in folklore and folksong as national identities were reinforced and redefined.

Anna **Cullhed** (Stockholm University) Inverting the Barbarian: Estrangement and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century *Medea*

Panel / *Session* 212, 'Medea's Identities 1750–1800'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Katherine (Katie) Charles (Washington College)

In Euripides' tragedy, *Medea* is defined as a barbarian from the far-off Colchis by the Black Sea. As Edith Hall argues in her ground-breaking study, *Inventing the Barbarian* (1989), the barbarian was a non-Greek character, defined by

transgressions and excess. In the eighteenth century, several authors in Europe transformed the meaning of the word barbarian (and its cognates in other languages): the differentiation between Greek and non-Greek was generally played down, and the barbarian was mainly characterised by pitilessness and inhumanity. This paved the way for representing the Greek hero Jason as a barbarian, as in Bengt Lidner's 1784 opera libretto *Medea*. This paper addresses the inversion of the barbarian in relation to the sentimental reversal of the *Medea* story in the late eighteenth century, ethics in relation to ethnicity, and emotional excess – one of the characteristics of the ancient barbarian – in the period's depiction of *Medea*. The paper concludes with an outlook on the return of *Medea* as a barbarian in the early nineteenth century.

Andrew Curran (Wesleyan University) *Diderot: A Short History from Conception until Death*

Panel / *Session 263*, 'Diderot: Life Stages'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew H. Clark (Fordham University)

If Denis Diderot had provided the first paragraphs for his own biography, he might have begun by evoking the precise moment where he was conceived on a January night in 1713. This was, after all, how he liked to tell his friends' life stories, with images of epigenetic liquids, chemical fermentation, tiny organs, and the beginning of a life. In this paper I will begin with a quick survey of this moment and juxtapose this with Diderot's slow and painful death in 1784, a year of agonizing and intrusive medical treatments. In happier years, Diderot had quipped that "the best doctor is the one you run to, but that you cannot find." Now that he had lived past the time in his life where avoiding the doctor was the best course of action, the medical profession began a series of treatments that Diderot described as the "very nasty things" keeping him alive. His death, however, gives us profound insight into the man he was.

Hélène Cussac (University of Toulouse-Jean-Jaures) *La notion de bienfaisance dans la correspondance familiale de Diderot*

Panel / *Session 326*, 'Diderot et la Morale 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Odile Richard-Pauchet (University of Limoges)

Le concept de bienfaisance, associé à celui de vertu, est, on le sait, sous sa forme laïcisée, un topos de la morale philosophique du temps des Lumières. La notion parcourt en fait toute l'œuvre de Diderot, aussi s'agirait-il d'observer ici, à la suite du beau travail de Geneviève Cammagre (*Roman et Histoire de soi : la notion de sujet dans la correspondance de Diderot*, Paris, H. Champion, 2000), ce qu'il en est dans la correspondance familiale avant d'examiner plus tard les liens éventuels avec l'œuvre entier. L'écriture familiale favorise-t-elle l'expression de la bienfaisance, comme c'est le cas dans la célèbre Lettre à Landois du 29 juin 1756 ? Y retrouve-t-on l'identité d'un Diderot aussi moral que dans le reste de l'œuvre ?

Manuela D'Amore (University of Catania) *Constructing Mediterranean Identities: The Royal Society and Sicily at the Time of the Grand Tour*

Panel / *Session 195*, 'Architectural Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Felix Martin (RWTH Aachen University)

This paper stems from a thorough investigation of the Royal Society's cultural policies in the age of the Grand Tour (D'Amore; 2015; 2015; 2017): closely interwoven with the main philosophical and scientific trends, these policies finally resulted in the creation of alternative travel itineraries, as well as clear, stereotyped regional identities.

Evidence of the Fellows' interest in the main Continental countries, and especially in the Mediterranean south, can be found in vols. 1-90 of the "Philosophical Transactions". From 1665 to the early eighteenth century Campania and Sicily were identified with Vesuvius, Etna and their disastrous geological events; at the time of the Neoclassical vogue and of the discovery of the archaeological site of Herculaneum (1739), the journal's correspondents focused on the immense cultural heritage of Bourbon Naples. The sudden increase in the number of articles on the area – 81 in the years 1740-1780 – soon reinforced the idea that Mount Vesuvius and the remains of the Roman past were its most distinctive features.

Thus, during the Grand Tour, the Society's cultural policy was to construct regional identities on the basis of the main cultural currents: when the emerging idea of the Sublime combined with strong scientific interest in volcanology, Sir William Hamilton's extraordinary account of his ascent to Mount Etna (1770) had a strong impact on British travellers. Several of them decided to cross the Strait of Messina, to visit the major Sicilian cities, and to learn about their popular traditions: the signs of "superstition" and of religious devotion that they recorded in their memoirs are symbolic of the clash between the concepts "identity" and "otherness" in contact zones.

More is still needed on the topic. Based on close textual references to the "Philosophical Transactions" (vols. 60-90) and to the Fellows' longer travel accounts, this paper will show how The Royal Society saw Sicily, and how the Fellows constructed its identity. Despite all oversimplifications and stereotypes, thanks to their writings, the Italian Mediterranean became closer to Europe.

Iwan Michelangelo D'Aprile (University of Potsdam) The Transition of Sociological Thought: Hans Gerth

Panel / *Session 10*, 'Enlightened Identities in the Weimar Republic'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Avi Lifschitz (University of Oxford)

Hans Gerth (1908-1978) after his exile after 1937 became one of the most important mediator of the works of Max Weber in the United States. In his dissertation at the University of Frankfurt, *Die sozialgeschichtliche Lage der bürgerlichen Intelligenz um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie des dt. Frühliberalismus* (1933, first published in 1973), however, he developed a crucial contribution to Enlightenment research. In defining the Enlightenment not so much as a set of ideas but as a new type of intellectuals emerging in different institutional contexts and their related specific practices he developed a socio-historical model of explanation of Enlightenment key terms such as "intellectuals", "public sphere", "political reform" etc. which later on were similarly introduced by scholars such as Jürgen Habermas, Robert Darnton, or Roger Chartier. In my paper I will take a closer look on the significance of Gerth's conceptualizations of the "Enlightenment" and "Early Liberalism" ("Frühliberalismus") in the specific historical situation of the late 1920s/early 1930s in Germany and the circles around his academic mentor Karl Mannheim. My hypothesis will be, that the Enlightenment (or Gerth's account to it) like for other later on exiled German authors such as Albert O. Hirschman or Siegfried Kracauer formed a lifelong central pattern of Gerth's own identity as an intellectual as well as a sociological theorist.

Peter D'Sena (University of Hertfordshire) Decolonising the Eighteenth-Century Curriculum

Panel / *Session 206*, 'Innovations in Teaching the Long Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

Decolonising the curriculum for the long eighteenth century is important not only for incorporating much needed historical and conceptual balance, but also for attracting the interest of today's students from many backgrounds. With the massification of education across race and class lines in the past three decades, the 'fitness' of the undergraduate curriculum has been called into question in many parts of the world.

Concerns voiced by academics and students alike have been about the dominance of white, capitalist, heterosexual, western worldviews at the expense of the epistemologies and experiences of those who do not see themselves as fitting into those mainstream categories. Additionally, students have also voiced concerns that many curricula are taught and assessed in a university system which serve to reproduce society's broader inequalities.

This presentation highlights the extent of unconscious bias in past programmes of study for this period – and discusses strategies for change.

Carolyn Da Silva (Queen Mary University of London) Mary Wollstonecraft's Political Reassertion in her 'Letters from Sweden'

Panel / *Session* 113, 'Literature, Politics, and Gender in 1790s Britain'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Mauger (Queen Mary University of London)

This paper explores Wollstonecraft's Letters written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark (1796). Often analysed for its rich landscape descriptions and their connection to Wollstonecraft's subjectivity, this paper focuses instead on the publication's engagement with the political disillusionment experienced by many supporters after the French Revolution's turn to violence. This study accordingly analyses the work as a socio-political statement in which Wollstonecraft uses her experiences abroad and her knowledge of Scottish Enlightenment's theory of social progress to argue for her enduring belief in the possibility of social improvement, and to outline the conditions and changes that need to be met for its achievement. While the volume's epistolary element and its concern with gender constitute important attributes to this argument, my paper will focus mostly on the social, political and economic observations made during Wollstonecraft's travels, namely her concern for social happiness, the market economy, and political liberties. Ultimately, the paper means to prove that Wollstonecraft remained convinced of the beneficial social effect prompted by revolutionary action, and demonstrated a socio-political awareness that aimed to contribute to the consolidation of her mission's enduring success.

Alexandre Henrique **Da Silva dos Santos** (São Paulo University) La Terre organisée: l'article « Géographie – physique » dans l'*Encyclopédie*

Panel / *Session* 103, 'Dictionnaires et Encyclopédies'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Eick (Grand Valley State University)

Elaboré par le savant Nicolas Desmarest sous l'invitation de D'Alembert l'article Géographie-physique a présenté une proposition méthodologique pour la discussion à propos de la Terre et des ses phénomènes. Critique des Théories de la Terre traditionnelles dérivées du travail de Thomas Burnet, du Vitalisme et même des débats importants présentés par la Théorie de la Terre de Buffon, Desmarest a construit son article en ayant comme principale base les théories du savoir élaborées par Locke et par Condillac.

Dans ce contexte, la Géographie Physique est présentée comme une union entre la Géographie, interprétée comme un ensemble de données descriptives, et la Philosophie Naturelle ou la Physique. Le résultat de cette démarche c'est un champs de savoir tourné vers la compréhension de la substance de la Terre. Dans ce sens, Desmarest apporte au domaine de la Géographie le même regard présenté par Francis Bacon sur la relation entre l'Histoire Naturelle et la Philosophie Naturelle: celui où la première se configurerait comme un réservoir d'informations et serait à l'attente de la deuxième pour son exacte organisation.

De cette manière, la Terre est interprétée comme un corps physique formé de matière inerte et doté de phénomènes naturels. Ces phénomènes seraient passibles de distinction à partir d'une rigoureuse démarche d'observation qui est divisée par l'auteur en trois étapes bien déterminées et rigoureusement enchaînées: l'observation des faits, la combinaison des faits et la généralisations des rapports entre les faits. Ces étapes auraient comme but l'identification des lois de la nature qui guideraient la planète de manière uniforme et organisée.

Ainsi, devant cette analyse réalisée sur l'article Géographie-physique s'avère la présence d'une légitime proposition de compréhension de la Terre et des ses phénomènes qui a été théorisée par Nicolas Desmarest au sein du cercle encyclopédiste au seuil de la naissance de ce qui est appelé la Géologie et la Géographie modernes.

Simon **Dagenais** (Institut Universitaire européen) Espoirs et craintes : les gazettes européennes de langue française et la guerre d'Indépendance américaine (1774–1782)

Panel / *Session* 302, 'La presse et la formation de l'imaginaire impérial et national en France et en Angleterre durant la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle (1750–1790)'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Burrows (Western Sydney University)

Les gazettes européennes de langue française rejoignent un public important, tant en France qu'à l'extérieur. Produits dans des pays limitrophes de la France, ces imprimés contournent ainsi le privilège d'impression accordé à la Gazette de France, organe officieux du gouvernement. Ces périodiques contribuent ainsi à forger l'imaginaire impérial et national de l'époque en laissant une place importante aux différents conflits armés, dont la guerre d'Indépendance

américaine, à laquelle ils accordent une grande importance. Plusieurs travaux ont abordé le processus de rédaction de ces gazettes et ont montré que les auteurs reprenaient l'essentiel de leurs textes du *Courier de l'Europe*, imprimé à Boulogne (Burrows 2010, Slaughter 2007) qui traduisait lui-même ses nouvelles de la presse britannique.

Généralement, les études sur ce conflit dans les gazettes de langue française mettent l'accent sur les nouvelles provenant des 13 colonies, soit les nouvelles relatives aux batailles et aux décisions politiques prises par les dirigeants politiques. Cependant, la préoccupation principale des lecteurs français est plutôt la peur d'une guerre ouverte avec l'Angleterre. Les rédacteurs des gazettes mettent l'accent sur des événements qui renforcent cette crainte, telles des nouvelles relatives à des escarmouches entre les flottes françaises et anglaises au large de la Bretagne ou en Amérique du Nord.

Cette communication analysera la couverture de la guerre d'Indépendance américaine par trois des principales gazettes de l'époque, soit la Gazette de Cologne, la Gazette de Leyde et le *Courier du Bas-Rhin*, en plus d'analyser la reprise d'articles du *Courier de l'Europe*. J'aborderai la sélection des événements par les rédacteurs et les moyens utilisés afin d'accentuer l'importance de certains. J'analyserai l'influence de ces choix sur l'opinion publique et ce qu'ils révèlent sur les attentes des lecteurs à cette époque.

Cornelia **Dahmer** (TH Köln, University of Applied Sciences) Mentoring and the Making of Self-Identity in Eighteenth-Century Conduct Books

Panel / *Session* 362, 'Emotions and Control'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Percival (University of Exeter)

"Mentoring", a relationship in which a mentee is influenced by an authoritative mentor figure, can contribute significantly to the process of acquiring – or reflexively making (Anthony Giddens 1991) – a person's self-identity and their identification with collective identities. It has been argued that mentoring is a concept of particular importance for eighteenth-century literature and culture, not only because the English word "mentor" was, significantly, first used in eighteenth-century didactic literature (Anthony Lee 2016). Didactic texts of the period, such as the popular conduct books targeting the young and inexperienced in need of advice on the conduct of life, can themselves be considered as a written form of mentoring. Conduct books for young women of the "middling sort" prescribe a gender-specific curriculum, guided by the ideal of the "domestic woman" (Nancy Armstrong 1987). Advice is given by a mentor-in-the-text (David Paxmann 2009), often complemented by a youthful mentee, and a semblance of face-to-face oral communication between mentor and mentee is created (Nadine Bérenguier 2011). Previous research has particularly focused on the gendered identities prescribed by conduct books; less attention has been paid to the ways in which conduct books actually teach or mentor readers, how they facilitate the target reader's learning process.

This talk explores the ways in which eighteenth-century female conduct books published in English initiate and facilitate the mentoring relationship between the author and the reader. I will discuss the specific rhetorical and narrative strategies employed to compensate for the lack of interaction between the author as mentor and the reader as mentee. I argue that conduct books, by providing a (semi-)fictional model of a productive mentoring relationship and a mentee as a role model to emulate, establish the author's/mentor's authority and influence, and guide readers through the process of gendered identity formation.

Pauls **Daija** (National Library of Latvia) Enlightenment and Peasants: On the German-Russian-Baltic Cultural Transfer in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 194, 'Agriculture, Innovation, and Reform'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Andreas Golob (University of Graz)

Is it possible to spread the ideas of Enlightenment among the lower classes of society? The question posed by popular enlighteners in German-speaking countries turned out to be of far-reaching consequences. The ideas developed by Physiocrats and Cameralists brought forward the new image of a peasant as the most venerable member of society, while the perceived savage character of rural population combined with the lack of knowledge of recent scientific improvements in agriculture made it necessary to educate the peasants. Gradually, the agricultural education that often turned out to be insufficient grew into more elaborated programme that aimed to change the peasants'

mentality and to promote internalization of bourgeois values in the rural society. As 'internal others', the peasants became the object of both idealization (in terms not unrelated to fashionable concepts of 'noble savages') and contempt for 'common people' who lack culture and civilization.

The *Volksaufklärung*, initially a German phenomenon, steadily expanded across Eastern Europe during the 18th century and had a particularly crucial impact on creating unforeseen national developments in the Baltic Provinces of Russia. In my paper, I propose to explore the Baltic episode within a broader European context as a case study that demonstrates both the impact of transnational cultural transfer of Enlightenment ideas and the complex interactions among the educated elites and the lower classes of society. In my research I am particularly interested in the reception and reshaping of Adam Smith and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas in the 18th-century peasant discourse in German-speaking countries and the strategies that allowed developing new concepts of civilizing and emancipating the lower classes of society. By discussing these developments, I will propose conclusions that can provide new insights into the paradoxes of Enlightenment regarding emancipation and control.

Margaretmary Daley (Case Western Reserve University) **Artist or Dilettante: Identity Issues in an Austrian Novel** by Karoline Pichler

Panel / *Session* 332, 'Female Subjects, Female Objects'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ingrid Haberl-Scherk (University of Graz)

It is possible to interpret *Frauenwürde* by Karoline Pichler as a bestseller due to its popularity in sales and reprints and, more importantly, due to generic specifics within its pages, for example, its seemingly sympathetic female characters. Critic Charlotte Woodford analyzes the power of bestsellers in the nineteenth century by stressing how historic readers' identified with protagonists who, despite stunning beauty or great wealth and privilege, were fundamentally lonely.

Novels provide a reader with a sense of shared experience by identification with a protagonist, even if that protagonist feels alienated from society. A curiosity of fiction is that it often depicts a sense of loneliness in a highly accessible way: a reader can share in the protagonist's isolation, and thereby feel some consolation in having his or her own similar feelings affirmed.

Indeed, Pichler paints a literary portrait of a woman with whom readers may, surprisingly, feel a sense of shared isolation. However, this assessment does not reflect upon the full range of readers nor on the novel's range of characters, likeable and detestable. Using the tools of narratology, we can be attentive to the purposeful communicative intent of such figural portraits. It was common to depict a central figure in the women's novel: La Roche has Sophie von Sternheim, Unger has her Julchen Grünthal, and Wolzogen her Agnes. However, Pichler's novel breaks new ground. She presents a constellation of three female characters who are similar but not identical, their lives intertwined and yet divergent, the threesome summons an image like that of the contemporary Italian sculptor Canova's 1814-1817 marble statue of the three graces. The comparison between the novel and the sculptural grouping is imperfect, yet helpful. Pichler depicts a beautiful and successful poet, a young and lovely dancer, and talented painter of oil portraits and battles scenes. Each of the three women excels at one of the art forms and yet all three struggle with their identities. These characters validate the paradox that the *Frauenroman* promotes: women are a society of isolated un-self realized selves. Moreover, these female cha

Carla Damião (University of Padua / Federal University of Goiás) **On Autobiographical Narratives in the Eighteenth Century: Identities and Differences**

Panel / *Session* 419, 'Autobiographical Narratives'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

This paper proposal covers issues of philosophy and literature, concerning the question of identity in relation to the autobiographical narratives written by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*The Confessions*), David Hume (*My own Life*) and Wolfgang Goethe (*From my Life. Truth and Poetry*). This presentation aims to discuss themes that can be recovered from these three narratives based on the following tripod: self-knowledge, time and space. To the knowledge of oneself we will associate both the social and the autobiographical; to the time, memory and history; to space, memory

and culture. Identity, as the main directed theme, should be seen as a result of this complex tripod-compound. Through the concept of national character, the 18th century philosophers, aware of the diversity in societies, and at one in condemning intolerance or mutual contempt among themselves, found a way to adjust cultural differences, which resulted in the proposition of different legislation. The narratives I intend to explore, derived from three different cultural traditions, are reconciled in the spirit of the Enlightenment and the idea of tolerance. In the practice of writing, however, it is possible to observe the difference of intentions, directly or indirectly, connected to each other. There is an explicit connection linking Hume's short narrative to Rousseau's long one, the contrast of which is not restricted to their length, but to the personal quarrel taking place at that time between the two great philosophers. I also intend to point out the main moral concern of the three narratives: sincerity for Rousseau; the aim of modesty for Hume; and fidelity for Goethe. Each of these virtues is claimed to be the "red thread" of their narrative proposals, which can remain as a goal or as an achieved writing performance. Through these examples, therefore, I aim to raise a discussion related to identity in a broad sense, as well as with a specific focus: the genre of autobiography in the 18th century.

Tine Damsholt (University of Copenhagen) The Moravians and the Making of Civic Selves

Panel / *Session* 307, 'Moravian Identities and Cultural Heritage'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ulrik Langen (University of Copenhagen)

This presentation is a discussion of how we may understand the entanglements of religious practices in Moravian Christiansfeld and the broader creation of patriotic identities in late 18th-century Denmark-Norway. I suggest that forms and practices of the self in the Moravian Brethren (and in similar reform movements) make up a central field in the development of new technologies of self-examination, self-improvement, and self-awareness within everyday life practices.

The prime object of Pietist enlightenment was the reformation of the heart, establishing a reborn, sin-conscious and self-correcting person. Reforming the heart was also central in contemporary political philosophy e.g. in J.J. Rousseau's idea of the heart as pivotal in a civic, interior, and moral topography. Radical Pietism implied confidence in individuals' options to improve themselves. Thus, the technologies of the self, generated within the Moravian Brethren can be seen as one of the conditions for the development of a new didactics of citizenship in the era of the French Revolution. A new form of civic self, based on the citizen's individual, heartfelt, inward urges to do right. Taking examples from the Instructions for the Moravian Choir Helpers (1785-86) questions of how civic self-awareness or identity is shaped in everyday practices will be addressed.

Martin Danneck (University of Basel) The Declaimers' Fear of the Spoken Word: Oral Speech as a Vehicle for Bourgeois Identity Formation in the Declamatory Movement of the Late Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 363, 'Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tanvi Solanki (Yonsei University)

In the first book of Goethes "Leiden des jungen Werther", we find the protagonist and Lotte surprised by a thunderstorm. They are in company with a group of lower-class people, who in presence of the raw force of nature lose their speech and know no other way to deal with the

situation than by turning their existential fear into kinetic energy by playfully slapping each other in the face. Their reaction differs fundamentally from the way Werther acts in the whole scenery. From his perspective, the vanishing thunderstorm is a veritable celebration of the sublime, that makes Werther open his mouth to famously declaim "Klopstock!" The name of the poet-prince, who, like no other, promotes the oral performance of poetry, serves as a metonym for a bourgeois culture of cultivation of refined speech, that enters the stage after 1750. In my talk, I want to propose that in the context of the so-called declamatory movement in the late 18th Century, we can find the attempt to turn oral speech into a vehicle for bourgeois identity formation. Using the example of the aesthetic category of 'Natürlichkeit', I want to examine efforts made by the bourgeois declamatory movement to establish a normative aesthetic of speech that distinguishes itself not only from the 'mannerist' diction of the aristocracy, but also

from the 'raw' dialect of the lower classes. Furthermore, I will confront the way authors on declamation refer to the speech of the lower classes to form their arguments for a 'natural speech' of an educated middle-class with the practice of declamation. Wandering declaimers performed not only in front of erudite bourgeois audiences, but also not uncommonly in front of more or less uneducated audiences in the countryside, far from the cultural centers. And if we take into consideration that the majority of the wandering declaimers were in fact theater actresses/actors with a modest education, the agenda to turn declamation into a vehicle for bourgeois identity formation becomes questionable. Finally, I am interested in what I call the declaimers fear of the spoken word. Ideas underscoring theories declamation such as resonance, attribute power to the speaker.

Joseph **Darby** (Keene State College) Cultural Identity and the Scottish 'Snap' to Music Subscription Sales, 1730–1800

Panel / *Session* 422, 'British Music'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Patricia Debly (Brock University)

The Enlightenment gave rise to significant increases in music literacy among men and women in Western Europe, reflected in the development of a music publishing industry and the establishment of public concerts. In eighteenth-century Britain, composers and publishers increasingly turned to the subscription method to cover production costs, improve sales and profit, alleviate financial risk, and provide a reliable network of distribution. For much of the century, the subscription method was often used to finance large and particularly expensive music books.

This paper assesses the effectiveness of the subscription method in the publication of eighteenth-century Scottish music, defined here as music reflecting Scottish identity, music by a Scottish author (composer, editor, compiler), and music published in Scotland. The subscription method generally involved a buyer's payment (or promise of payment) in advance of publication. In return, the subscriber was often rewarded with a discount on the retail price and her/his name inscribed in the work's first edition on a list of subscribers. Although the subscription method accounted for a fraction of total music sales, a comprehensive study of subscription lists provides valuable information about music publishing in eighteenth-century Britain.

Of the roughly 500 works published by subscription in eighteenth-century Britain, Scottish music stands out for its overall success in the number of subscribers and copies sold. Music subscriptions published in Scotland on average outpaced music subscriptions published in London or elsewhere in the UK, and music subscriptions in which Scottish identity is imbedded in the publication's title on average exceeded music in all other categories. The trend in favor of Scottish music intensified in the period 1780-1800, when publications of Scottish music on average received double the number of subscribers and copies compared to music subscriptions published in London. The enthusiasm for Scottish music subscriptions was so great in the closing decades of the century, major delays in music book production became commonplace.

Laurence **Daubercies** (Université de Liège) Tragic Imagination and Intellectual Identity in the Second Half of the French Eighteenth Century (1750–1778)

Panel / *Session* 221, 'Theatre and Identity'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Patricia Debly (Brock University)

Given that the emergence of the "drame bourgeois" in the second half of the French 18th century proceeds from a growing discrepancy between society and the paternalistic ideology conveyed by the neoclassical tragedy, I will illustrate how tragic authors of the time adapted their fictional narratives as well as their paratextual self-presentations in order to stay relevant in a changing ideological and political context. Drawing on the striking example provided by Voltaire's late – and not so popular – tragedies, my goal is to illustrate the ways through which the author attempted to narrate and (re)invent himself via the lasting investment of this genre rivalry. The presentation will be based on relevant excerpts from the texts and paratexts, as well as the parodic and critical reception of the last seven original plays presented to the public of the Comédie Française during the playwright's lifetime: *Rome sauvée* (1752), *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755), *Tancredè* (1760), *Olympie* (1764), *Le Triumvirat* (1764), *Les Scythes* (1767) and *Sophonisbe* (1774). I will focus on the underlying identity imaginations, stakes and logic identifiable in the tragedies and their paratexts, but also on the effects of these depictions as they appear in their (sometimes very contrasting)

critical and parodic reception. The ultimate goal is to exemplify the mechanisms and identity motives invested by the author in his effort to keep standing out through the writing of theatre, as well as to shed light on the evolving social imaginations surrounding the then aging tragic genre – and particularly the (very disputed at the time) father figure.

Rebecca **Davies** (Agder University) Child Genius: Natural Ability, Education, and Identity

Panel / *Session 73*, 'Enlightenment and Education'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.04, 50 George Square.

Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

In her *Memoirs* (1748-54) Lætitia Pilkington made an illuminating comment on the relationship between innate ability as a child and an adult: "I have known a person, who in his youth was an extraordinary adept in music, and performed on several instruments extremely well. I saw the same person some years after, and lo! his musical talent was entirely lost, and he was then a very good painter." The use of the article 'an' in relation to the lost skill suggests a change of identity, he was a child musician, rather than he had shown talent in music. Much has been written about the significance of childhood education in the eighteenth century, particularly in terms of the dangers of immoral influencers at this receptive stage of life, but less attention has been assigned to the relationship between childhood and adult ability – particularly precocity – on the development of subjectivity, or identity as a scholar or artist. Based on the proto-Romantic relationship between 'genius' and individual identity in Addison, Gerard and Young, this paper provides a survey of the treatment of childhood talent and adult identity in discussions, and literary representations, of education and ingenia precocia in the second half of the eighteenth century. With particular focus on William Sharpe's, *Dissertation on Genius* (1755) and Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Genius* (1774), the paper contends that educators and educational theorists viewed the topic of natural genius as a threat to their social authority. I argue that educational theorists, therefore, actively engaged with Enlightenment theories of cognition and intellectual development to maintain the paradigm of education's authoritative control over, or shaping of, the development of identity through childhood experience.

Laura **Davies** (University of Cambridge) John 'Orator' Henley and the Work of Ministry

Panel / *Session 190*, 'What Makes a 'Minister'? Clerical Identity in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi*

14.30 – 16.00. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Katarina Stenke (University of Greenwich)

John 'Orator' Henley was ordained deacon in 1716 and upon moving to London in 1720 became assistant preacher at St John's Chapel near Bedford Square, reader at St George the Martyr in Queen Square, and Chaplain to Viscount Molesworth. He also swiftly emerged as a Grub Street hack, churning out multiple books, translations, dedications, and editions, under the guidance of Edmund Curll, and at the same time, acted as an informer for Walpole, seeking out seditious libels for payment and advancement. By 1725 he had resigned his living, declared himself a dissenter and established his own chapel 'The Oratory'. Becoming progressively stranger over the next three decades, he styled himself as the restorer of ancient eloquence, celebrant of the primitive liturgy, vituperative political commentator and satirist, founder of a 'Gentleman's Own University' and editor of his own newspaper *The Hyp*. All of these endeavours brought intense public attention, with audiences flocking to see his bizarre and baffling performances, and even, in 1746, earned him a brief prison sentence. In this way the tone was set for many of the subsequent accounts of his life, work, and significance. This paper adopts a different stance, exploring not what was ridiculous and eccentric about 'Orator' Henley, but rather, the ways in which his conception of his 'work' can illuminate our understanding of the complex interweaving of devotion, dissent, education and entertainment in eighteenth-century culture and the curious place of the minister within it.

Huw J. **Davies** (King's College London) Means and Spaces of Knowledge Mobility in the Eighteenth-Century Military Enlightenment in the British Army

Panel / *Session 442*, 'The Intellectual History of War in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Friday / *Vendredi*

11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ildiko Csengei (University of Huddersfield)

The British Army is frequently described as anti-intellectual, and, taken as a whole, it is easy to support this assertion. The wake of the calamitous military defeats at the hands of the French, Jacobites and Native Americans in the middle of the eighteenth century, however, saw the so-called military enlightenment begin to take hold in Britain. For the British, the military enlightenment manifested as an increasing interest in the profession of arms, of the articulation of new theories of war – borne of experience in Europe, India and America – and the quest to innovate and modernise an organisation that was intensely conservative, seen as hidebound, a prisoner of anachronistic traditions, and resting on laurels won at the beginning of the century. This paper explores the means and spaces in which ideas and knowledge were gained in response to challenges encountered as a result of Britain's increasing global reach. It then goes on to explore how this information and experience was exchanged and used to produce new ideas and knowledge in response to different challenges and threats. In this process, military knowledge was created, transmitted, exchanged and remade as a result of personal encounters and experiences, and the development of knowledge networks and webs. The paper utilises theories such as the 'imperial archive' to help explain how knowledge was produced and mobilised, and what the resulting impact was. In so doing, the paper will illustrate the ways the military enlightenment developed in eighteenth century Britain, and explore some of the resulting impact on the behaviour and actions of the British Army between 1745 and 1815.

Montana **Davies-Shuck** (Northumbria University) *Aping the French: Foppish Masculinities and Simian Identities*

Panel / *Session* 340, 'Masculinity and Sociability'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.10, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Rosamund Paice (University of Portsmouth)

Despite being a popular character type throughout the long eighteenth century, the fop has predominantly been considered in his Restoration context – fop, in the words of Andrew Williams “signified both a generic term for fool or foolishness as well as a socially encoded identification of a faddish and ostentatious man” (The Restoration Fop, 42). Although the fop can indeed be read in these terms, this paper contends that the fop provided a light and comical framework for eighteenth century authors to critique serious social and political concerns. In particular, the paper addresses how the fop was used as a tool by periodicalists, moral essayists and novelists, to discuss issues of class and gender through the figure's association with simian identities. Authors, the paper will argue, played on the linguistic potential of 'apeing' to depict the fop as possessing physical ape-like features. By considering how authors transformed the fop into an ape, this paper explores the issue of character as signified through physiognomy and considers how specific social conditions could alter the presentation and perceptions of a character's traits. In doing so, the paper will address how the trope of the ape was used to change perceptions of the fop from a seemingly harmless and frivolous character into one who posed a danger to social norms.

In particular, the paper will draw on a range of texts from the period, including poems taken from 'The Gentleman's Magazine' (1740), extracts from Samuel Johnson's 'The Rambler' (1750), and Frances Burney's novel 'Evelina' (1778). The paper will also be supported by discussion of caricatures of fop's, including 'My Lord Tip-Toe Just Arrived From Monkey Land' (1771) published by Matthew and Mary Darly, and Thomas Rowlandson's 'Footman' (1799).

Lori **Davis Perry** (United States Air Force Academy) *Symbolic Systems and Dangerous Creeds: War and Games in Gulliver's Travels*

Panel / *Session* 184, 'Swift and Satire'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Cook (University of Dundee)

In the Second Voyage of Gulliver's Travels, a curious exchange takes place when the giant king of Brobdingnag quizzes Gulliver on the habits of his countrymen, alluding to the dangerous pastime of "Gaming." The question implicitly validates widespread British concerns about the economic and social costs of gambling across the kingdom. Gulliver recounts: "He was perfectly astonished with the historical Account I gave him of our Affairs during the last Century; protesting it was only an Heap of Conspiracies, Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, Revolutions, Banishments; the very worst Effect that Avarice, Faction, Hypocrisy, Perfidiousness, Cruelty, Rage, Madness, Hatred, Envy, Lust, Malice, and Ambition could produce." Swift's rhetorical shift from gaming to European wars reveals his disdain for traditional correlations between war games, military success, and political leadership. His satire of war gaming in Gulliver's

Travels (1725) exposes flaws in game design, the limitations of war games for preparing leaders of real wars, and the logical fallacy of valuing military success amongst those charged with maintaining political stability. This paper examines the symbolic nature of mathematics and language in early modern war gaming, and Swift's satirical attack upon the professionalized military training programs that presumed a predictive relationship between artificial gaming and the reality of war. I focus particularly on the Language Machine in the Academy of Lagado, which creates mechanized "knowledge" devoid of scientific validity. Swift thus undercuts the general trend of the eighteenth century; the flawed nature of the game itself reflects the flawed reasoning that presupposes that war—whether real or artificially constructed—can produce political leaders best fit to serve their country's needs for peace, prosperity, and moral probity.

Kate Davison (University of Sheffield) Female Laughter and Impolite Women in Eighteenth-Century England

Panel / *Session 172*, 'Insults and Gendered Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicola Phillips (Royal Holloway, University of London)

This paper focuses on women's wit and laughter to open up alternative models of feminine conduct in eighteenth-century England beyond the polite. Recent studies of humour have challenged the pre-eminence of politeness as the model of conduct for the 'better sorts'. The celebration of witty repartee legitimised a range of behaviours outside the normal bounds of acceptability, including humorous insults in the context of friendly conviviality. Yet, this is still thought to be a gentlemanly culture only and, as a result, female laughter has remained silent. But there is a rich vein of evidence testifying to the giggles and belly laughs of women in enlightenment England. The presence of laughing women is first announced by their condemnation in conduct writings: for James Fordyce and John Gregory, women's wit threatened the passivity and domesticity demanded of polite ladies; moreover, laughing aloud indicated a knowingness unbecoming of enlightenment femininity and was thus linked to uncontrolled sexuality. Then there are traces of women disregarding this advice. In the diaries of Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi—her Thraliana—there are multiple instances of women's wit in action. Visual depictions of laughing women populate graphic satire from across the period. And, peppering the pages of the century's jestbook literature, are still more worldly and wry women who get the better of their husbands and fire witty insults at social superiors—too long dismissed as humorously incongruous, these female characters can instead be seen to provide repertoires of behaviour exemplifying the female exercise of power in social relationships. This paper explores the evidence for women's wit, together with attitudes towards it, in order to recover the laughter of eighteenth-century women. Through this, it argues that women's witty retorts, clever comebacks and wanton laughter challenged models of politeness. Focusing on wit is thus one way to access alternative femininities, which—in turn—suggests the need for a broader category of 'impolite women' that encompasses not just prostitution and criminality, but also more humdrum activities and identities.

Maria Valderez De Colletes Negreiros (São Paulo State University) La Représentation des Apparences Philosophiques pour Montesquieu

Panel / *Session 238*, 'Philosophie et apparences'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sophie Audidière (Université de Bourgogne)

Au XVIII^e Siècle, un scénario intéressant a été façonné par l'image inventée dans un jeu d'apparences et de miroirs reflétant une certaine idée de la vie dédiée au plaisir de paraître. Appartenir à Le Monde ou à la République des Lettres, Le Philosophe ou Gens des Lettres reflétait une diversité paradoxale de pensées et d'écrits donnant lieu à une représentation emblématique de l'identité. L'analyse de cette étude propose d'interpréter la notion d'identité qui caractérise l'expérience esthétique du goût, tirée de "L'Essai sur le Goût" de Montesquieu. Il est souligné que le plaisir est un art de représentation qui consiste à savoir maintenir l'envie de découvrir le "je ne sais quoi", ce qui constitue un jeu de hasard, dont le charme est justement le détournement de la dissimulation, la surprise de l'inconnu, l'invisible et l'événement imprévisible qui plaît. Le goût de Le Monde représente une manière de comprendre l'esprit liée à un certain "plaisir délicat" des gens éclairés. Le plaisir de paraître mélange avec un raffinement de goût dans lequel l'idée d'identité est soulignée par la composition et décomposition de ce jeu d'apparences, non seulement en tant que réflexion philosophique, mais également en tant que délicatesse à sentir et à penser. Les nuances et les mutations transforment la diversité des moeurs et manières en images du théâtre du monde, qui est un espace de

politesse, de finesse et du désir de se distinguer. Dans cette perspective, les thèmes à examiner doivent prendre en compte les sens de l'expérience esthétique présenté par Montesquieu. L'interprétation de la notion d'identité pendant le Siècle des Lumières nous amène à problématiser le contexte spatial et symbolique du "citoyen du monde" comme une révélation du philosophe "étranger". Ou, peut-être, le paradoxe qui reflète cette phrase de Montesquieu: "Comment peut-on être Persan?".

Jacira **De Freitas** (Universidade Federal de São Paulo) Rousseau and the Notion of City

Panel / *Session* 359, 'Conceptual Rousseau'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Devin Vartija (Utrecht University)

The discussion being developed in the following text concerns the conceptual function acquired by the notion of Antiquity in the elaboration of the ideal of a city (cité), in Rousseau's political thinking. The hypothesis to be demonstrated is that the myth of Lacedaemon transmutes into a mechanism of concept generation that sustains the formulation of his ideal of political body. We aim to point in which way this mythical notion is inserted in young Rousseau's world view and, afterwards, in the scope of his political thinking, in order to elucidate the mechanisms through which it interferes in the conceptual elaboration of the rousseauian political ideal.

Vilma **De Gasperin** (University of Oxford) Giuseppe Baretti's Views on the Italian Language

Panel / *Session* 457, 'Giuseppe Baretti (1719–1789) Turns 300'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Fabio Forner (University of Verona)

Giuseppe Baretti dedicated much of his work to the Italian language. On the one hand, he was a teacher of Italian in England and the author of important pedagogical works (grammars, dictionaries, dialogues etc). On the other hand, he was a sharp critic of the Italian written and spoken by the educated elites of his time. Baretti's views on the Italian language emerge from several works aimed both at English and Italian readers: Remarks on the Italian Language written for an English Gentleman in Turin in 1751 (1753), A History of the Italian Language (1757), essays in *La Frusta letteraria di Aristarco Scannabue* (1763-64), the preface to Machiavelli's collected works 'Discorso in cui si esamina se la Lingua in cui scrissero Dante, il Boccaccio, e il Petrarca si debba chiamare Italiana, Toscana, o Fiorentina' (1772), and excerpts from *Scelta di lettere familiari fatta per Uso Degli Studiosi di Lingua Italiana* (1779). This paper examines Baretti's views on the Italian language of the past and, especially, of his own time. It draws on his comments regarding vocabulary, syntax, dialects, French loan words, archaisms, as well as more abstract notions of affectation, style, register, elegance, literariness. While mercilessly pointing out and ridiculing the linguistic inadequacies of his contemporaries, Baretti points to an ideal of the Italian language and the way to acquire it, which, for him, ought to be a linguistic, literary and intellectual commitment.

José Carlos **De Hoyos** (Université Lumière Lyon 2) Parcours diachronique des termes économiques en langue espagnole au XVIIIème siècle : la traduction de Alonso Ortiz de *La Richesse des nations* d'Adam Smith

Panel / *Session* 257, 'Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations in Spain, 1780–1830 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Juan Zabalza (University of Alicante)

À partir de la traduction de José Alonso Ortiz du *Wealth of Nations* d'Adam Smith, *Investigación de la naturaleza y causas de la riqueza de las naciones*, publiée en 1794 à Valladolid, nous nous proposons de tracer les trajectoires lexicales et historiques de quelques notions de l'économie à cette époque. Notre travail cherche à analyser le lexique terminologique de la traduction de J. Alonso Ortiz et sa présence dans la langue du XVIIIème. Pour cela nous allons nous servir des recherches en histoire de la langue espagnole, notamment les travaux de Cecilio Garriga Escribano (1996) et Gómez de Enterría (1990, 1996), ainsi que des outils numériques de l'Académie Royale de la langue Espagnole (RAE) servant à la composition du nouveau dictionnaire historique de l'espagnol, le CDH (Corpus del Diccionario Histórico) et le NTLLE (Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española).

Eleá de la Porte (University of Amsterdam) *The Enlightened Narrative in the Dutch Republic: Dutch World Histories, c. 1750–c. 1810*

Panel / *Session* 428, 'Enlightened Historiography: The Practice and Theory of History in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Anton Matytsin (University of Florida)

The genre of world history changed fundamentally during the Enlightenment. The “philosophical” wish to transcend a purely factual and chronological account of historical events led to a focus on the historical development of human society. Instead of striving for chronological and geographical completeness, authors of world histories now shifted their attention to the laws and dynamics underlying historical progress. One of the results was that Europe became the focus of numerous eighteenth-century world histories, many of them inspired by the enlightened historiography of Voltaire, David Hume, William Robertson and Edward Gibbon. The paper here proposed will analyse two hitherto neglected eighteenth-century Dutch contributions to the genre of world history: Johannes Martinet’s *Historie der Waereld* (1780-1788) and Martinus Stuart’s *De Mensch zoo als hij voorkomt op den bekenden aardbol* (1803-1808). First, it will briefly discuss the enthusiastic reception of the enlightened historiography, especially of Robertson’s work, in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic. Second, this paper will show how the Protestant historians Martinet and Stuart tried to reconcile the ideas of European progress and the historical development of society with Biblical chronology in their world histories. In conclusion, this paper will argue that the Dutch Republic formed an extraordinary case within the European variations of the “Enlightened narrative.”

Jacinthe De Montigny (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières / Université Paris IV-Sorbonne) *Est-ce que l’Amérique vaut le prix d’une nouvelle guerre ? : une analyse de journaux européens à l’aube de la guerre de Sept Ans (1754–1756)*

Panel / *Session* 302, 'La presse et la formation de l’imaginaire impérial et national en France et en Angleterre durant la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle (1750–1790)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Burrows (Western Sydney University)

À l’aube de la guerre de Sept Ans, la France et la Grande-Bretagne tentent de négocier pour régler les limites territoriales de leurs empires coloniaux respectifs et ainsi préserver la paix (Ternat, 2015). Pendant ce temps, en Amérique du Nord, des escarmouches mettent le pays à feu et à sang (Dziembowski, 2015). Les journaux transcrivent, rapportent et commentent les informations qui circulent au sujet des territoires outre-Atlantique. De quelle façon les événements sont-ils rapportés ? Quel est le traitement de l’information concernant les colonies dans les journaux européens ? Alors que les négociations pour conserver l’équilibre des puissances se poursuivent, les journalistes se questionnent sur la pertinence de déclarer la guerre pour l’Amérique. Est-ce que l’Amérique vaut le prix d’une nouvelle guerre ?

Dans la présente communication, je me propose donc d’étudier la presse anglaise (The London Gazette, The London Evening Post et The Whitehall Evening Post) et celle de langue française (Gazette d’Amsterdam, Gazette de France et Gazette de Leyde) pour comprendre comment sont présentés les événements qui ont lieu sur le territoire nord-américain entre 1754 et 1756. Alors que les souverains doivent se soumettre de plus en plus aux débats qui émanent de la sphère publique (Farge, 1992 ; Habermas, 1993 ; Wilson, 1995), il convient de se questionner sur la place occupée par le Canada et l’Amérique du Nord dans l’opinion exprimée à leurs sujets dans la presse.

Dans une période charnière où les deux nations tentent de définir leur identité impériale, les colonies nord-américaines se retrouvent au cœur même des enjeux qui entourent la définition identitaire des empires français et britannique (Dewar, 2010). Cette analyse comparative a donc pour but d’exposer les arguments présentés dans les journaux des deux pays belligérants pour encourager, ou non, la défense de ces territoires.

Julia de Moraes Almeida (University of São Paulo / Getulio Vargas Foundation) *Decolonizing Enlightenment from Brazil: A Sociolegal and Territorial Perspective of Marquis of Pombal’s Indigenous Law (1757)* (Co-presented with Gabriel Antonio Silveira Mantelli)

Panel / *Session* 325, 'Colonial Encounters'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Schoene (Cornell University)

The paper analyzes the influence of Enlightenment in the legal framework of Colonial Brazil, especially the case of the Marquis of Pombal and the publication of the *Diretório dos Índios* (Indigenous Act) in 1757. From a theoretical point of view, we use sociolegal, territorial and cultural studies, which provide a critical scenario for dissecting the Enlightenment influence brought by the Marquis in eighteenth-century Brazilian law. Regarding the case, we discuss the historical figure of Marquês de Pombal (Marquis of Pombal), a statesman who served the Portuguese Empire from 1750 to 1777, and the Enlightenment character present in his policies. We present especially the case of the *Diretório dos Índios*, an act published in 1757 which established various regulations concerning the relations between indigenous peoples and European settlers. We discuss the implications of the act, on the one hand, considering the Enlightenment characteristics in its policy, and, on the other, proposing a decolonial critique of the ethnocentric tactics of acculturation and European civilizational project.

Giuseppe **De Sandi** (Università degli Studi di Bari 'Aldo Moro') Tiepolo, Solimena, and Their Friends: The Italian Eighteenth Century at Florentine Exhibitions of Ancient Art (Florence 1911–1922)

Panel / *Session* 351, 'The Italian Eighteenth Century: Exhibitions between Complexities and Identities (1911–1998)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Massimiliano Caldera (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Piemonte (Italy))

In early 1911 a crowd of over 850 faces overran the apartments of Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. What was that all about? They were the portraits of «men who have made the Italian history» and most of them lived in the XVIII c.. The portraits were provided by both Italian and foreign public institutions or private collectors for the great "Mostra del Ritratto Italiano dalla fine del XVI al 1861", organized by U. Ojetti to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Italian unification. Historiographically, the exhibition took part into the debate on ongoing recovery of the 'neglected' centuries of the Italian painting in the XVII-XVIII cc., overcoming this label given by F. Milizia. Simultaneously, this show of portraits, as a gallery of ancestors and comparable to the great number of Enlightenment historical-biographical dictionaries, involved in social terms to encase the identity anxieties of people towards the young Italian nation. After the First World War and the advent of nationalism during Fascism, the XVIII c. was again exhibited by Ojetti in Florence for the huge "Mostra della Pittura Italiana del Sei e Settecento" (Palazzo Pitti, 1922). This time it was characterized by a heterogeneity of genres and subjects, in a dialogue with rocaille rooms and with the concurrent exhibition in the Uffizi Gallery dedicated to XVIII-century graphics. The setting-up, according to the regional 'school-based' schemes as already established by the Jesuit L. Lanzi in 1795-97, highlighted the artistic plurality and the presumed 'cultural primacy' in relation to the other European countries. Through archival and publishing documents of that time, including 'Note' of M. Nugent, this proposal aims to reflect on complex meanings involved by the Italian cultural establishment, which for the first time entrusted to these two 'ephemeral museums', as focal moments for unifying the ongoing identity processes and models for the following exhibitions.

Maria das Graças **de Souza** (Université de São Paulo) Identité et diversité, concorde et conflit dans la pensée politique chez Rousseau

Panel / *Session* 312, 'Rousseau et les conflits'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Maiwenn Roudaut (Université de Nantes)

Les philosophies politiques modernes, qui se fondent sur l'idée de souveraineté, peuvent être considérées comme des philosophies de la concorde et de l'unité. Rousseau est un des plus importants écrivains de cette tradition. Comme bien le montre Bernardi dans son livre *La fabrique des concepts*, les métaphores utilisées par Rousseau pour représenter l'associations politiques, soit celle de l'organisme, de la machine, ou de la combinaison chimique, renvoient à l'idée d'union, de la concorde, du lien qui associe les individus qui composent les corps politiques. Cependant, la construction de cette unité dépend évidemment des moyens de surmonter les conflits, incontestablement présents dans les associations, soit entre les individus, soit entre corps d'une nation. Mais, d'un

autre côté, il est certain que Rousseau, parmi ses contemporains, est celui qui a plus réfléchi sur la diversité et la singularité des peuples.

Je voudrais ici examiner cette question chez Rousseau à la lumière de la critique contemporaine de l'idée de souveraineté nationale, qui fait de l'État une unité politique, économique et culturelle, séparée des autres formations politiques. Serait-il possible de penser, à l'aide de Rousseau, sur des expériences contemporaines comme le cas des états binationales, ou même plurinationales?

Wouter de Vries (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) *Imagineering Earth: Prints and the Conceptualisation of a Planet, 1650–1750*

Panel / *Session 47*, 'Imagineering: Prints and the Imagination of Complex Concepts ('Earth', 'Violence', 'Author', 'Economy)'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Marijn S. Kaplan (University of North Texas)

The period between 1650 and 1750 abounded with works on the history of planet earth. In the realms of biblical history, natural philosophy, mineralogy, alchemy or geography specialists were studying earth in all its aspects: from the creation of metals to explaining Noah's flood. In doing so these works – explicitly or implicitly – all work to conceptualise the subject matter at hand, a process which is deeply visual in nature.

This paper addresses two interrelated issues that come together in the complex and diverse interactions between idea, concept and image in representations of planet Earth. Firstly, it shows how, from a variety of backgrounds, visual representations of earth aided in shaping the concept, and simultaneously found their way from learned to popular works.

Secondly, the consolidation of this idea through prints sheds light on how prints work, and on changes in the visual epistemology of prints in the early eighteenth century. In addition to practical concerns, the earth presents a host of theoretical problems: how can one visualise that which no one has ever witnessed? This puts a strain on the requirements placed on all stages of the prints' production, while also revealing how prints were intended to work and what their epistemological value is. These two issues come together in the aim of this paper: to understand how representations conceptualised the planet, and how prints worked to imagineer earth.

Anna de Wilde (Radboud University) *Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of Jewish-Owned Catalogues in the Dutch Republic*

Panel / *Session 348*, 'The Bibliometrics of Enlightenment'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Juliette Reboul (Radboud University)

This paper aims to study Jewish readers and book collectors in the eighteenth-century Dutch-Republic based on MEDIANE's corpus of circa 50 sales catalogues of private libraries that belonged to Jewish owners. What can these catalogues tell us about their former collectors? I will study how the types of books in the catalogues, and the language, the size, and the organisation of the catalogues relate to Jewish owners from different cultural or social backgrounds. For example, to what extent does religiosity dominate in the catalogues of the religious elite of Jewish communities compared to the non-religious elite? Or, how do the catalogues belonging to Jews with a Sephardi background differ from those of an Ashkenazi background? A bibliometric analysis of this corpus of Jewish-owned catalogues will allow us to study the variations and connections between the practices of drawing up book sales catalogues, readership and book collecting, and cultural identities.

Patricia Debly (Brock University) *The Varied Identities of the Servant Class in Joseph Haydn's Operas*

Panel / *Session 154*, 'Songs and Singers'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Annika Windahl Ponten (Uppsala University)

The Italian comic operas that Joseph Haydn composed for the Eszterháza court from 1768 until 1782 illustrated the changing identity of the servant class' role and function. This can be seen not only in the libretto, in which the servant class evolved from a buffoon-like part into that of a witty, intelligent and astute character, but it was also reflected in Haydn's musical characterization.

In the earlier comic operas the servant class was portrayed as conniving and unrefined whose interests were solely based on their immediate gratification. In most cases the plot focused on the procurement of the woman's hand in marriage, which was generally complicated by a series of suitors all vying for her affection. In the later works, the servant class began to play an active role in controlling the outcome of the drama, solving their masters' predicaments, and expressing enlightened views concerning society and its failings. This change in the servant's identity was representative of the general trend in the literature of the period in which the moral quality of a character was more important than their social rank.

Joseph Haydn's musical settings accurately reflected these changes in characterization. In his earlier operas the music of the servant class used the typical features found in the comic intermezzo tradition representative of the stock lower-class character type. In the later works, Haydn imbued the music of the servant class with elements that were usually reserved for the nobility and which were commonly found in opera seria.

By examining these changing textual and musical trends in the operas of Joseph Haydn, this paper will illustrate how the identity of the servant class evolved into a characterization which was both sophisticated and enlightened.

Marek **Debowski** (Uniwersytet Jagiellonski) Emmanuel Murray (1751–1822) un homme des Lumières au pays des Sarmates

Panel / *Session* 33, 'A l'Est, du nouveau'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

Emmanuel Murray, né à Paris en 1751 est venu en Pologne vers 1770 comme jeune officier et y est resté jusqu'à sa mort en 1822. Historien, traducteur, journaliste, theatrologue, il devient un personnage important de la vie culturelle de Cracovie et de Varsovie pendant le règne de Stanislas Auguste, ainsi qu'après le partage du Royaume de Pologne notamment à l'époque napoléonienne (1806-1812). Ce Français qui a passé en Pologne un demi siècle et qui parlait et écrivait couramment le polonais, est incontestablement un homme des Lumières. Ce constat renvoie pourtant à un contexte historique, idéologique et épistémologique qui est très différemment vu par les élites en France et en Pologne – un pays où chaque "nouveau progrès" se transforme en un problème difficile à résoudre du fait de l'ancestrale culture sarmate c'est à dire une culture spécifiquement polonaise du particularisme national et catholique de la noblesse.

Elisabeth **Décultot** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Correspondance, exterritorialité et identité nationale à l'époque des Lumières. Quelques réseaux

Panel / *Session* 449, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIIIe siècle – La lettre entre les nations 2 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth Century – Letters between Nations 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

La présente contribution se propose d'analyser le rôle spécifique de l'exterritorialité dans la construction et l'usage d'identités culturelles nationales, à partir de la correspondance de deux figures importantes des échanges intellectuels européens dans la seconde moitié du 18e siècle : Johann Georg Wille et Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Graveur allemand installé à Paris depuis 1736, Wille est, jusqu'à la fin du 18e siècle, un importateur majeur de la culture germanique en France. Directeur d'une école de dessin, collectionneur de tableaux et marchand d'art, ami de nombreux hommes de lettres, parmi lesquels Diderot, il entretient un vaste réseau épistolaire dont les axes principaux s'orientent vers la Saxe, la Bavière, la Prusse, Vienne, la Suisse et l'Italie. Erudit installé à Rome depuis 1755, Winckelmann est, quant à lui, une référence centrale pour l'étude de l'Antiquité en général.

Le point commun de ces deux figures est non seulement qu'elles ont échangé de nombreuses lettres entre elles, mais surtout qu'elles ont élaboré – en situation d'exterritorialité par rapport à leur pays d'origine – un très dense réseau

de correspondants avec toute l'Europe. Ces correspondances sont non seulement le moyen de communication par lequel ces deux hommes entretiennent respectivement depuis Paris et depuis Rome leurs contacts avec l'Europe, mais aussi le médium dans lequel ils pensent et dessinent leur rôle de médiateur. Or la dimension nationale occupe dans la stylisation de ce rôle une place centrale. Selon qu'ils s'adressent à des correspondants situés dans telle ou telle partie de l'Europe, Wille et Winckelmann jouent de leur identité, s'affichant tantôt Allemand, tantôt Français, tantôt Italien, ou récusant au contraire toute appartenance nationale. L'objet de la présente communication sera d'analyser ces jeux d'identité et la fonction singulière qu'occupe le genre de la lettre dans cette constellation.

Anne Defrance (Université Bordeaux Montaigne) Un cas extrême de fétichisme chromatique :
Incarnat, blanc et noir (conte anonyme de 1731)

Panel / *Session* 129, 'Couleurs et identités à l'époque des Lumières 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.04,
50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Aurélia Gaillard (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

Ce texte issu du Nouveau Recueil des contes de fées, paru anonymement en 1735 (et réédité par mes soins dans le vol. 11 de la "Bibliothèque des Génies et des Fées", H. Champion, 2018), présente un cas de fixation libidinale sur trois couleurs. En effet le héros se met en quête d'une épouse dont le teint (incarnat, blanc) et la couleur de cheveux (noire) sont imposés par un "traumatisme chromatique" constituant une sorte de "scène primitive" : il est resté marqué par l'image saisissante d'une corneille qu'il a tuée, gisant dans la neige. La quête de cette épouse sera perturbée par de multiples apparitions/disparitions, et réincarnations, définissant autant de variations identitaires, qui ne peuvent se passer d'un détour interprétatif du côté du symbolique.

Par delà l'affirmation triomphale du pouvoir érotique de la couleur, c'est donc la relation entre couleur corporelle et identité qui se trouve posée, mais autrement qu'en terme de race ou d'espèce. On se propose donc de l'explorer à partir de ce conte.

Stephanie DeGooyer (Willamette University) Scale and the Paranational Novel

Panel / *Session* 150, 'Scaling Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair /
Président.e : Rivka Swenson (Virginia Commonwealth University)

This paper considers how national identity was scaled beyond the individual in the emergent global eighteenth century. I begin by revisiting dominant theses about the novel and nationality as articulated by Nancy Armstrong and Benedict Anderson. I then make the case for novels that were agents for the accommodation of foreign subjects to the national polity, exploring the late work of Samuel Richardson and Laurence Sterne as signature examples. Though Richardson is widely regarded as progenitor of domestic fictions depicting middle class individualism and interiority, he uses his final and most popular novel, *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753), to address problems of foreign marriage and religious toleration. Likewise, *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) is often denigrated as a satire of the English bourgeoisie. I argue, however, that it takes up a domestic genre—the sentimental—to explore passports and the porousness and surface portability of political identity. Hence, these novels represent a precursor to what I call "paranational fiction:" formal experiments that leave open the possibility of membership rather than advance a singular national formation.

Angelina Del Balzo (University of California, Los Angeles) 'Female Suff-rers': Adapting Emotion on the Restoration Stage

Panel / *Session* 1, 'Adaptation and Emotion'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair /
Président.e : Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace (Boston College)

While the romances of Madeleine de Scudéry are often considered in relation to the rise of the English novel, and are notoriously satirized in Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*, her first novel *Ibrahim, or The Illustrious Bassa* (1641, trans. 1652) has a second life on the stage through a variety of adaptations during the first few decades of the Restoration. William Davenant's opera *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656, 1661), Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrey's *The Tragedy of Mustapha, the Son of Solyman the Magnificent* (1665), and Elkanah Settle's *Ibrahim, or The Illustrious Bassa* (1677) all adapt parts of Scudéry's capacious novel, twice mediated through the translation from French to English and then

adapted from prose to performance. Scudéry's narrative pathologizing of the passions, which emphasizes the relationship between emotions and the health and function of the body, must be translated into external signifiers to be legible on the stage. This paper argues that these stage adaptations of Scudéry "translate" genre from romance to tragedy by increasing the display of the pathos of women, and in doing so make female emotion a defining characteristic of Restoration tragedy. While female pathos have been considered the foundation of she-tragedy, developing in the late 1670s, the importance of female emotion to heroic drama and Oriental tragedy has been undervalued. Considering these plays as adaptations crystallizes the generic necessity of displays of female emotion to all Restoration tragedy: actresses did not rise from the dramatic margins in heroic tragedy to prominence in domestic tragedy, but their presence and performances created the theory of tragedy for the next century of English theatre.

Mauro Dela Bandera (Universidade de São Paulo) Identité et différence: une étude sur l'anthropologie chez Rousseau.

Panel / *Session* 409, 'Rousseau: identités et intimités'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

La formation des identités et des différences entre les hommes ou les groupes humains est devenue l'une des questions fondamentales de l'anthropologie du dix-huitième siècle. Reconnu comme le fondateur de l'ethnologie et le plus ethnologue des philosophes par Lévi-Strauss, Rousseau distingue dans son œuvre, trois éléments pour le savoir anthropologique. 1) signaler, cartographier et compiler les différences et les variations de la nature humaine, en soulignant la nature temporelle et changeante de l'être humain, la variation des possibilités et le système de différences. 2) présenter et expliquer la formation des identités et des différences, étant donné l'insuffisance de se limiter à souligner l'inconstance de la nature humaine. Il faut alors donner les raisons objectives de ces variations. Pour ce faire, il convient de démontrer la formation de coutumes, de techniques et d'institutions qui distinguent et opposent les groupes humains. 3) dilution des différences et homogénéisation physique et culturelle. La civilisation et la mondialisation des coutumes se sont très largement répandues aux quatre coins de la planète, diluant les nombreuses petites différences. Cependant, selon les réflexions de Rousseau, il y a toujours de la place pour l'émergence de nouvelles différences, d'originalités nouvelles, de sorte qu'il n'est pas possible de les imaginer ; et que personne ne peut assurer les conditions dans lesquelles l'homme pourrait y arriver.

Luigi Delia (Université de Genève) L'inventaire informatisé du Code de l'humanité de De Felice : bilan et perspectives de recherche

Panel / *Session* 456, 'F.-B. De Felice : l'encyclopédiste, le journaliste, le médiateur culturel'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rolando Minuti (Università degli Studi di Firenze)

Elaboré sur le modèle du précieux inventaire électronique de l'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon mis en œuvre par Clorinda Donato (https://c18.net/ey/ey_infos.php), ce nouvel outil de travail numérique est censé parachever mon programme de recherches en cours à l'université de Genève, intitulé : Le Code de l'humanité ou la législation universelle de De Felice et l'herméneutique juridique des Lumières (Projet du Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique, sous la responsabilité du prof. Martin Rueff).

Cette table analytique des entrées, dont la mise en ligne en libre accès est programmée pour 2019, répertorie tant les articles vedettes que les sous-articles du Code de l'humanité, ou la Législation universelle, naturelle, civile et politique, avec l'histoire littéraire des plus grands hommes qui ont contribué à la perfection de ce code Yverdon, 1777-1778, 13 volumes). Pour chaque entrée, la table offre la possibilité d'ouvrir une fiche donnant une pluralité de détails, comme notamment l'indication du numéro de volume, du numéro de page, des désignants, de l'auteur (avec possibilité d'obtenir une fiche bio-bibliographique et la liste des articles signés par chaque auteur)...

La reconstitution de la table analytique des entrées du Code de l'humanité mets ainsi à la disposition des chercheurs une clé pour consulter la foisonnante nomenclature juridique, politique et morale de ce massif de l'encyclopédisme jusnaturaliste des Lumières helvétiques.

Aris **Della Fontana** (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa) Between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Republic of Venice: The Italian Adventure of Jean Bertrand's *Esprit de la législation* (1766–1794)

Panel / *Session 4*, 'Between Town and Country: The Spirit of Legislation and the Eighteenth-Century Swiss Debates on Urbanisation and Manufacturing'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Graham Clure (University of Lausanne)

Wrote by the Swiss deacon Jean Bertrand, and awarded by the Economic Society of Bern, the "*Esprit de la législation pour encourager l'agriculture, la population, les manufactures et le commerce*" (1766) had a large echo in Italy, in particular in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and in the Republic of Venice. Here, besides being widely quoted, paraphrased and commented in treatises, pamphlets and newspapers, it was translated, becoming a real reference point for the reformist discourse.

Acutely aware of the delay accumulated by the Italian economy, the reformers used the "*Esprit*" as an intellectual resource through which to understand problems and formulate solutions. They particularly appreciated the idea that agriculture was the basis of the economy, and therefore the key to public happiness. They also paid close attention to other cornerstones of Bertrand's thought: the critique of luxury and the fundamental importance attributed to population growth and the education of peasants.

Therefore, studying the Italian reception of the "*Esprit*", paying particular attention to his interpretation and re-semanticization, offers us the opportunity to consider the Italian reformist milieu from an unprecedented and fruitful viewpoint.

Patrizia **Delpiano** (University of Turin) *Histoire universelle des Lumières et antiphilosophie entre France, Italie et Espagne*

Panel / *Session 197*, 'Between Universal History and National Histories: Building the Past in the Age of the Enlightenment 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Niccolò Guasti (University of Foggia)

Studies on the antiphilosophique culture –that is, on the composite constellation of individuals and groups that offered, more or less critically, a response to the spread of the Enlightenment– have been enriched in recent decades by examining authors, works and issues, from religion to science, to mention but two significant topics. Reflections on the history emerging from the framework of the antiphilosophique culture, however, have not yet aroused any significant interest among scholars.

The aim of this paper is to draw attention to the relationship between history and the antiphilosophique culture, showing how some antiphilosophes– to use the term used in the eighteenth century by members of the movement– saw in the *histoire philosophique* a dangerous fracture in the discourse on history and formulated their own view of history, also in response to the interpretation of history put forward by the Enlightenment.

This paper addresses the issue through a specific case study: the book by the French Jesuit Claude-Adrian Nonnotte (1711-93), *Les Erreurs de Voltaire*, published anonymously in Paris in 1762 and later re-published, "*corrigée, augmentée, avec la réponse aux éclaircissements historiques de Mr de Voltaire*" in Amsterdam in 1766. The book, where the discourse on history plays a crucial role, circulated widely in eighteenth-century Europe, thanks to a Spanish (1771-1772) and two Italian translations (1774, 1778). Its analysis brings to light an extensive and articulated criticism of Voltaire's universal history, accused of featuring events in other parts of the world while neglecting national history, while the study of its translations allows us to glean possible national variations in the reception of the text.

Gilles **Denis** (Université de Lille) *Lumières dans les campagnes : guide ou élève du cultivateur ?*

Panel / *Session 151*, 'Sciences et Mouvement des Lumières dans les campagnes/Science and Enlightenment Movement in the Countryside'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (Université de Lille)

Au 18^e siècle l'agriculture est au cœur des débats récurrents sur l'origine des sociétés, de la propriété, des richesses, etc. La vie agricole y est souvent synonyme de moralité et de civisme en opposition au luxe corrompateur et à l'égoïsme. Correspondant à l'esprit des Lumières, l'éloge de l'agriculture relaie la critique du régime politique et économique. Il est régulièrement répété que l'agriculture est « l'art nourricier de tous les autres arts », comme le dit Sélébran l'Aîné, secrétaire perpétuel du bureau d'agriculture de Brive (1753), ou que « l'agriculture n'est pas seulement une science, mais la vie et le soutien de tous arts et sciences » selon Robert Maxwell, secrétaire de l'Edinburgh Society for Improving in the Knowledge of Agriculture (1743). Dans ce contexte, les écrits portant sur l'amélioration de l'agriculture augmentent considérablement et diverses personnalités rurales s'engagent dans cette volonté d'amélioration, notamment en créant des sociétés d'agriculture. S'ajoutent à eux parfois quelques savants. Les objectifs généralement avancés sont de recueillir des informations sur les meilleures pratiques et de les diffuser. Il s'agit de faire appel aux personnalités rurales déjà engagés dans l'amélioration de l'agriculture ou susceptibles de l'être. Ainsi l'Edinburgh Society veut « servir de guide à ceux qui sont déjà entré dans la voie de l'amélioration et détromper ceux qui ont tendance à mépriser les nouvelles méthodes. » Il s'agit aussi d'étudier les pratiques paysannes et de les confronter aux connaissances scientifiques pour aboutir à des recommandations. C'est le cas des essais de Mathieu Tillet à Versailles sur la cause de la maladie qui noircit les blés. Entre cette volonté d'apprendre des cultivateurs et des fermiers et celle finalement de les guider ne serions-nous pas devant l'émergence des sciences agricoles et des prémices d'un encadrement technique de l'agriculture qui s'épanouira au siècle suivant.

Elizabeth **Denlinger** (New York Public Library) *The Half-Extinguished Light: Looking to Gothic Art to Illuminate *Frankenstein**

Panel / *Session* 133, 'Gothic Horrors, Catholic Undertones, and Political Caricature: Archival Riches of the Lewis Walpole Library'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Clarke (University of Liverpool)

It was already one in the morning; the rain pattered dismally against the panes, and my candle was nearly burnt out, when, by the glimmer of the half-extinguished light, I saw the dull yellow eye of the creature open; it breathed hard, and a convulsive motion agitated its limbs.

Frankenstein, vol. I, ch. 4, opening.

Mary Shelley's novel of 1818, *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus*, needs no introduction as a Gothic text, but its visual sources and cognates are less well known. In this paper I will explore how Shelley draws on the rich quarry of Gothic art, focusing on contrasts between light and darkness, as in the lines above, or the great light that breaks on Frankenstein's brain when he discovers the secret of life, or in the monster's final disappearance "in darkness and distance." From childhood onward Mary Shelley was exposed to paintings and prints such as Fuseli's *Nightmare* (1781), de Louthembourg's *Philosopher in a Moonlit Churchyard* (1790), Gillray's *Tales of Wonder!* (1802), and Joseph Wright of Derby's "night pieces," all of which would have contributed to making her imagination a place of stark contrasts. Her attachment from 1814 onward to P.B. Shelley, who loved the edition of Bürger's *Lenore* illustrated by Lady Diana Beauclerk (1796) and the anonymous *Tales of Terror* (1801), with its blood-soaked graveyard frontispiece, would have further deepened her knowledge of the conventions of Gothic art. While it would be vain to point to exact matches, I hope that investigating the high-contrast visual culture from which *Frankenstein* springs may throw new light on the novel. I plan to draw on research I conducted at the Lewis Walpole Library for *It's Alive! Frankenstein at 200*, an exhibition I co-curated at the Morgan Library & Museum.

Peter **Denney** (Griffith University) *Cries, Curses, and Revolutionary Clamours: Popular Radicalism and the Sound of Religious Enthusiasm in the 1790s*

Panel / *Session* 406, 'Popular Politics and Radicalism'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

In the wake of the French Revolution, the popular culture of religious enthusiasm in Britain developed a radical strain, which placed enormous emphasis on sound. Popular religious fervour had long been characterised by an acoustic orientation, encompassing shouts, cries, vehement preaching, exuberant singing, and much else. According to polite commentators, this alleged noise rendered enthusiasm incompatible with Enlightenment, as it fashioned uncivilised

identities in which piety was linked to self-abandonment rather than self-control. Moreover, due to the polarisation of British society in the 1790s, the sound of popular religion became highly politicised. In sermons and other loyalist tracts, Anglican clergymen depicted noisy enthusiastic worship as an ungodly practice, which fostered rebelliousness as well as vulgarity. From this perspective, true piety was marked by quietness. By contrast, religious members of the popular reform movement regarded intense sonic experience as a desirable source of spiritual power, capable of generating major political transformation. In thunder, prophetic writers heard divine messages about the impending establishment of a Christian republic in Britain. Similarly, the arrival of the new millennium was often imagined as an acoustic event, with the blast of trumpets inaugurating an era of freedom in which cries and curses gave way to shouts and songs, reverberating throughout Creation. This paper examines the significance of sound in popular radical religion in the context of the debate about the French Revolution. Focussing on prophecies, sermons and poems, it argues that a group of plebeian Dissenters, whose piety shaped their commitment to reform, attributed a revolutionary meaning to the sonic intensity of religious enthusiasm. As the noise of popular disaffection was heard to echo that of divine judgement, these writings constituted innovative attempts to demonstrate the radical dictum vox populi, vox dei.

Thierry **Depaulis** (historien indépendant) La conception graphique des planches de l'*Encyclopédie* : emprunts et innovations

Panel / *Session* 175, 'Nouveaux éclairages sur la manufacture de l'*Encyclopédie* 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne)

La "mise en page" des planches de l'*Encyclopédie* est si caractéristique qu'elle est devenue un marqueur de sa « manufacture » : en haut de la planche, une vignette représente en perspective une scène d'atelier ; au-dessous s'inscrivent outils et ustensiles numérotés, voire machines décortiquées. Cette disposition est-elle une innovation des concepteurs de l'*Encyclopédie* ? Ou n'aurait-elle pas été empruntée ? On est frappé de retrouver cette mise en page dans les gravures de la série « Descriptions des arts et métiers » de l'Académie des Sciences. Mais là, nombre de planches ont été gravées dès la fin du XVIII^e siècle, notamment par Louis Simonneau (1654-1727). Cette intervention a pour ambition de souligner le rôle clé de ce graveur et son influence posthume sur les planches de l'*Encyclopédie*.

Anne **Desler** (University of Edinburgh) The Star Castrato and the Relic: Layers of Identities in Early Eighteenth-Century Naples

Panel / *Session* 117, 'Opera'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

Scholarship on eighteenth-century performing musicians has mostly focused on their musical activities. However, recent studies demonstrate that the cultural significance of star performers, for example the opera singers Faustina Bordoni and Carlo Broschi 'Farinelli', could extend far beyond the musical realm (e.g., Aspden 2013, MacGeary 2013).

A particularly fascinating example of the potential extent of star performers' cultural importance and the multiplicity of facets of their personal and public identities is the Neapolitan castrato Nicola Grimaldi 'Nicolini' (1673-1732), the leading singer of Italian opera of his generation, whose career and social ascent are a paradigm of the principle of personal advancement through merit. Whereas his professional skills earned him his induction in 1705 into the only chivalric order of the Republic of Venice, the Cavalieri della Croce di San Marco, his entry ticket into the highest echelons of Neapolitan society was a relic, the Staff of St. Joseph, which he 'had obtained in England with great difficulty and saved from the hands of heretics' (ASN, Atti notarili, Sancilla 40-27, fol. 5r). Its elaborately staged public exposition, attended by commoners and nobles including the viceroy's family, made Grimaldi's private chapel a focal point of the annual celebrations in honour of St. Joseph, one of Naples's patron saints. The relic was also crucial for Grimaldi's personal identity and public image as a pious, virtuous man despite his professional identity as a singer-actor and the dubious reputation of the theatre.

Neapolitan newspaper reports on Grimaldi's triumphs in London, Rome and Venice from the 1710s and 1720s also attest to the singer's contribution to the national identity of Naples, for which the Europe-wide success of its musical

exports was of special importance within the context of the city's continuous political strife and domination by foreign powers.

Ben Dew (University of Portsmouth) David Hume and Józef Wybicki: Civil Liberty, Order, and Republicanism (Co-presented with Rafał Lis, Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków)

Panel / *Session 270*, 'Humean Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatsuya Sakamoto (Waseda University)

This paper examines the relationship between two major Enlightenment figures from contrasting intellectual backgrounds: the Scottish philosopher and historian, David Hume, and the Polish political theorist and reformer, Józef Wybicki. The focus of the presentation will be on the accounts the writers developed of civil liberty, order and republicanism with particular reference to Hume's essays (principally 1741-2, 1752) and Wybicki's *Political Thoughts on Civil Liberty* (1775-1776) and *Patriotic Letters* (1777-8). At one level, our aim is to contribute to ongoing debates concerning the reception of Hume's work. Wybicki first encountered the Scotsman's writing through a 1754 French translation of the *Political Discourses*. He was clearly impressed by what he read and his works of the 1770s both developed general lines of thought contained in the essays and made direct reference to Hume (who he referred to as 'the English politician'). Equally significant, however, are the differences between the two writers. Hume's work was grounded in a broad defence of the existing institutional political order in Britain, which he saw as threatened by the myths and misapprehensions of a Vulgar Whig form of neo-Republican thought. As such, his goal was to provide civil liberty in Britain with new, stronger theoretical foundations. Wybicki also identified a series of theoretical misapprehensions which were at the heart of Poland's problems, but coupled this form of analysis with calls for substantial institutional reform. This concern with promoting practical change led him to adopt rhetorical and political strategies – grounded, in part, in the republican discourse which underpinned Polish political debates of the period – which were fundamentally different to those utilised by Hume. An account of the various tensions and conjunctions between the work of these writers, we contend, has the potential to shine light on aspects of the national and more cosmopolitan aspects of Enlightenment-era thought and, more generally, the relationship between political theory (specifically debates concerning republicanism) and political practice in Britain and Poland.

Olimpia Di Biase (Sapienza University of Rome) Architecture on Pre-existing Renaissance Buildings during the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 120*, 'Planning and Architecture'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Amalia Papaioannou (Hellenic Open University / Democritus University of Thrace)

The city of Ferrara has been considered as "City of the Renaissance and its Po Delta" by the UNESCO and included in the World Heritage List because of its urban development during the 15th century. Therefore, Ferrara gained fame due to the Este family, who, through its patronage since 1332, enhanced the progress of arts and culture, as well as the growth of architecture. Nevertheless, Ferrara is not only the first modern city in Europe. In 1598, owing to the lack of legitimate heirs, the papacy took over the power of the city from the Este family. At the turn of the 17th century, Ferrara had become a Legation of the Papal States and, according to the most widely published sources, a period of decadence started. It would be foolish and unhistorical to deny or to reduce the significance of the Renaissance period, but it should also be borne in mind that the causes of decrease in cultural development must have been sought in epidemics, wars and cultivated field floods. Furthermore, we should not ignore the economic crisis as a consequence of the Este family's policy, which nowadays may seem far-sighted, but in fact it was a financial failure for the 17th century. In spite of this, flourishing Ferrara enjoyed the second period of renewal that lasted throughout the 18th century. Its economic regeneration and political stability facilitated the resumption of architectural development. The nobility and the middle class started to look for their own citizen identity in accordance with the new architectural style. The 16th century architectural lexicon, which has appeared in the representative civil architecture till then, is marked by new Baroque works. The palaces found a new identity not in contrast, but in balance with the previous style through building of new monumental staircases, halls and facades. Ferrara changed its appearance inspired by Roman Baroque architecture, but with a more moderate and sober style in conformity together with the elegance of the Este family.

Geneviève Di Rosa (ESPE Paris) La fiction de la taxinomie dans les Contemporaines de Rétif de la Bretonne

Panel / *Session 230*, 'L'identité narrative chez Rétif de la Bretonne'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sophie Lefay (Université d'Orléans)

La publication récente des 42 volumes de l'édition originale des Contemporaines par Pierre Testud donne à lire une œuvre qui participe de l'identité culturelle du 18^e siècle, à savoir la taxinomie, qui relève d'une véritable passion de la classification, selon le modèle de Buffon dans l'Histoire naturelle ou conformément à l'idéal de l'Encyclopédie. Il ne s'agit pas de simples nomenclatures, mais d'une vision totalisante, faisant sens, et l'acceptation des frontières, voire des hybridations. Les Contemporaines présentent d'abord un ensemble de types sociaux, masculins ou féminins, relevant de tous les états (du porteur d'eau ou de la regratière aux duc et duchesse), de tous les petits métiers parisiens, ce qui en fait l'originalité audacieuse, même si elle est alors passée et reçue au filtre de l'exotisme. Elles sont ensuite et surtout une mosaïque de modèles qui sont le développement narratif d'une visée idéologique, visée dont on pourrait aussi établir une classification. Nous proposons d'observer les indices discursifs d'un imaginaire qui a conscience que l'identité culturelle de la taxinomie est fiction, à entendre à la fois comme forme productrice, mise en ordre, et illusoire chimère. Pour cela, nous nous attacherons à la nouvelle « N'importe laquelle », dont le titre est déjà un indice d'un possible narratif questionnant la chaîne paradigmatique de personnages-types. Nous mettrons au jour la tension entre le modèle modélisant, substituable, et le prototype unique, non remplaçable et transgressif.

Maria Di Salvo (University of Milan, Italia) Italian Perceptions of Russian Diplomats (Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries) as Results of their new Role

Panel / *Session 81*, 'La Russie et la culture diplomatique européenne / Russia and European Diplomatic Culture'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dorit Kluge (Hochschule für Wirtschaft, Technik und Kultur, Berlin)

In the 17th-18th centuries a number of Italian states (some of them in sad decay) were involved in negotiations with Russian diplomats; apart from the results achieved, these visits were perceived as proof of the international relevance of these states, and stimulated a display of solemnity and rituality reminiscent of the old splendour.

Meanwhile, among the changes produced by Peter the Great's policies there was also a new attitude to the function of diplomatic missions to and from other European countries. This was perceived abroad whenever Russian ambassadors and envoys came in contact with members of the political and diplomatic élite, becoming less and less exotic and increasingly familiar with the code generally in use in Europe. Compared to the 17th century, the personality of envoys was now more relevant in negotiations and their longer stays in foreign capitals enabled them to become active intermediaries, rather than mere bearers of letters. Their behaviour in formal situations was to a lesser extent dictated by Muscovite etiquette and more relaxed in personal intercourse.

This paper aims at showing how this change is reflected in Italian archival documents, correspondence and sometimes in gazettes; in some instances the testimony of papal nuncios is very relevant, due to the long-standing international experience of Roman Catholic diplomacy.

Ignacio Díaz de la Serna (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) Buffon: une anthropologie de l'unité

Panel / *Session 82*, 'Le monde naturel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

Dans son œuvre « Histoire naturelle de l'Homme », Buffon conclue sur l'unité de l'espèce humaine malgré la diversité de peuples, des races et de mœurs. Son dernier chapitre est d'une importance capitale. Buffon y conduit le lecteur dans un tour du monde ethnographique qui parcourt l'Europe et l'Asie, puis l'Afrique et l'Amérique. Entre chaque continent, l'auteur aborde quelques-uns de problèmes théoriques qu'il prétende résoudre.

Partant de l'itinéraire proposé dans ces pages, la notion-clef que l'on retrouve constamment, c'est la notion de « climat ». Il expose d'abord les « climats froids » de l'Ancien Monde et revient par les climats chauds. Puis il procède à établir une division régulière des climats, divisant la Terre en zones climatiques horizontales.

L'information géographique et ethnographique utilisée par Buffon vient de la abondante littérature de voyages déjà disponible à cette époque, et qu'il a sélectionné avec soin. Buffon cite nombreux auteurs, compare leurs descriptions, juge leurs commentaires, et les critique si leurs idées le méritent.

Même si la notion de « climat » n'est pas originale, Buffon va plus loin que ses contemporains en disant que le climat est la cause des différences entre les peuples. Cependant, sa théorie des climats heurte un obstacle dont Buffon est conscient : les populations du continent américain. C'est une erreur de continuer à croire que la couleur de la peau dépend du climat, mis à part l'extrême nord, dont les habitants ressemblent aux Lapons, puisque on ne trouve en Amérique qu'une seule race d'hommes. Dès lors, l'influence du climat sera démentie.

La communication individuelle que je présenterais analysera l'itinéraire suivi par Buffon et la conclusion à laquelle il arrive, conclusion qui marque une date cruciale dans l'histoire de l'anthropologie. Buffon est convaincu que le genre humain n'est pas composé d'espèces différentes entre elles. Au contraire, il y a eu à l'origine qu'une seule espèce d'hommes qui, s'étant répandue sur la surface de notre planète, a subi des changements par l'influence du climat, par la différence de la nourriture, par celle de la manière de vivre, et aussi par le mélange des individus plu

Magdalena **Díaz Hernández** (University of Murcia) Rumor and Gossip as Truth: Witnesses and Land Lawsuits in Eighteenth-Century Colonial Spanish America

Panel / *Session 70*, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

Colonial Spanish America History has a long number of primary sources about the role of witnesses in Indians, Afro-descendants and Spanish Communities land lawsuits. The Law allowed that the opposing parties carried out questionnaires in which witnesses must answer with the truth. Thanks to the witnesses testimonies we can observe different ways of power and resistance; ethnic categories; the knowledge of the law and its social uses; local and regional social networks, etc. According to the aforementioned, historiography has hardly valued the power of the oral culture of the witnesses that could affect judicial decisions, and of course, to the opposite parts (Yannakakis and Orensanz, 2006).

Furthermore, it hasn't been sufficiently studied how legal literature (Law of Parties of the 13th Century, The law of Recopilation of the Indies) established a hierarchy of the value of the witnesses (per visum) direct witnessing, (per auditum), merely hearing about it from someone, and (publica fama), what everybody knew, common knowledge (Wickham, 1998).

In this paper, we will analyze how the truth of the witnesses' testimonies did not have to correspond with colonial hierarchic ethnic categories. The questionnaire elaborated by the parties helped the witnesses to present rumor and gossip as truth. Their testimonies help us to understand the dynamics of power and resistance in the local sphere in which rumor and gossip were essential parts of this sociological game. Especially, the economic Bourbon reforms impact and the system of Intendancy in the late 18th Century Spanish America.

Sara **Dickinson** (University of Genoa) The Canonization of Ekaterina Dashkova

Panel / *Session 64*, 'Writing Noblewomen in Eighteenth-Century Russia'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Séverine Genieys-Kirk (University of Edinburgh)

Nikolai Novikov's 1772 Attempt at Dictionary of Russian Writers included 9 women, the most illustrious of which was the princess Ekaterina Dashkova, whose elevated social position, close relationship with Catherine II, and public visibility (as the director of two academic institutions) make her a unique and unusual example of the eighteenth-century noblewoman writer. Indeed, Dashkova is often seen today as a primarily historical figure, rather than a literary one, best known for memoirs that comment on Catherine. She wrote in other genres as well, however, and many of her texts were "firsts" in the history of Russian women's writing. This paper will examine how Dashkova's

significance for literary history evolves over the course of two centuries by analyzing the bio-blurbs and articles that accompany her name in literary dictionaries from 1772 to 1994. We will explore the varying weight given in these entries to elements such as Dashkova's noble status and social connections, her personal behavior (especially with regard to her extended family, husband, and children), and her professional career on the background of growing nationalism, nineteenth-century historicism, and changing attitudes about appropriate female behavior in Russia.

Fokko Jan **Dijksterhuis** (University of Twente / Vrije Universiteit) Mediations of the World:
Thinking of Instruments as Sources of Knowing in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 461, 'Industry and Technology'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Philippe Sarrasin Robichaud (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières / Sorbonne)

The physico-theology of the Enlightenment was the fruit of the pious reading of experimental philosophy. In imitation of Boyle and Newton, experimental philosophy was not only seen as a methodological improvement, particularly correcting the unbridled speculating of mechanical philosophy. Experimental philosophy also implied a metaphysical improvement by keeping the new philosophy on the rails of reading the creation.

Instruments were, of course, a prominent element in experimental philosophy with various connotations. Pumps, prisms, and generators were tools for philosophical inquiry. At the same time they had a strong technological aspect towards industrious use and societal improvement. Furthermore, instruments were not only tools for testing theories but also mediated understanding and gave shape to ideas. Just like an experiment creates a new reality, an instrument renders a distinct phenomenon.

Viewing instruments as a source of knowledge, rather than a means of exploring and interrogating the properties of nature, signified a further development in the industrious Enlightenment of the 18th century. Several thinkers tried to articulate what we can learn from and with actions and artifacts, and how. In particular Christian Wolff (1679-1754) systematically reflected upon wisdom acquired from the arts; 'techno-logy' as he called it. In this presentation I will follow his lead to discuss 18th-century ideas about the epistemic meaning of arts and instruments.

Leigh **Dillard** (University of North Georgia) Book Illustration and the Commonplace Book: Drawing on the Literary Fringe

Panel / *Session* 387, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 4'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.
G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nathalie Collé (Université de Lorraine, CLSH de Nancy)

Formally grounded in principles of education, memory, and personal improvement, the theory behind the commonplace book forwarded by John Locke and others imagines a trove of meaningful literary passages, assembled by the compiler for later reference. In practical terms, however, the commonplace book becomes a site of rich variability, a less predictable space reflecting readerly practice as it ranges from focused, faithful copying and systematic indexing to personal scraps of literary and visual interest irregularly scattered across its pages. This discussion shifts commonplace books from the high-minded repositories of neatly organized learning to the more organic, sometimes messy notebooks of everyday people. Looking intently at the visual and verbal traces left within commonplace books, particularly those of the eighteenth-century, I argue that the commonplace disrupts the hierarchy of artistic taste by uniting the high with the low, the weighty with the common. To be sure, the eighteenth-century commonplace book retains its educative purpose for some users, but others deal in the basic operations of the household, gardening, husbandry, and other elements of everyday interest. As a practical repository, then, it is at once literary and para-literary. Above all, the commonplace echoes the use of books and writing, and by the eighteenth century, this use is peppered with a consideration of visual elements to organize and enhance its pages. In this sense, the materiality of the commonplace appears in equally varied form, just as concerns about the materiality of the text come into the critical mindset during the eighteenth century. Drawing on multiple examples of commonplace book illustrations from the period, this talk will not only discuss the form and function of illustration in this space but will also address the parallels between the reception and study of these highly variable forms and that of illustration. In multiple ways, the lenses through which we encounter commonplace books parallel those through which we view illustration. In productive ways, the study of one can inform our approach to the other.

Yannan **Ding** (Fudan University, Shanghai) Scottish Hydrographers in Service of the British East India Company: Alexander Dalrymple and James Horsburgh

Panel / *Session 282*, 'Scots, Empire, and Identity'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sydney Ayers (University of Edinburgh)

This paper presents a preliminary study of the career of Alexander Dalrymple (1737 – 1808) and James Horsburgh (1762 – 1836), both of whom served in the British East India Company (EIC) as hydrographer. While they were from rather different social standings, a shared interest in maritime geography brought these two countrymen together in the 1790s. The private letter book of Horsburgh (IOR MSS EUR/F305, British Library) shows that they maintained infrequent but meaningful contacts with each other for over a decade. Horsburgh not only got his charts and memoirs published in London, thanks to Dalrymple's many assistances, he would also succeed the latter as the hydrographer to the East India Company. Together they contributed to the improvement of navigation in the Eastern Seas in no small part. In this paper, these two figures will be examined against the milieu of the Late Enlightenment. It is argued that they were the unsung members of the Scottish Enlightenment, and their deeds were, if involuntarily, ultimately in service of the empire.

Christopher **Dingwall** (Scotland's Garden and Landscape Heritage) 'The Hall of Mirrors' : Reflections on the Sublime and the Iconography of Ossian at the Hermitage, Dunkeld

Panel / *Session 67*, 'British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 2'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (University of Lille / Magdalen College, Oxford)

This talk will examine the history of the Hermitage at Dunkeld, a building on the edge of the Scottish Highlands which has attracted visitors for more than 250 years. Built in 1757 as a view-house overlooking the spectacular Black Linn Falls on the River Braan, the building was remodelled and renamed as Ossian's Hall in 1780's. As well as being an iconic site visited by tourists wanting to experience the 'landscape sublime', the site can also be seen as part of the cult of Ossian which swept across Europe following the publication of poems supposedly translated from the Scottish Gaelic by the poet James Macpherson. Consideration will be given to important part played in the story by successive Dukes of Atholl, and their involvement in the complicated politics of the eighteenth century. Recently restored by the National Trust for Scotland, the Hermitage has always had its admirers and detractors, among them many distinguished historical figures.

Dalibor **Dobias** (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic) Literary Criticism and the Creation of Modern Identities: The Case of the Czech Lands in the Enlightenment Era

Panel / *Session 110*, 'Language and Community'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniela Haarmann (University of Vienna)

Literary criticism - as a modern institution of public debate on literary works, and thus of the formation of collective and individual identities - is based on the relative autonomy of the work and on the permanence of the discussion. In that regard, the interpretation of the work during the 18th century emancipates itself gradually from the older sphere of scholarship and becomes the subject of an expanding public debate. This conference post argues that the multilingual environment within the Habsburg Empire, with mirroring waves in the formation of modern literary criticism, provides a valuable case study for understanding these processes: while the debate around German-language literature began from the 1760s in a wider Central European context, other, smaller literatures encountered characteristic obstacles. Thus, e.g. Czech-language literature as a historical and folk phenomenon still played a significant role in the traditional scholarly framework only, and similar conditions as in German-language literature opened up as late as in the 1810s. The post focuses in particular on the mutual relationship of literature in both languages (institutions, media and functions) and its particular values, while offering an alternative view of the formation of national identities.

Teri **Doerksen** (Mansfield University of Pennsylvania) Drawn Tension: Eighteenth-Century Illustration and the Conduct Book

Panel / *Session* 321, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Leigh Dillard (University of North Georgia)

The conduct book in the eighteenth century took several forms, ranging on a continuum from the straightforward book of advice, like John Gregory's "A Father's Legacy to His Daughters" (1774) and Thomas Gisborne's "An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex" (1797) to the emerging conduct novel, which included novels ranging from Richardson's Pamela (1740) through Sarah Scott's Millenium Hall (1762) and Burney's Evelina (1778) to Charlotte Smith's Emmeline (1791). I argue that, although illustration of these diverse works naturally varied widely, almost all evinced a tension between the purpose of the book and the purpose of the illustration. The intent of the conduct book is generally guided by the author and is at least ostensibly to instruct the reader in appropriate behavior in particular kinds of social settings. In contrast, the intent of the illustration is to entice the reader to purchase the book, and the commission of illustrations is usually guided and paid for by the publisher.

The illustrations themselves become a locus of this tension. In conduct books particularly, which often argue that proper behavior involves abnegation and selflessness, the illustrations become a testing ground between what the author wants the reader to learn about resisting temptation, and what the publisher thinks the reader will find tempting. The frontispiece of the first editions of Millenium Hall, for example, faithfully represents one brief moment in the action of the book while simultaneously presenting a stark contrast to the book's overall intent. The novel is about two men, one steady of character and one not, being received at Millenium Hall when their carriage breaks down. They are welcomed by a woman who lives in the all-female community there, and she tells them the histories of many of the women; all are both extremely virtuous and physically disfigured in some way, and all have encountered violence or injustice at the hands of men who were entrusted with their care. The men are deeply moved by the stories, and resolve to act differently toward women in the future.

Clorinda **Donato** (California State University, Long Beach) *L'Estratto della letteratura europea* : Laboratoire pour l'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon

Panel / *Session* 456, 'F.-B. De Felice : l'encyclopédiste, le journaliste, le médiateur culturel'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rolando Minuti (Università degli Studi di Firenze)

A la suite de son arrivée à Berne en 1757, Fortunato Bartolomeo De Felice, rédacteur en chef de l'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon (1770 – 1780), consacra ses énergies à la création de deux périodiques dont le plus réussi fut l'Estratto della letteratura europea (1758 -1766), qui bénéficia d'une large participation d'hommes de lettres au cours de ses huit années de vie. La formule de l'Estratto a certainement contribué à son succès, tout en fournissant un pont important à la future activité encyclopédique de son éditeur. L'Estratto était composé de deux parties. La première section présentait de longs extraits de livres étrangers, traduits en italien, auxquels des notes détaillées et des commentaires étaient souvent ajoutés. La seconde moitié, 'Novelle letterarie' [Nouvelles littéraires], proposait un bref résumé des travaux récemment publiés, divisés par le lieu de publication. La présente communication veut étudier en quel mesure l'Estratto constitue une étape importante entre périodique et encyclopédie par l'étude comparative d'un corpus d'extraits de l'Estratto comparé à un autre corpus d'articles sélectionné de l'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon.

Naomi **Donovan** (University of Kent) Enlightened Alter Egos in Austen: A Character Analysis

Panel / *Session* 370, 'Jane Austen'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Linda Troost (Washington & Jefferson College)

Jane Austen's novels engage fully with key tenets of Enlightenment philosophy. Overarching analyses of such features include those by Marilyn Butler and Peter Knox-Shaw. My paper takes a telescopic approach that examines how

Austen's female characters engage, refine, and give examples of the real-world applications of Enlightenment philosophies.

I argue that the behaviour of Austen's heroines is particularly unique and interesting from a philosophical and literary standpoint. My paper focuses on characters such as Elizabeth Bennet, Emma Woodhouse, and Fanny Price. It analyses how Austen's characters have characteristics that embody those of key Enlightenment thinkers such as Wollstonecraft, Voltaire, and Locke. Austen had access to the works of philosophers and authors such as Locke, Voltaire, Burke, Rousseau, Hume, and Franklin via Edward Austen Knight's library.

Austen's characters provide examples of empiricism, social contract theory, the sublime, and virtue ethics in action. This character engagement with various philosophical concepts enables readers to evaluate the practical consequences of adopting particular views. Austen often assigns women a central role in the creation and development of such theories. For example, while I argue that Edmund Bertram in *Mansfield Park* espouses features of Burkean aesthetic philosophy, it is Fanny who inspires Edmund and helps him to shape his ideas. For example, when contemplating the sublimity of nature and its potential effects on society, Fanny says to Edmund: "When I look out on such a night as this, I feel as if there could be neither wickedness nor sorrow in the world; and there certainly would be less of both if the sublimity of Nature were more attended to, and people were carried more out of themselves by contemplating such a scene." Through such conversations, Austen asserted and legitimised the importance of under-represented female perspectives on such topics. Fanny's gazing out through the window shows this in a physical and metaphorical sense. I argue that Austen offered a counter-Enlightenment that challenged this male-dominated movement by highlighting the mental acuity of a range of different women.

Carole **Dornier** (Université de Caen) *L'abbé Castel de Saint-Pierre : l'homme de lettres, conseiller politique d'une monarchie rationalisée*

Panel / *Session 105*, 'Hommes des Lumières, hommes politiques : positionnements et trajectoires à l'époque de la Révolution Française 1 (avant, pendant et après la Révolution)'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gérard Laudin (Lettres Sorbonne Université)

L'abbé Castel de Saint-Pierre (1658-1743) surtout célèbre pour son *Projet de Paix perpétuelle* (1713) et pour son éviction de l'Académie française à la suite de la parution de son *Discours sur la Polysynodie* (1718), occupe une place particulière, marginale et originale dans la vie politique de la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Ni seulement 'donneur d'avis' comme il en existait auprès des ministères pour fournir des mémoires restés confidentiels, ni plume des autorités comme le fut son ami Fontenelle auprès du régent, ni simple théoricien, Castel de Saint-Pierre, très critique à l'égard de l'esprit courtisan, de la cupidité et de la vanité qui animaient l'ambition politique, désireux de se rendre utile, s'est voulu indépendant, bien que protégé de la Maison d'Orléans, et a cherché à faire avancer ses propositions auprès des gouvernements de son époque en espérant leur mise en œuvre.

C'est cette étroite ligne de crête, évitant l'adhésion complaisante et la critique pamphlétaire, cherchant à s'appuyer sur les structures existantes pour en penser le changement, sur laquelle il tente d'avancer, sans toujours y parvenir. Depuis ses mémoires transmis à la fin du règne de Louis XIV, ses projets divers tentant d'inspirer des mesures sous la Régence et sous le ministériat de Fleury, jusqu'à ses avertissements déguisés en flatteries à l'adresse de Frédéric II, il ne cessera de chercher à convaincre du rôle que les hommes de lettres et savants, au sein d'académies considérées comme instruments d'une expertise au service du pouvoir, peuvent jouer pour éclairer la décision d'un monarque à la souveraineté sans partage.

Si jusque dans les dernières années de sa vie, auprès du jeune roi de Prusse, il apparaît comme un 'donneur de leçons' qu'on n'écoute guère, son bilan pour inspirer certaines mesures ou pour inscrire dans un cadre politique les questions les plus diverses n'est resté ni tout à fait lettre morte ni sans écho, par exemple chez Jean-Jacques Rousseau et chez Kant.

Ses écrits organisés en un système sont une tentative pour faire converger l'héritage du colbertisme, l'arithmétique politique, la conception d'un État de bien-être.

Nadezda **Dorokhova** (Moscow Military Music College) « Tories Russes » : Anglomanes ou Patriotes?

Panel / *Session* 33, 'A l'Est, du nouveau'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

En étudiant l'histoire sociale et intellectuelle russe du XVIII^e siècle, le chercheur se trouve en situation de faire face au phénomène d'un certain nombre de personnes dont l'identité était à l'intersection de deux mondes, celui de la Russie et de l'Europe occidentale. Il s'agit du cercle de la noblesse russe de haut rang liée à la personnalité de l'ambassadeur de Russie à Londres, Semyon Vorontsov, surnommé par Adam Czartoryski «tory russe». Ses élèves et adeptes, les jeunes aristocrates russes, parmi lesquels on peut citer les noms de Nikolai Novosiltsev, Victor Kochubey et Pavel Chichagov, se sont identifiés à un type particulier de comportement social, avec leur propre système de valeurs culturelles et sociales, axés sur l'expérience des pays européens contemporaines, et principalement sur le modèle politique de l'Angleterre. Compte tenu du fait que ces personnages occupaient une position très élevée dans le gouvernement russe au début du 19^e siècle, le chercheur obtient l'occasion d'observer le processus et les résultats de cette grande expérience sociale qui a marqué le début du règne d'Alexandre I^{er}. Dans ces conditions, surtout il est important d'analyser le processus de l'assimilation et de l'adaptation des codes culturels européens et voir les résultats pratiques de leur transplantation sur le sol russe. Aborder l'histoire de la maîtrise des concepts de droit de base de l'Europe occidentale est nécessaire pour clarifier la question de la «traduisibilité» des valeurs libérales à la langue de la culture russe. Le type de comportement social formé par un groupe de la noblesse russe imprégné d'esprit britannique au tournant du siècle suggère que les soi-disant «tories russes» des 18^e et 19^e siècles ont tenté d'incarner les idées de Montesquieu sur «l'Esprit des lois» en Russie. Une nouvelle réalité est-elle apparue dans ce cas ou les idées des «conservateurs russes» sur la primauté du droit se sont-elles révélées complètement utopiques? Dans quelle mesure les concepts clés des droits de l'homme et de la liberté étaient-ils applicables dans le contexte de la réalité et du discours politiques russes?

Antônio Dos Santos (Federal University of Sergipe) John Locke and the Identity of the Atheist

Panel / *Session* 108, 'Irreligious Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Devin Vartija (Utrecht University)

John Locke and the identity of the atheist

One of the most instigating themes of John Locke's political thinking is the atheism. After all, as one of the first theorists to give philosophical fundamentum to tolerance, who wrote a specific work on this subject, is it strictly opposed to atheists? Is it possible to reconcile, on the one hand, secularization, understood as the emancipation of the religious sphere (caused by its own tolerance) with the religious morality of Locke's thought, on the other? If it is true the idea that Locke is part of a long English tradition dating back to Thomas Morus, who in Utopia (1516) advocated religious pluralism as a condition for a healthy public life, why does Locke imprint this criticism on the atheist? To what extent can the atheist's rejection of society compromise the coherence of his theory of tolerance? But these questions require as a condition the understanding of what is atheist in Locke's own thinking. What would be his identity, his characteristics, his way of acting? How to define it? In the Letter on Tolerance, Locke uses different meanings for the same atheist term: on the one hand, it appears as a synonym for madman, or skeptic, or libertine or even a monster. Why such a use of the term so differently? Thus, the purpose of this communication is to analyze the concept of atheist in John Locke's political thought.

Gillian Dow (University of Southampton) The Little Art of the Translator: Isabelle de Montolieu (1751–1832), Reluctant Author?

Panel / *Session* 254, 'Transnationalism and Eighteenth-Century Women's Writing'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susan Carlile (California State University, Long Beach)

Women across Europe in the eighteenth century were encouraged to learn modern languages and to translate. Women writers frequently published translations alongside more 'original' work. Their translations are, however, often dismissed as hack-work and too rarely the subject of sustained analysis. To neglect these works is to misunderstand the nature of translation in the period. Twentieth and twenty-first century readers (and scholars who are not specialists in translation theory or historical translation practice) think in terms of a stable text, which is

transferred to the target language and ‘means’ the same for readers in countries in which this target language is spoken. In the eighteenth century, the thrust was to domesticate foreign fiction. Women translators themselves frequently described their work as editing, lesser work to producing creative originals, a ‘little’ art, or rather, a craft. But was the act of translation a way to disguise original work? In their adaptations, were women writers concerned to ‘protect’ their reading public from loose foreign morals, or did the act of mediating foreign cultures enrich their compatriots and their own work? Why was there an attraction to foreign literatures and cultures for women writers in particular in this period? What was the market for these adaptations and transformations in a period of Revolution and war?

This paper will use the remarkable publishing career of Franco-Swiss author Isabelle de Montolieu to examine whether there was such a thing as a ‘translator’s identity’ in the eighteenth century. Montolieu – translator of *The Swiss Family Robinson*, *Sense and Sensibility* and *Persuasion* – was at the centre of European literary life, but her insistence that she was ‘only’ a translator has meant her legacy is someone on the periphery. Putting her back in the centre, I will examine the networks around her, and rethink her place in the cross-channel development of the Romantic-Period novel.

Phineas Dowling (Auburn University) Periodical Shifts: Framing Scottish Identity During and After the ‘45

Panel / *Session 236*, ‘Periodical Identities’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower.

Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

In Henry Fielding’s *The True Patriot* dated November 19, 1745, he relates a nightmare predicting the terrible fate of London should the approaching Jacobite army reach the city. In the dream, a group of “ill-looking rascals” in “Highland dresses, with broad swords by their sides” burst into Fielding’s home and arrest him. As he is led to execution after a mock trial, Fielding sees the horrors of the Highlanders’ invasion: dead bodies littering the streets, Protestants roasted in fires, and “a young lady of quality” ravaged and bloodied by two rough Highlanders. This “dream” of the supposed barbarity of the oncoming Jacobite army, teeming with hordes of savage Scottish Highlanders, reflects both the genuine and manufactured fears of the English during the crisis of the Jacobite Uprising of 1745. Fielding’s publication was by no means the only periodical of the day to portray the Scottish, particularly the Highlanders, as savage and inhuman monsters. This rhetoric helped stoke and justify the violent reprisals of the British Army against Scotland in the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden. In this paper, however, I will examine the shift in such rhetoric of the most influential periodicals (*The Gentleman’s Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine*) over the months preceding and succeeding the Battle of Culloden (approximately June 1745 – Dec. 1746). I argue that there is a noticeable shift in the rhetorical framing of these periodicals from generally anti-Scottish rhetoric during the ‘45 to more reconciliatory texts looking to reclaim, reform, and rehabilitate Scottish identity. Although such shifts in rhetoric carry over lingering biases, they represent efforts to rebuild and strengthen Anglo-Scottish Union and British identity leading into the last half of the 18th century.

Astrid Dröse (University of Tübingen) Conspiracy in German Journals around 1800

Panel / *Session 65*, ‘Writing Time: Temporalities of the Periodical in the Eighteenth Century 2’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nora Ramtke (Ruhr University Bochum)

The lecture will focus on an issue that had an enormous impact around 1800 – on fiction as well as on non-fiction, namely conspiracy and conspiracy theories. Conspiracy theories claim that a group of actors operating in secret strives to take control of a community, a nation or even the whole world or has already done so (Butter 2018). Around 1800, the idea of conspiracy was not only a collective psychosis manifested in the ambivalent fascination with secret societies and lodges (Freemasons, Illuminati, Jesuit hysteria). On the contrary, ‘conspiracy’ provided an explanatory model for contemporary events, especially the French Revolution (Klausnitzer 2007, Birch 2007). Around 1800, conspiracy theories interact with conspiracy literature. It is no coincidence that the genre of the secret novel („*Geheimbundroman*“) reaches its climax in the years around 1800. Here, conspiracy is a literary motif and an element of structure (e.g. intrigue, von Matt 2006).

The guiding thesis of our presentation is: The journal is the leading medium in which conspiracy theory and conspiracy scenarios are developed to explain current events (especially the Revolution) and social phenomena of the enlightenment. These fiction and non-fiction articles often use journal-typical forms of presentation; they are printed serially (cf. Kaminski/Ramtke/Zelle 2014) and arranged in special constellations within a journal depending on the special programmatic and „journal poetics“ (Dröse/Robert 2017) of a periodical.

The questions explored in this talk include: How do authors and the editor (Wieland) depict aspects of conspiracy (fiction, non-fiction)? Which aesthetic, material, and medial strategies do periodicals deploy in representing conspiracy? What connections are made to current affairs and political discussions of the time (revolution, secret societies such as Illuminati and Freemasons)? Which aesthetic, material, and medial strategies do periodicals deploy in representing conspiracy?

Joseph Drury (Villanova University) What Do Machines Want? Adam Smith's 'Happy Contrivance'

Panel / *Session* 461, 'Industry and Technology'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School.

Chair / *Président.e* : Philippe Sarrasin Robichaud (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières / Sorbonne)

In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Adam Smith challenges Hume's claim that the beauty of an object depends on its power to evoke the convenience it was designed to promote. In his view, the "happy contrivance of any production of art" is often more valued than its capacity to serve a purpose. A man who sells his watch for a couple of guineas because it loses two minutes a day will buy another one for fifty if it loses less than a minute in a fortnight. The only practical use of a watch is to tell the time accurately enough that we don't miss an appointment, but what interests such a man "is not so much the attainment of this piece of knowledge, as the perfection of the machine which serves to attain it." Smith argues that this principle is also the "secret motive" behind the development of modern commercial nations. Ambitious men devote their lives to industry not to enjoy the conveniences of wealth, but because they enjoy imagining "the regular and harmonious movement of the system." In my paper, I will reflect on what this exchange tells us about the Enlightenment's understanding of technological progress. Smith suggests that people make machines not just because of the economic and social benefits they afford but because the machines themselves contain an internal logic that demands to be perfected. In attributing agency to machines, Smith anticipates the arguments of modern philosophers of technology. According to Bernard Stiegler, what machines aspire to is "indetermination"—that is, sensitivity to the functioning of other machines, "allowing in turn their incorporation into technical ensembles." The technical object, argues Stiegler, "harbors a genetic logic that belongs to itself alone, and that is its 'mode of existence.'" In the Scottish Enlightenment, particular classes of technical objects—watches, steam engines—were understood to have particular identities that drove the path of their development, independently of the uses to which humans put them.

Myriam-Isabelle Ducrocq (Université de Paris Nanterre) To What Extent Was the French Revolution French?

Panel / *Session* 242, 'Questions of History'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Kevin Berland (Pennsylvania State University)

« Virgil only knew the horror of the times before him. Had he lived to see the revolutionists and constitutionalists of France, he would have had more horrid disgusting features of his harpies to describe ». These are the words of one of the staunchest opponents to the 1789 Revolution, Edmund Burke in his Letter to a Noble Lord (1796). If Burke emphasised the monstrous character of the events taking place on the other side of the Channel, these were increasingly perceived by some of its actors, as well as its condemners, as a political and social innovation, with no regard or reverence for past institutions and traditions.

Similarly there has been a tendency among French historians, especially in the wake of the Bicentenary celebrations, to view the event as a self-contained one, a historical « exception », especially when it came to its aspiration to establish a democratic republic. Such a vision tended to ignore the many ways in which French revolutionaries recalled and referred to past and foreign models and counter-models, including the precedent of the first English Revolution. It also tended to ignore the importance of the constant circulation of ideas between the British Isles and the continent, and between America and Europe, composing the variegated culture of the Enlightenment.

This paper will argue that the French Revolution as a historical experience was pervaded by the memory of 17th c. English revolutions and the political theories about liberty and democracy they fostered, raising the question of the cultural identity of the whole process.

Adriaan Duiveman (Radboud University) Praying for (the) Community: Disasters, Ritual, and Solidarity in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic

Panel / *Session 286*, 'Trauma and Response'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kristin Eichhorn (Universitaet Paderborn)

Organised in the wake of disasters, early modern prayer days were intended to persuade God to waive further punishment. However, these rituals were as much about the community as about providence. Based on a close reading of prayer day letters, sermons and instruction manuals from the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic, I propose a Durkheimian interpretation of these post-disaster rituals. For a day, participants collectively lived through a highly emotional disaster experience. This experience was then converted into (financial) solidarity with the victims. With the rise of scientific explanations and Enlightenment interpretations of disasters and society, the religious function of prayer days was increasingly put under pressure. However, the need to perform and enact solidarity in the wake of disasters did not disappear.

Daniel Dumouchel (Université de Montréal) Folie et songes. Penser les pouvoirs de l'imagination à l'Académie de Berlin

Panel / *Session 333*, 'Identités académiques'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jacques Wagner (Université Clermont Auvergne)

L'une des préoccupations les plus constantes de la classe de philosophie spéculative de l'Académie de Berlin concerne le passage de la « psychologie empirique », en tant que partie de la métaphysique, à ce qu'on pourrait appeler la « psychologie appliquée ». On s'intéressera aux efforts des académiciens Sulzer, Beausobre et Formey pour rendre compte des états altérés de la conscience. Dans une série de Mémoires dont la lecture s'étend de 1746 à 1797, ils s'interrogent, entre autres phénomènes psychologiques, sur la folie, sur le rêve, sur l'enthousiasme, sur le pressentiment. L'enjeu consiste à voir si, et comment, ces observations sont en mesure d'éclairer et d'élargir notre compréhension de la « nature de l'âme », dans le contexte d'une théorie d'inspiration leibnizienne de l'imagination et des perceptions obscures.

Alison Duncan (Independent Scholar / University of St Andrews) A Small Spy Mystery

Panel / *Session 202*, 'Gendering and Identity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Pérez Hernández (Universidad Complutense de Madrid / Nottingham Trent University)

Our woman in Paris was a poet's daughter, codenamed 'Le Petit Matelot'. During and after the revolution, this cross-dressing, cross-channel courier ferried large sums of cash to royalists and counter-revolutionaries. In 1793 she was arrested and imprisoned by the French authorities. Like other female agents managed by the British government, evidence for her activities is scanty, and scattered. Over the years she has been incorrectly linked to a wealthy Genevan banking family, to royalist French refugees in London, and to the radical author Helen Maria Williams—evidence, perhaps, of a belief that female spies possess a large share of the glamour of revolutionary politics.

Beyond untangling some of the facts and fictions of her life, this paper looks at how assumed names, and our presumptions about the trustworthiness of sources, can mislead in history as well as espionage. How should we interpret the official records of covert politics, women's written witness of their experiences, and memoirs of them by their contemporaries? When female agents have so often been glossed as courtesans, how do we locate those who practised a more everyday espionage?

Jean-François **Dunyach** (Sorbonne Université) A Case-Study in the Making of the French in the London Anti-Revolutionary Press, William Playfair and British Patriotism from Below (1793–1795)

Panel / *Session* 157, 'The French Revolution from Afar'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

An inventor, engineer and writer, William Playfair (1759-1823) proved a remarkable agent of cross-Channel transfers at the time of the French revolution. After a first stay in France in 1787-1792, the Scotsman would have to make a hasty retreat to Britain where, in need of an expertise to trade, he would specialize in French affairs in a series of essays, publication ventures and other government-subsidized more shady schemes. With no less than a dozen anti-revolutionary and anti-jacobin publications and a couple of 'patriotic' newspapers addressing the British public against the dangers of the French revolution and parliamentary reform in Britain, Playfair definitely deserves some attention from historians. His connections with Pitt's officials, notably through a subsidized journal and his involvement in secret assignat forgery makes him a typical case-study in the role of go-betweens in the shaping of public opinion both from above and from below in Britain in the early 1790s. Playfair's stances against the French, whether luminaries or revolutionaries, thus provides a host of information in the making of the foe in British popular literature throughout the revolutionary wars. His contribution to the propagation of a "language of loyalism" in Britain (Jennifer C. Mori) and the glorification of British patriotic values through the making and systematic use of a series of stereotypes epitomizing national identities (the French vs the British) displays some of the sinews, both factual and political, of popular politics at the time.

Mary Helen **Dupree** (Georgetown University) Orality and the Acoustic in Karl Philipp Moritz' *Reise eines Deutschen in England im Jahr 1782*

Panel / *Session* 363, 'Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tanvi Solanki (Yonsei University)

In his travel narrative *Reise eines Deutschen im England im Jahr 1782*, Karl Philipp Moritz notes not only the charming vistas and cityscapes he witnessed, but also records a variety of acoustic impressions he received during his journey. The acoustic practices he encounters – from theatrical and literary declamation to parliamentary debates to Anglican liturgies – combine to create an aural panorama of British society and customs. The sound of the English language is interwoven throughout into the text itself, in a way that underscores its fundamental "otherness" for the German reader. In my paper, I aim to show how the descriptions of acoustic sensations in *Reise eines Deutschen* help to serve the purposes of Moritz' literary self-stylization, namely by constructing a very specific image of Moritz himself as a listener. Moritz is alternately moved, amused, bored, or inspired by the sounds he hears, but always manages to keep his emotional responses in check; his status as a listener is much like that of the enlightened German theatergoer of late the eighteenth century, who judges what he hears on the basis of its ability to move him, but without succumbing to overinvolvement or overidentification with the performance. This sense of mastery over the acoustic, I argue, stands in sharp contrast with Moritz' representation of his younger self in his later novel, *Anton Reiser* (1785/86). Unlike the adult Moritz, the mentally unstable young "Anton" is often overwhelmed by his own emotional responses to acoustic media such as sermons, music, and declaimed poetry. My analysis will focus in particular on a reading of Moritz' account of hearing English church music in the *Reise eines Deutschen*. Praising the simplicity, communality, and directness of the music, Moritz assigns a normative function to these qualities without acknowledging his own deep past investment in Protestant musical culture. In this way, the English village church functions as a sanitized version of the oppressive Quietist religious community of Moritz' childhood, in which music represented the only bright spot in an otherwise tortured existence.

Andreia **Duraes** (University do Minho) Portuguese and Brazilian Identities: Homes and Symbolic Objects

Panel / *Session 78*, 'Iberian Material Identities: Clothing Appearances in Contrast'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia)

Abstract not supplied

Małgorzata Durbas (Jan Dlugosz University in Czestochowa) Patrimoine culturel sarmate dans l'espace social du Duché de Lorraine et de Bar sous le règne du roi Stanisław Leszczyński (1737–1766), expression de l'identité culturelle polonaise.

Panel / *Session 344*, 'Restituer, trafiquer, reconstruire'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

Au milieu du XVIII^e siècle, aucun Polonais ne jouissait d'une telle renommée parmi les Européens comme le roi Stanisław Leszczyński. Impliqué dans le réseau des « jeux politiques européens », après la perte du trône polonais, il obtint à vie la possession de la principauté de Lorraine et de Bar, située à la frontière franco-allemande. Avec le souverain polonais et son entourage polonais, les traits de l'identité culturelle polonaise, profondément enracinée dans la culture sarmate, commença à pénétrer dans l'espace social de la nouvelle patrie lorraine. La présentation a pour objectif de discuter du transfert culturel sarmate vers l'espace social lorrain en tant qu'expression de l'identité culturelle polonaise du roi de Pologne, prince de Lorraine et de Bar, Stanisław Leszczyński, européen et citoyen du monde.

L'activité riche et créative de Leszczyński sur les terres de la nouvelle patrie tire son origine de la culture sarmate profondément ancrée dans sa conscience, dans laquelle il a été élevé. Les valeurs qui lui ont été transmises, que l'on peut appeler identité culturelle (nationale), ont été le point de départ de nombreuses réalisations artistiques et institutionnelles et même de l'attitude personnelle du nouveau souverain de Lorraine.

On peut citer pour exemple, le transfert sur les terres de l'ouest de l'Europe du culte important dans la culture de la nation polonaise, qui était et est toujours le Culte de saint Stanislas. En tant que déterminant de l'attachement et de l'identification du roi Stanisław à la culture autochtone polonaise, des modèles aussi bien artistiques, culinaires, rituels ou idéologiques constituaient des éléments étrangers dans l'espace social de la Lorraine. Dans le programme artistique de la décoration des constructions architecturales lorraines, fut introduit le contenu héraldique polonais, visible encore aujourd'hui. Dans la cuisine de la cour à Lunéville, des plats polonais choisis étaient préparés. À son tour, le culte marial populaire dans le pays natal du roi Stanisław – propagé pendant son séjour en Lorraine – a joué un rôle clé dans le transfert de la culture de l'Europe

Centrale et Orientale vers l'Ouest.

Karine Durin (Université de Nantes) Philosophie naturelle et identité politique : les origines hispaniques des Lumières européennes / Natural Philosophy and Political Identity: The Hispanic Origins of the Early European Enlightenment.

Panel / *Session 19*, 'Nature, identité, authenticité : perspectives croisées sur les Lumières européennes / Nature, Identity, Authenticity: Crossed Perspectives on the European Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Pierre Carboni (Université de Nantes)

La contribution propose de s'interroger sur l'apport d'une réflexion sur la nature à la notion d'identité, notamment au sens politique du terme, telle qu'elle va s'affirmer de manière caractéristique à l'époque des Lumières. Si un corpus historiographique de textes classiques a montré la radicale nouveauté des rapports entre droit, nature et histoire (depuis l'analyse de Leo Strauss, *Droit Naturel et Histoire* notamment), les débats ne doivent pas faire oublier l'héritage d'une tradition intellectuelle inscrite dans la philosophie politique espagnole de l'âge classique.

En effet, cette tradition, pour avoir exercé une influence sur des penseurs tels que Hobbes ou Locke, n'a pas manqué d'être déterminante à l'aube du XVIII^e siècle, comme nous le rappellerons. Ainsi, notre exposé visera à étudier les répercussions d'une pensée naturaliste espagnole – signe du renouveau précoce de la philosophie naturelle en Espagne qui accompagna la conquête et la colonisation de l'Amérique hispanique – dans la manière de comprendre

l'identité au sens anthropologique et politique. Quel rôle a joué, dès lors, l'expérience, au centre de cette pensée naturaliste, dans la réflexion sur le droit naturel, notamment à partir de l'exemple de Bartolomé de Las Casas et de Francisco Suárez, engagés, par ailleurs, dans les controverses de leur temps sur la guerre juste, l'autorité politique et les principes de la loi naturelle ? La tension entre expérience et normativité, entre nature empirique et nature théologique confirme l'importance d'un modèle naturaliste dans la conception des rapports politiques. La lecture de cette tradition à l'époque des Lumières sera au centre de notre approche. De là aussi la question posée à partir du nouveau regard porté sur la nature, plus résolument empiriste et scientifique, de l'identité, ouvrant la voie, comme nous l'examinerons enfin, à une représentation de l'identité peut-être à l'origine d'un cosmopolitisme pré-moderne.

Rémy Duthille (Université Bordeaux Montaigne) *Helen Maria Williams and the French Revolutionary Politics of Time*

Panel / *Session* 187, 'The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 3'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00.

Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hiroki Ueno (Hitotsubashi University)

Helen Maria Williams lived in France through the tumultuous years of the French Revolution and her eight-volume *Letters from France* provide a running commentary over a span of seven years (1790-1796), prolonged by other writings on France. This paper is concerned with Williams's comments on the French revolutionary institutions of civic festivals and the republican calendar. Williams, ever a well-wisher to the French Revolution, is caught between a sense of wonder, a lingering commitment to enlightenment values and regret that earlier forms of religiosity are destroyed while the revolution takes a tragic turn.

Sutapa Dutta (Gargi College, University of Delhi) *Schooling the Mind in Colonial Bengal – Enlightening or Civilizing?*

Panel / *Session* 30, 'The Western Enlightenment and the Circulation of Knowledge in South Asia'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leonie Hannan (Queen's University, Belfast)

The study aims to throw light on the contemporary debates related to western education in 19th century Colonial Bengal. The introduction of western learning and English as a medium of education was ostensibly to 'enlighten' colonial natives. At the same time, there was a complex emotional, intellectual and religious dimension in the understanding of education as a civilizing tool for children, and as a corollary, for colonial adults too. The institutionalization of schools for civilizing, implicated in the attempts made by the colonial administrators and native intellectuals, remained inseparable from questions of race, gender, class and privileges. There was a set of complicated political, social and psychological process involved in colonial schooling in India as a public site to frame native subjectivities. This has resulted in a unique formulation of racial-civilizational location of Indian subjectivity, with its alternate configuration of power.

The paper seeks to emphasize the disparate discourses on prevalent education system, and the reaction of Bengali intellectuals towards 'modern' western pedagogy. The critical debates, ranging from deep appreciation to utter condemnation, underline the dilemma of a period of transition. As a subject of experimental formulations of ideas and system, the native learner was at the centre of a cultural tussle that got torn between western impositions and nationalistic sentiments.

Carmen Duțu (Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Bucharest) *From Enlightened Transnational Feminine Connections to Romanian National Emancipation*

Panel / *Session* 384, 'The Influence of the Long Eighteenth Century upon Balkan Identities in the Feminine 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj)

From the very contact of Romanian elites with the Enlightenment scholarly message intermediated by Romanian students in the West, as well as by a part of the Phanariot camarilla, to the makers of the 1848 Revolution,

mainstream historiography has been very persistent in professing that the project of national emancipation in Romania was entirely a man's business. My paper aims to illustrate how the French Revolution ideas which grew in popularity in the early nineteenth century – liberty, equality, democracy – seduced the feminine public to an equal measure, thus making them more willing to embrace an innovative political discourse, mainly due to their egalitarian aspirations in the public space. Moreover, I will examine how the public action of women in the first part of the nineteenth century was bound up with the revolutionary cause in those Romanian families which subscribed to the new wave of education, based on the French Enlightenment principles. Zoe Golescu supported the idea of a new Russian-Turkish conflict, in order to force the Great powers to interfere and clarify the international status-quo of the Romanian Principates. Maria Rosetti took part in the meetings organized in the Rosetti house, aimed at preparing the revolution in Tara Romaneasca. Cocuta Conachi managed to discover and invalidate the plot against the unionists' election in Moldova. Focusing on the lives and tribulations of the above three exemplary revolutionary women – Zoe Golescu, Maria Rosetti and Cocuța Conachi – my paper traces their connection with the on-going political change which determined the public action of these women, mostly at the peril of their own personal peace and comfort.

Serena Dyer (University of Warwick) **Material Lives: Women, Fashion, and the Construction of Material Life Writing, 1750–1820**

Panel / *Session* 86, 'Making Women: Creative Constructions and Material Knowledge'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennie Batchelor (University of Kent)

In 1774, Ann Frankland, the daughter of an Admiral and MP, sat down in her country house in rural Yorkshire to paint the first of her 'Dress of the Year' watercolours. Meanwhile, Barbara Johnson, the unmarried daughter of a prosperous vicar, was back from a day shopping in the bustling spa city of Bath as she pinned a sample of fabric from her latest dress to a scrap of paper. Across the country in a London townhouse, merchant's wife Laetitia Powell was busy stitching a doll-sized version of a recent garment. Each of these women continued the material articulation of their life narratives throughout their lives. Frankland completed over thirty annual drawings of her dress, Johnson kept a sample of fabric from every new garment she received between the ages of eight and eighty-three, and Powell carefully replicated her garments through thirteen dolls between 1754 and 1814.

This paper examines the ways in which these women, and their contemporaries, used amateur artistic skill to record their social, fashionable, and material lives. Approached as forms of life-writing, the material narratives constructed by these women reveal the gendered material strategies used to negotiate their interactions with the increasingly sophisticated world of goods. These women engaged with the material culture of making as a means of articulating their own biographical narratives through material ego-documents, which focussed on the intersection of their consumption and their material knowledge, their engagement with the rhetoric of patriotic consumption and with the politics of court and country, as well as their emotional and familial experiences. This paper actively interrogates the relationship between the life narratives of women as constructed from both archival and material sources, and makes a case for the significance of 'material life-writing'.

Kristine Dyrmann (Aarhus University) **The Acquisitions of Count and Countess von Scheel between Copenhagen and their Jutland Manor House, c. 1767–1770**

Panel / *Session* 123, 'Shopping Practices and Experiences in Eighteenth-Century Scandinavia'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : My Hellsing (Uppsala University)

This paper examines the interplay between conspicuous consumption and daily life through the acquisitions and disposals of the Danish Count Jørgen Scheel and Countess Charlotte Louise von Plessen. The couple owned several country houses in Jutland and a town house in Copenhagen, where they participated in life at court and within the Danish royal family's inner circle in the 1760s and 1770s. A unique collection of bills and receipts offers an insight into the shopping habits of the couple, in their everyday lives, as well as their shopping for luxury.

Drawing on inspiration from recent research into material culture and consumption in a European context, this paper discusses the concrete shopping practices of the Count and Countess; the shops they frequented in Copenhagen and

elsewhere, how they commissioned clothes and furniture. I will discuss whether their shopping was gendered – and what these practices meant to the couple as courtiers and as members of the landed elite.

The paper argues that the couple, through their shopping and commissioning of objects, acted as agents of cultural transfer, as inspiration from court and from international connections were transformed to a hunting dress for the countess, or to the hiring of a German architect to refurbish the manor. Jørgen Scheel and Charlotte Louise von Plessen were central figures in their local area, while at the same time, they met with ambassadors and travelling tradesmen in Copenhagen, leading them to bring back new fashions from Europe and the rest of the world to their home in Jutland.

Abstracts of Papers / *Résumés des communications*

E – K

Abstracts are listed in alphabetical order of presenter. Names, paper titles, and institutional information have been checked and, where necessary, corrected. The main text, however, is in the form in which it was originally submitted to us by the presenter and has not been corrected or formatted. Abstracts are provided as a guide to the content of papers only. The organisers of the congress are not responsible for any errors or omissions, nor for any changes which presenters make to their papers.

Les résumés sont classés par ordre alphabétique selon le nom du conférencier. Les noms, titres et institutions de rattachement ont été vérifiés et, le cas échéant, corrigés. Le corps du texte reste dans la forme soumise par le/la participant.e et n'a pas été corrigé ou formaté. Les résumés sont fournis pour donner une indication du contenu. Les organisateurs du Congrès ne sont pas responsables des erreurs ou omissions, ni des changements que les présentateurs pourraient avoir opéré.

Sarah **Easterby-Smith** (University of St Andrews) Recalcitrant Seeds: Micro-History, Material Culture, and French Colonial Science

Panel / *Session* 163, 'Biological Classification'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Brycchan Carey (Northumbria University)

Eighteenth-century colonial science hinged on a very basic problem: moving small material objects, and keeping them alive. Through a close study of the challenges facing French botanists working across the Indian Ocean, this paper counters narratives of colonial science that have emphasised a triumphal story of centralised government control. By studying the challenges involved in obtaining and transferring something as small as a seed, the paper invites us to reconsider rather broad-brush views of intellectual processes and it underlines the extent to which global networks of science depended on individuals — not the names we tend to think of, but rather ordinary people like gardeners and slaves.

Distance, environmental ecologies, and the capricious behaviours of individual people influenced early modern European efforts to obtain and manipulate information from the wider world. I open by discussing the ways in which historians of colonial science have engaged with the opportunities and challenges offered by global history. Then, focusing on case studies drawn from eighteenth-century French botanical collecting, I aim to show how our understanding of the significance of global connections changes if we integrate material culture into historical analysis. Thinking about and through things invites consideration of the ways in which human relationships were formed around the manipulation and exchange of objects and draws critical attention to the multiple forms of knowledge that circulated within and became essential to the constitution of intellectual networks. This paper moves away from what are now quite hackneyed debates about the relationship between colonial governments and individual agency. It demonstrates instead the merits of exploring agency at all social levels.

Dan **Edelstein** (Stanford University) First He Took London, then He Took Berlin: Voltaire's European Correspondents

Panel / *Session* 425, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIIIe siècle – La lettre entre les nations 1 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth Century – Letters between Nations 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Décultot (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

When we take a global view of Voltaire's correspondence, he appears as the cosmopolitan par excellence, a hub connecting scholars and rulers in far-flung places across Europe. But a closer look at how his correspondence network came together tells a different story. First, there was a pattern to how Voltaire entered into correspondence with different foreign nationals. Like an corporation expanding into new markets one by one, he trained his attention on foreign countries sequentially: first England, then the German states, Swiss cantons, Russia, and so on. The order reflected both his own travels and chance contacts with key figures (typically sovereigns). Secondly, his contacts with foreigners tended to be intensive, rather than extensive: he exchanged a high volume of letters with a small number of individuals. These individuals, moreover, tended to be in circles of power, rather than leading cultural figures. Far from being a hub in an interconnected knowledge network – that is, a network serving to transmit requests for information, share discoveries, or debate ideas – Voltaire was more like a international broadcaster, emitting letters to further his publication and publicity goals. With his non-French correspondents, at least, Voltaire overwhelmingly sought access: access to power, first and foremost, as well as access to funds (for publication subscriptions), to printers, and to new publics (for his works).

Chloe Edmondson (Stanford University) The Aesthetics of Authenticity: Rousseau and the Art of Epistolary Self-Presentation

Panel / *Session 281*, 'Rousseau and Identity: His Theories and Practices'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Dan Edelstein (Stanford University)

Scholars have regarded the practice of personal letter writing in the eighteenth century as a window to the authentic self, and a key practice in developing a sense of identity. Yet this narrative of epistolary authenticity has largely overshadowed the politics and mechanisms of self-presentation that accompany letter writing. I will show how the ideal of epistolary authenticity is problematized by the form of the letter, which is always an act of self-presentation for consumption by an other. Through analysis of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and his letters to Malesherbes, examples of both fictitious and real letters, this paper will show how shifting the narrative from one of self-expression to self-presentation nuances our understanding of the connection between letter writing and identity.

La Nouvelle Héloïse seems to cement the view of the letter as the conduit for interiority, yet I will show how Rousseau at once builds this up and calls it into question. From discussions about artifice and language, to the ways in which characters adjust their letter-writing styles and content to fulfill the expectations of the recipient, the novel reveals the presentational impulse that accompanies letter writing and promotes, what I call, "interiority with intention." In conclusion, I consider this question of the aesthetics of authenticity in the context of real life correspondence. Rousseau's letters to Malesherbes underscore how letters, which appear to fit the bill of private, sentimental, sincere communications of interiority, can be as intentionally crafted in their self-presentation as they appear authentic. These cases highlight the way in which the letter as a dialogic medium shapes the conditions for epistolary self-writing, inviting varying degrees of authenticity and promoting intentional self-presentation, be it with an eye to a single person or to a wider public.

Jack Robert Edmunds-Coopey (University of Durham) The Enlightenment Origins of Knowledge, A Genealogy of Political Knowledge from the East and its Identities

Panel / *Session 182*, 'Rulers and Courtly Identity'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer ()

The fallibility of the sovereign, or the question of political legitimacy has often been examined as a distinctly Enlightenment, and Western concept in its origin. Various thinkers of the Enlightenment such as Immanuel Kant, Baruch Spinoza and Cesare Beccaria have attempted to understand political authority as a reciprocal relation between democratic rights, equality and the hierarchy of political order itself. These terms themselves have been interpreted to possess merely Western, Enlightenment origins, although their origins are at times dubiously constituted by an unknown other as the East who perhaps founds the formulations of these concepts, whilst the West adopts and transforms them. However, in this paper I wish to disentangle this misguided narrative of a purely Western formulation of understanding the grounding of authority and legitimacy. In light of the publication of *East Asian Perspectives on Political Legitimacy* edited by Joseph Chan (CUP 2016) an effort towards rewriting the notions of

rights to virtues, equality to obedience and authority to political legitimacy can be made in order to understand the Eastern heritage within Western Enlightenment thought. The writers that concern the Enlightenment assessment on understanding political legitimacy in relation to the divine notion of authority will be Max Weber and Jacques Derrida in relation to Thomas Clément Mercier's article entitled *Resisting Legitimacy: Weber, Derrida, and the Fallibility of Sovereign Power* in which the notions of legitimisation was examined and unpacked through their mystical, Eastern origins. In addition to this claim, Jacques Derrida's deconstruction of the identity of the West as one that it is a mythology and a non-origin to itself, serves well to understand the question of political legitimacy too, which may appear *prima facie* Western, and yet is constituted by difference to the East.

Robert Eggleston (University of British Columbia) Identifying Features: Edward Ravenscroft, Biographical and Dramatic Contexts

Panel / *Session 221*, 'Theatre and Identity'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Patricia Debly (Brock University)

Edward Ravenscroft (1644-1705) wrote some 12 plays for the London theatres between 1672 and 1697, but his dramatic output has attracted little notice. Literary scholars have provided various explanations for the lack of attention Ravenscroft receives, citing, for instance, a short-lived literary quarrel with John Dryden, Ravenscroft's plagiarizing Molière, and his fondness for farce as first having diminished his standing among his contemporaries and subsequently having damaged his posthumous reputation. Although modern scholarship generally ignores his plays, I intend in this paper to draw on my own research in order to examine briefly both Ravenscroft's life and his commentary on his plays in his prefaces, prologues, epilogues and letters (such as have come to light). Ravenscroft's writings reveal that the author knew what was required for theatrical success and that he frequently expressed indifference toward his work which is at odds with his well-apparent interest in the theatre. Moreover, certain, overlooked biographical facts, in particular his family background (mercantile/professional), his politics (pro-Stuart), and his religion (Catholic), readily explain some of Ravenscroft's remarks in and about his plays.

Kristin Eichhorn (Universitaet Paderborn) Virtue and Identity in Eighteenth-Century German Literature

Panel / *Session 475*, 'Virtue and Vice'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Virtue and identity are without doubt two of the key concepts which determine the debates held during the eighteenth century. As the virtuous conduct of fictional characters is usually rewarded at the end of a story or at least depicted as superior to its opposite, works such as Richardson's *Pamela* serve to create models for their readers. Importantly, this strategy aims not only at promoting a certain kind of behaviour in real life. In addition, virtue must be fully internalized by the audience, and thus shapes both the identity of individuals as well as that of the Enlightenment as a period and as a movement.

Scholarly approaches to consider in this context include, among others, the general psychological concept of 'moral identity' and the historical research on the nature of morality and identity in eighteenth-century philosophy. Using examples from mid-century German literature, namely texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, Johann Ludwig Gleim and others, the paper aims to further investigate this issue by discussing additional case studies and/or specific works of art and literature to provide us with a deeper understanding of how the omnipresence of virtue and the conceptualisation of identity are intertwined: How does virtue, or its absence, shape identity during the period of the Enlightenment? To what extent is the identity of an individual, a group or even an institution determined by its relation to the concept of virtue? How do categories such as gender, age, social or national background etc. come into the mix?

David Eick (Grand Valley State University) The Patriot Grammarian, His Jacobin Dictionary, and the Revolutionary News Cycle

Panel / *Session* 265, 'Eighteenth-Century Dictionaries and Encyclopedias'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30.
2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jeff Loveland (University of Cincinnati)

"Dictionary wars" were a hallmark of French literary culture from the apogee of the monarchy under Louis XIV through its downfall in the French Revolution. Polemical "faux" dictionaries proliferated during the Revolutionary period, as did challenges to the Académie française, which drew fire from left and right. Both sides believed that one of causes of the Revolution was misconceptions—on the part of the other, of course—owing to faulty definitions of keywords; clearing these up in a good new dictionary would bring about social harmony. Canvassing the projects elaborated by the Jacobin François-Urbain Domergue and the royalist François de Rivarol to challenge the authority of the Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, I argue that dictionaries were an important vehicle for ideological conflict during the Revolution; I also highlight the ways in which the bitter foes in this dictionary war actually agreed on the special nature of the French language, at a crucial moment in the history of its standardization.

Sara **Ekström** (Stockholm University) Enlightened National Identity. A Governmentality-Study of National Cultural Projects in Sweden 1772–1792

Panel / *Session* 54, 'National Identities'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Julia de Moraes Almeida (University of São Paulo / Getulio Vargas Foundation)

The general theme of the ISECS-conference of 2019 is Enlightenment Identities. National identity is often seen as more connected to the Romantic movement than to the Enlightenment. There is even academic debate whether it is possible to talk of national identities before the French revolution. The paper I would like to present is based on my ongoing dissertation project, and it deals with national identity in the late 18th century. King Gustav III of Sweden (1772–1792), a self-declared enlightened absolute monarch, launched a number of cultural projects. I am studying three of these projects, the Order of Vasa (an order of knights founded in 1772), the National Costume (a national clothing reform from 1778) and the Swedish Academy (an academy for language and literature formed in 1786). I am interested in how Swedish national identity was formed and used in these "enlightened" projects.

To help me understand this process, I use the theory of governmentality, coined by Michel Foucault. Foucault described governmentality as a kind of power technology that started to develop during the mid-18th century, closely connected to the new, proto-liberal way of thinking about economics. The population emerged as both the means and target for this kind of government. Instead of controlling and regulating them, new ideas emerged about governing the population through their own free will and interest. Not necessarily because of an ideology of freedom, but rather because it was an effective way to exercise power. From this perspective, I see national identity as a political power technology used by the state. I want to investigate what kind of identities these cultural projects were supposed to shape and encourage, and how the thinking and acting of the population were supposed to improve. What problematic states would be solved, and how? I see national identity both as a means (– through national identity people would behave better), and an end (– a nationally conscious population as a goal in itself). I am also interested of how knowledge from French and Scottish Enlightenment philosophers (like the Physiocrats, Montesquieu and Hume) was used in this process.

Peggy **Elliott** (Georgia College) Royal Role Play: Marie Le Prince de Beaumont Engages Early Modern Aristocrats

Panel / *Session* 38, 'Children's Literature of the Enlightenment: Purposes, Canons, Legacies'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

In 1689, theologian and philosopher François Fénelon (1651-1715) become preceptor to King Louis XIV's grandson, the seven-year old duc de Bourgogne. Half a century later, Fénelon's model of educating royalty through constructive, personalized stories and dialogues became a resource for Marie Le Prince de Beaumont (1711-1780), French author, educator and governess to French and British aristocracy. Although Beaumont respected Fénelon's pious religious stance and dialogue format, she found his works too erudite and dry to be appealing to most students, citing the standard reading of his Telemachus in the schools as "boring for the poor students." Instead, Beaumont adapted his approach, updating and contextualizing it with her own system to better connect with the needs of her upper-class

students. The pedagogical philosophy she detailed in such practical handbooks as her three-volume *Education complète* (1753) or *Civan, King of Bungo* (1754) sought to engage children, adolescents, and their adult mentors through active learning methods that featured dialogue, role-play, real world experience, and morality tales. Such engaged learning seems uncharacteristic of privileged Early Modern educational experiences, yet its popularity was widespread and undeniable. This paper will examine Beaumont's instructional pedagogies for the elite students of her time, while also asking if her innovative work might have served as a platform for many cutting edge pedagogical methodologies of the 21st-century.

Markman **Ellis** (Queen Mary University of London) *Commonplacing Sociability*

Panel / *Session 87*, 'Mixed Company, Assembly, Association, and Sociability'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00.
G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Will Bowers (Merton College, Oxford)

This paper examines the notes on sociability made by the Irish dramatist Arthur Macklin in his manuscript 'Commonplace Book', an indexically arranged notebook of the author's reflections on philosophical and literary subjects held at the Folger Library (M.a.9). The structural forms and the habits of thought suggested by the 'Commonplace Book' show that Macklin's intellectual landscape was sophisticated and closely engaged with the practices of Enlightenment philosophy. In his reflections on sociability, he suggests it is one of the five necessities of a moral life, alongside curiosity, esteem or self-love, piety and love of liberty. His notes engage with Enlightenment writing on sociability and its benefits, with the discussion of sociability in his own plays, from *A Will and No Will* (1746) through to *The Man of the World* (1781), and with the sociable practices he encouraged at the coffee-house he opened in Covent Garden in 1753-55, home of his oratory 'The British Inquisition'.

Laura **Engel** (Duchesne University) *Forgotten Encounters: Re-animating Performance in Anne Seymour Damer's Bust of Elizabeth Farren (1788) and Malvina Hoffman's Head of Anna Pavlova (1924)*

Panel / *Session 191*, 'Women in Forgotten Archives of the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tara Zanardi (Hunter College)

The actress, sculptress, and novelist Anne Seymour Damer (1748-1828) became well known for her portrait busts of women including her close friend and confidant Mary Berry, her royal highness the Princess Caroline, and the famous comedic actress turned Countess, Eliza Farren. This paper examines Anne Damer's sculpture of Farren, paying particular attention to the relationship between sculpture as a static art form that captures tactile embodied presence and the ephemerality of performance. Farren's involvement in Damer's staging of the private theatricals at Richmond House (Farren directed and Damer starred) suggests that their collaborative relationship engendered aesthetic acts across media – performances that are now lost but remain in traces across a variety of materials. Looking ahead to the early twentieth century, I propose that Malvina Hoffman's uncanny portrait busts of the ballet dancer Anna Pavlova (particularly her "Head of Pavlova" made of wax, 1924), similarly recreate a unique dynamic between the female artist and the intangible performances of her female muse. Thinking of the encounters between the artist and her subject as forgotten material in the archives, reformulates traditional gendered trajectories of the gaze, suggesting instead a more fluid and reciprocal creative process that re-occurs between the spectator and the artwork across time periods.

Daniel **Ennis** (Coastal Carolina University) *Casting Young Norval: Douglas and Richard Brinsley Sheridan's Search for a Leading Man*

Panel / *Session 396*, 'John Home's Douglas and Theatrical Innovations'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.
2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Ingrassia (Virginia Commonwealth)

Soon after its 1757 debut, John Home's *Douglas* became a mainstay on the eighteenth-century London stage, with the play's titular character, also called Young Norval, ranking with *Hamlet* as a litmus test for an acting company's leading man. By the 1760s London acting companies were expected to mount *Douglas* with some regularity; as Covent Garden proved with Spranger Barry, a strong actor playing Young Norval was a key to audience approbation and thus financial

rewards. With the success of Douglas at Covent Garden, Drury Lane responded with its own production of the play, and William Brereton acted as Young Norval for over a decade. That Drury Lane stuck with Brereton well past the age one might be called “young” speaks to the artistic significance and financial advantages of being able to produce Douglas. This paper focuses on the challenges Drury Lane manager Richard Brinsley Sheridan faced when Brereton retired, leaving the Young Norval part vacant. Sheridan filled the role with a series of disappointing actors, including comic performers, until settling on John Philip Kemble. By the late eighteenth century, when Kemble aged out of the part, Douglas had accumulated so much cultural capital that Sheridan was compelled to search for a new Young Norval. The need to keep Douglas on the stage led to the casting of John Philip Kemble’s inadequate brother Charles, Jane Powell’s “breeches” take, Henry Erskine Johnston’s short run as the only Scotsman to play the part in eighteenth century London, and finally the stunt casting of William Henry West Betty in 1803-1805, the “Young Roscius” who appeared as Young Norval at Drury Lane when he was just thirteen years old. All the while, theatrical architecture developed, and the intimate Drury Lane theatre of the 1760s was replaced by the cavernous “new” Drury Lane of 1794. With that change came an emphasis on melodrama and stage effect, pointing the way for Edmund Kean’s bombastic and highly profitable Regency interpretation, and creating for Sheridan a Young Norval that anticipated Guy Debord’s “commodity as spectacle.”

Mélanie **Ephrème** (Université Paris-Diderot) Le baron d’Holbach : passeur de la chimie de l’Europe des Lumières dans l’*Encyclopédie*

Panel / *Session* 214, ‘Nouveaux éclairages sur la manufacture de l’Encyclopédie 2’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne)

Le baron d’Holbach, aujourd’hui figure importante de la philosophie matérialiste du XVIII^e siècle, est reconnu de son temps comme un savant et un traducteur de la chimie allemande, représentée par des grands noms tels que Stahl, Kunckel, Lehman ou Gellert. Grâce à l’utilité et à la pertinence de leur science analytique, ces fameux chimistes sont appelés à diriger les mines et contribuent ainsi à l’enrichissement de l’Allemagne. De leur expérience, ils tirent des traités (dans la continuité d’Agricola) qui récapitulent leurs savoirs théoriques et pratiques.

La manufacture des articles de chimie de d’Holbach est largement inspirée de la lecture de ces traités, qu’il traduit en français. Introduit à ce titre dans l’Encyclopédie en 1753, le baron va signer 429 articles de minéralogie, de métallurgie, et d’histoire naturelle. Réparti au gré de l’alphabet de l’Encyclopédie, l’ensemble des articles « scientifiques » de d’Holbach forme un tout cohérent, par la vulgarisation habile de la chimie des Lumières, par le jeu des renvois et par la citation systématique des chimistes célèbres. Comme ses modèles, d’Holbach ne se contente pas d’explications théoriques dans ses articles : il brosse systématiquement des expériences, donne des recettes, met en balance des méthodes concurrentes, et illustre ses propos dans le volume VI des Planches (1768), consacré à la minéralogie.

Grâce à sa maîtrise de la langue et de la chimie allemande, et par sa vive volonté d’apporter en France un savoir utile, le baron d’Holbach va ainsi se positionner en tant qu’auteur incontournable et prolifique de la chimie de l’Encyclopédie.

Klaus-Dieter **Ertler** (Université de Graz) Les jeux d’identité dans « La Spectatrice danoise » de Laurent Angliviel de la Beaumelle

Panel / *Session* 218, ‘Territoires, communautés, appartenances : la question de l’identité individuelle et collective dans les « spectateurs » 2’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Lévrier (Université de Reims)

Dans le contexte des « spectateurs » européens, ‘La Spectatrice danoise, ou l’Aspasie moderne’ (1748-1750) se trouve à la charnière du développement du genre. Ce modèle spectral, une sorte d’épigone dans les cultures protestantes, commence à connaître une carrière importante dans les pays catholiques avant de subir une transformation profonde vers la fin du siècle. Dans ma contribution, il s’agit d’analyser les voix des énonciateurs impliqués, en particulier la voix de la conseillère française sous le masque danois, afin d’établir les jeux d’identité

développés dans les feuilles morales. Cette analyse permettra aussi la mise en perspective de la construction d'une identité scandinave à partir d'une position extérieure, c'est-à-dire francophone.

Helen Esfandiary (King's College London) 'All day out of doors': Contemporary Perspectives on Jean-Jacques Rousseau's System for Encouraging Healthy, Robust, and Disease-Free Constitutions in Late Eighteenth-Century Elite Britain

Panel / *Session 7*, 'Child-Rearing, Education, and Enlightenment Identity: The Influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

Whilst children's moral and intellectual development was a relatively new component of eighteenth-century discourse on childhood, the notion that children's bodies needed to be reared in a very specific manner if they were to grow successfully into adult bodies had been around for centuries. What appeared to be changing during the eighteenth century was the medical and pedagogical advice surrounding how best to rear children's bodies. Medicine still subscribed to ancient humoral theory and the requirement to manage the six non-naturals (air; motion and rest; sleeping and waking; food and drink; excretion and passions/emotions), only it now promoted a variant on the original method: the 'cooling' regimen.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile ou l'éducation* (1762) epitomises this epistemological step-change. With Rousseau's system as an encapsulation of this new approach to rearing the healthy body, this paper considers the relationship between Enlightenment identity and child-rearing practice. Diaries and correspondence from the period will be used to illustrate how mothers weighed up changing ideas around child-rearing practice. This paper will examine the application of contemporary advice through the lens of how these mothers understood children's bodies to function. It will argue that the Enlightenment ideal of rearing a child according to nature often jarred with mothers' – and even practitioners' – ideas, about how children's bodies naturally operated and what they required to function properly. Unearthing a blurred line between what was considered nature and nurture during this period, this paper adds a new perspective to the historicization of Enlightenment child-rearing practices which has hitherto been confined to debates about the extent to which mothers started caring about their children more, or started caring for them better.

Claire Etchegaray (University of Paris Ouest Nanterre) Hume et l'écriture de soi

Panel / *Session 76*, 'Herméneutique de l'individuel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Au début de la section 6 du *Traité*, Hume fait le constat que le soi dont on fait l'expérience est toujours une « collection » de perceptions différentes. Les théories contemporaines de l'identité narrative s'y réfèrent comme à la source du problème qu'elles prétendent résoudre (Ricoeur, Dennett). Toutefois, l'œuvre de Hume offre des ressources propres pour analyser le sens et les enjeux de cette question « qui dit 'je' ? ». La place qu'il donne à l'écriture, en particulier à l'écriture de soi, mérite également notre attention.

Ainsi que Thomas Reid l'a tôt compris, la suspicion que le *Traité* fait peser sur l'intelligibilité du mot *self* rend problématique la question « qui dit 'je' ? ». Nous rappellerons les menaces que le scepticisme sur l'identité personnelle fait peser sur la théorie des passions, notamment dans le cas de la fierté, et montrerons comment ce problème vient à être déplacé lorsque Hume traite de l'appréciation de "la juste fierté", son objet étant cette fois identifié au caractère (*character*) : comment puis-je (moi) prétendre apprécier une juste fierté (que j'ai ou ai eue) envers une action, un motif, une disposition passée ?

La réponse à ce nouveau problème repose sur la fonction éthique de l'écriture d'appréciation. Apprécier est un acte qui révèle et forme le caractère. On pourrait certes douter que l'écriture d'appréciation soit une véritable écriture de soi dans la mesure où elle intègre des standards conventionnels. Mais, sur quelques exemples (« Les quatre philosophes » et « Un dialogue »), nous montrerons que l'art des contrefactuels mis en œuvre par Hume est susceptible de mettre en évidence ce risque, d'en traiter et de tenter de le dépasser.

L'écriture de soi n'étant pas encore la narration de soi, c'est à ce dernier thème que nous en viendrons enfin, en examinant d'une part la théorie narrative développée dans la Première Enquête, qui rend compte de l'écriture biographique par l'association (EEH, 3), et d'autre part la portée philosophique de l'autobiographie *My Own Life* écrite par Hume en 1776.

Alexei **Evstratov** (Université de Lausanne) Paradoxes of the Theatre in France

Panel / *Session* 215, 'Oppressive Enlightenment? Discourses and Practices of Knowledge/Power 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Yann Robert (University of Illinois, Chicago)

While theatre has been in the centre of the eighteenth-century studies in general and the French Enlightenment studies in particular, the ways of looking at its workings often remain apologetic, in line with the views of the Lumières. Three major tendencies can be identified in the recent scholarship. First of all, practices of theatregoing allow for revision of Habermas's idea of rational public discussion, typical of the bourgeois public sphere (Ravel 1999). The eighteenth-century theatre, it is contended, has legitimised public emotions in both theory (Dubos) and practice (comédie larmoyante). Second view complements this thesis with the conceptualising of theatre as a laboratory of the modern subjectivity (Leichman 2016). The third perspective sums these aspects up claiming that they have contributed to the emergence of a new political culture where representations and direct participation came to an equilibrium, characteristic of the democratic nation-state – for better or for worse (Friedland 2002).

My paper explores discourses and practices of theatregoing, using both dramatic theory and the laymen accounts of theatrical experiences, in order to question existing conceptualisations of theatre in relation to 'modernity syndrome.' Explicitly presented as a social engineering tool in writings of both cameralist authors and encyclopaedists, theatre was socialising and individualising practice at the same time. More importantly, eighteenth-century theatre, opening its doors to wider audiences, established a standard of participation in political life that at the time of the French Revolution contributed to the dispossession of the new political bodies of their agency. Knowing about theatre and through theatre became thus a social duty, commodified and eroticised. The paper will tackle the paradoxes of the theatrical knowledge and track its circulation in personal writings.

Amanda **Ewington** (Davidson College) Russia's 'Parnassian Sisters' and the Sentimentalist Cult of Friendship

Panel / *Session* 64, 'Writing Noblewomen in Eighteenth-Century Russia'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Séverine Genieys-Kirk (University of Edinburgh)

The paper will focus on the construction of female friendship on the page, against the background of the male "cult of friendship." To date, the scholarly conversation on Sentimental literary friendship in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Russia has remained bound to a male-centered vision. Even feminist scholars like Heyder and Rosenholm, who adamantly reject what they consider an overly benign portrayal of male-female platonic friendship – the sentimentalist *liubovnaia druzhba* – examine precisely that male-female dynamic, without pausing to consider that noblewomen occasionally addressed other noblewomen to reflect on their own friendships. I will focus on Urusova, Murzina Bolotnikova, and Volkova.

Deniz **Eyüce Şansal** (Bahçeşehir University) A Revolutionary Sensorium: Haptic Identifiers in Late-Eighteenth-Century French Painting

Panel / *Session* 66, 'Bodies of Virtue'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanna Caviglia (Duke University)

The social and political tides of eighteenth-century France left their marks of oil on exuberant canvases. The sensuous construct of civility of the enlightened isle of Cythera became, at the end of the century, a *chimère* for Revolutionary artists. After all, as Harold Mah remarked in *Enlightenment Phantasies: Cultural Identity in France and Germany 1750-1914*, "One can never be certain that virtue lies behind the sensuous surface." (2003, p. 53) However, the late

eighteenth-century reinventors of French aesthetics, and of its moral signification, could not eradicate corporal and sensory visions because they aimed to speak to the reenergized bodies of the Republic.

While the gravitational fields of the French society continued to shift as the century advanced, certain cultural and aesthetic references, as Diderot, remained in currency and influenced the sensory culture of the latter part of the century. Consequently, this paper argues that a haptic regime developed, albeit subtly, in late eighteenth-century French painting. It aims to demonstrate that the revival of Greco-Roman sources and the narrative formulas of the à l'antique style allowed a reconsideration of surfaces as tactile and kinesthetic provocateurs beyond the sensual definitions of the Rococo. It aims to show, ultimately, that artists like Peyron, David and Guérin introduced haptic focuses that opened new paths of signification for the late eighteenth-century French citizen-beholder.

Angela **Fabris** (University of Klagenfurt) Identity, Gender, and Roles in the Epistolary Circle of the 'Gazzetta Veneta' (1760–1762)

Panel / *Session* 310, 'Real and Fictitious Identities in Relation to Political, Social, and Cultural Spaces in the European 'Spectators' 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Völkl (University of Graz)

In Venice, starting in 1760, Gasparo Gozzi actively devoted himself to journalistic writing following the lead of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's "Tatler" and "Spectator" published at the beginning of the century. Taking advantage of Venice's distinctive character, both Count Gozzi and his successor at the helm of the "Gazzetta Veneta", abbot and novelist Pietro Chiari, used their narrative skills to create a fictitious exchange of letters as a stratagem to discuss different topics and portray stock characters. This contribution intends to shed light on the different newspaper correspondents, either real or fictitious ones, who represented different sets of values in an evolving society and their approach towards gender issues and social roles.

Mary **Fairclough** (University of York) Jeremiah Joyce's Scientific Dialogues

Panel / *Session* 398, 'Knowledge in Transit: Romantic Print Networks and the Public Circulation of Knowledge'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Russell (University of York)

This paper investigates the scientific writings of Jeremiah Joyce (1763-1816). Joyce was a unitarian preacher and educationist who had been drawn into high political drama following the French Revolution, being charged with treason in 1794. Charges against Joyce were dropped following the acquittals of other radicals, but he was left with a strict reminder of the dangers of agitating for political reform and the diffusion of knowledge.

Joyce's scientific writings might thus be read as an attempt to withdraw from political life. His six-volume *Scientific Dialogues*, published between 1800 and 1805, are nominally educational works. Joyce dedicates the first volume to his pupils, sons of the Third Earl of Stanhope, and conspicuously declares that he took inspiration from Richard Lovell and Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1798). Yet Joyce's *Dialogues* are by no means insulated from political life. Another crucial intertext for the work is John Aikin and Anna Laetitia Barbauld's *Evenings at Home, or the Juvenile Budget Opened* (1796), which signals Joyce's ongoing commitment to a project of enlightenment founded in Unitarian culture, and by extension the diffusion of knowledge championed by radical reformers after the French revolution, including Stanhope, Joyce's patron, who developed a new printing press for the cheap production of books of useful knowledge.

Joyce's *Dialogues* also gesture to a third culture of enlightenment. He notes that his reader might be a person who wishes to attend public scientific lectures, but who first needs to learn the appropriate concepts and terminology. Thus the *Dialogues*, and Joyce's later *Dialogues in Chemistry* (1807) engage closely with the lecturing culture popularised by Humphry Davy and others and the Royal Institution in London, in which enlightenment is not only an educational acquirement or political commitment, but also a social grace of commercial value.

Fayçal **Falaky** (Tulane University) Dechristianizing Church Bells

Panel / *Session* 5, 'Changing Identities in Revolutionary and Postrevolutionary France'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Annelle Curulla (Scripps College)

While calls to melt France's church bells date to the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution, these found legal echo with the April 1790 decree to melt bell metal for minting purposes. Despite strong opposition from the part of constitutional Catholics, the gradual silencing of France's church bells was underway. In 1791 and 1792, around 100,000 church bells would be taken down and sent to La Monnaie, and on July 23, 1793, the National Convention passed another law to melt some of the remaining cloches toward the production of canons. The closure of churches or their conversion to revolutionary temples that took place between October 1793 and July 1794 put an end to the rumble of church bells; and on February 21, 1795, they were legally banned along with other external signs of religion.

For my presentation, I will explain this fateful condemnation of church bells by showing how they were already part and parcel of pre-revolutionary anti-clerical writing. I will also argue that the bells' eventual silence coincides nonetheless with an attempt – even in writings favorable to the Revolution – to rehabilitate their image. For this purpose, I will take as an example *Les volontaires en route ou l'enlèvement des cloches*, a one-act comedy first performed in Paris in 1794. While this revolutionary and anticlerical play revolves around the removal of church bells during the dechristianization campaign, its depiction of the cloches is largely sympathetic. This paradox, I shall argue, denotes an attempt to perpetuate the affective overtones provided by the Church bell (family, community and identity) and to disassociate the Church bell from the Church itself.

Louise **Falcini** (University of Sussex) Accounting for Illegitimacy: Parish Politics and the Poor

Panel / *Session* 240, 'Providing for the Poor: Provisioning, 'Professionalisation', and the Parish Politics of Illegitimacy'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tim Hitchcock (University of Sussex)

Conflicts at the intersection between paupers' rights and responsibilities were played-out across thousands of local communities during the eighteenth century. This paper looks at one such encounter where the law, parochial authorities and settled paupers came together over a seemingly simple but nonetheless intractably messy issue – illegitimacy.

As the rate of illegitimate births amongst the poor continued to grow across the eighteenth century, local communities often sought to ameliorate the cost to rate payers of caring for bastard children by coercing couples to marry. This was particularly so when the putative father could claim a legal settlement outside of the expectant mother's parish. The law supported this seemingly neat solution yet communities, local officials and the paupers themselves were at variance over how and by what means this might be achieved. By using the bills and receipts generated by parochial officials this paper will unpick the micro-politics of community relationships in a small rural parish. It will suggest that ratepayers were not the only interests served in a sometimes complex set of local alliances and that paupers could also assert considerable agency in their 'negotiations' surrounding illegitimacy. In the process it will reflect on one of the mechanisms through which small communities sought to police sexuality and reproduction.

Antonino **Falduto** (University of St Andrews) The Concept of Conscience, from the Enlightenment and Beyond: Johann Gottlieb Fichte

Panel / *Session* 376, 'Moral Self-Constitution: The Conscience in the Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Frank Grunert (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg)

At the end of the eighteenth century, in 1798, Fichte published his *System of Ethics*. In this work, he links Kant's moral law to specific duties. The question arises: how can individuals find out the duties pertaining to them? Fichte's answer refers to the concept of conscience. After enunciating a new imperative of moral self-proof: "Do what you can regard with conviction as a duty, solely because you have convinced yourself that it is a duty", he finds a criterion of the correctness of this conviction in the "feeling of truth and certainty" arising from the conviction of doing our duty. The morality of our actions consists now only in "deciding to do what conscience demands, purely and simply for conscience's sake. Conscience, however, is the immediate consciousness of our determinate duty". In this way, the

conscience mediates between the formal and the material conditions of human moral action: as soon as something determinate is given as a duty, we should act upon it only if our awareness that this is a duty is immediate. Fichte's concept of conscience links consciousness to determinateness by bridging the gap between Kant's formality and the materiality expressed by later philosophers, who believe that ethical life, in its social and political dimension, is the proper realization of moral action. In my paper I discuss the novelty of Fichte's theory of conscience. First, I shed light on Fichte's critique against the traditional conceptions of conscience. Second, I consider the interweaving of theoretical and practical philosophy in the presentation of conscience as something cognitive and sentimental. Finally, I show how Fichte personifies the end of the Enlightenment, since the moralization, intensively practiced until then, finds no more room in his reflections. I present Fichte's concept of conscience as the element taking the modern human beings out from the inner of their self-reflection into the outer world with its concrete duties and social requirements.

David Fallon (University of Roehampton) *The Bookseller as a Hub of Enlightenment Sociability: Thomas Payne at the Mews Gate*

Panel / *Session 448, 'Booksellers and Authorship'*. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alessia Castagnino (Fondazione 1563 per l'Arte e la Cultura)

This paper will examine the retail space of the bookshop in eighteenth-century London, focusing on the emergence of the bookshop as a social space comparable with the coffee house. Thomas Payne's shop, at the gate of the King's Mews close to Charing Cross, became renowned not just as a publishing imprint and retail bookseller but also as an environment in which literary and antiquarian writers and thinkers met, discussed, and debated, with these activities blending into the business activities of the shop.

This paper will recover the social life of the bookshop, examining its relationship to Payne's retail and publishing activities. In particular, the paper will focus on Payne's connection to evolving philosophical and antiquarian discourses and the connections between the sociability of the shop and his publishing activity in these areas.

Yun Fan (Zhejiang University) *Laughter in Public Life: Shaftesbury's View of Humour and Its Destiny in Modern China*

Panel / *Session 39, 'China and the English Enlightenment: Cultural Traffic and Beyond'*. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sayaka Oki (Nagoya University)

The view of humour is a significant element of Shaftesbury's reflections on politeness, which aim to create a new public and gentlemanly culture for post-1688 England. In this sense, Shaftesbury's endorsement of humour not only grows out of rhetorical considerations. He not only draws illuminating distinctions between humour and satire based on different social contexts, but also gives humour the pride of place in his theorizations of *Sensus Communis*, endowing humour with the vital meaning of fostering publicity. In the period "westernization" in Modern China, Shaftesbury's view of humour found great resonance among West-leaning intellectuals. Liang Shiqiu, for example, responded to Shaftesbury in his works. The current essay is therefore also an attempt to trace the destiny of Shaftesbury's thought in modern China.

Ruoen Fan (Sun Yat-sen University) *The Picturesque and 'Classical Elegance' (guya)*

Panel / *Session 39, 'China and the English Enlightenment: Cultural Traffic and Beyond'*. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sayaka Oki (Nagoya University)

Although Wang Guowei's notion of "classical elegance" (*guya*), an aesthetic concept that he employed to mediate the Kantian ideas of the beautiful and sublime, has for long been claimed as a Chinese contribution to world aesthetics, its genesis is a far more complex story. This paper traces one of its origins to an 18th century British aesthetic concept that is also located between the beautiful and the sublime, i.e., the picturesque. The picturesque, apart from its overt visual reference, has a covert temporal dimension, suggesting both classical beauty and the absolute greatness of time. By reviewing the historical evolution of the concept of the picturesque and its dissemination as both an

aesthetic idea and art forms in Europe, this paper demonstrates how the theories of the picturesque may have influenced Wang Guowei indirectly via European authors like Schopenhauer.

Jason **Farr** (Marquette University) Teaching and Writing about Queerness: Harriet Freke as Trans Character

Panel / *Session 284*, 'The Crises of Queer Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Lisa Freeman (University of Illinois, Chicago)

I would like to discuss how teaching Belinda to students in an upper-division gender/sexuality course informed the last chapter of my forthcoming book. Many of the students in that class read Harriet Freke as a transman. Our wide ranging discussions about the pronouns ascribed to Harriet, and the implications of Harriet's public male identity, helped me to think about Harriet as a proto-trans character whose very gender mobility attracts Lady Delacour. Their mutually satisfying, staring rapport (i.e. Lady D as "starer" and Harriet as "staree") signposts new stores of knowledge for Lady D and opens up new avenues of expression and being for atypical bodies. So, I would be interested in discussing how our teaching of eighteenth-century texts informs our scholarship (for instance, how we can look to queer Enlightenment pasts to help us make sense of emerging conceptions of gender and sexuality in our present day).

Vera **Faßhauer** (Goethe University of Frankfurt) The Disguised Self: Affectation in Shaftesbury, Fielding, Hogarth, and the Spectator

Panel / *Session 329*, 'Emotions and Affect'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

In 18th century English Literature, a central issue of moral identity was affectation, meaning the more or less deliberate disguise of one's real character for the sake of advantage or lucre. Affectation could either consist in the simulation of qualities the person in question was actually lacking, or in the dissimulation of negative character traits they indeed possessed. A minor form of affectation was attributed to vanity, whereas a much more vicious form was believed to root in hypocrisy. According to the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, who held that truth was essentially identical with beauty, any discrepancy between inner vices and outer semblance was bound to betray itself by way of outward ugliness or lack of grace. The novelist Henry Fielding and the painter William Hogarth adopted this idea by bestowing their affected fictional characters with a comical and sometimes even grotesque deformity. The more practical-minded Spectator authors, on the other hand, found it much more difficult to tell whether a person was being true to their own moral self or not. They not only believed a person's speech and physiognomy to be fundamentally unreliable in this respect, but also rejected their air and countenance as trustworthy indications of moral identity. Finally, they came to the conclusion that there was actually no way of telling their fellow-humans' true nature from their endeavors to conceal it at all. The presentation investigates the question how Enlightenment authors dealt with the problem of determining a person's true moral identity.

Sarah **Faulkner** (University of Washington) Revising Ossian: Anachronistic Patriotism in Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs*

Panel / *Session 446*, 'Afterlives of Ossian'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Clíona Ó Gallchoir (University College Cork)

British novelist Jane Porter (1776-1850) wrote her novel *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810), a re-telling of the William Wallace narrative, to bolster British patriotism through contemplation of its valiant past. She chooses as her epigraph a quote from James Macpherson's (1736-1796) *Poems of Ossian* (1761-1765), a logical choice as both texts narrate the military valor of patriots long lost to history. Yet while both authors depict Scottish history, they come to opposite conclusions regarding the progress of national character across time. In this paper I will argue that while Macpherson constructs a valiant past that has been eroded by modernity, Porter instead revises Ossianic ideas to argue for a consistent virility of national character from Ossian to Wallace to the soldiers fighting Napoleon in the British army.

In an echo of Macpherson, Porter crafts a twelfth-century Scotland that reflects eighteenth-century value for sentimental politeness and patriot civic virtue. While this anachronism fuels claims of Porter's lack of skill as a historical novelist, I argue that it is intentional; her temporal collapse diminishes ideological difference between past and present to create an empathetic connection to past heroism. I provide a close-reading of Porter's use of Ossian within her text and paratext: the text links Ossian to Wallace, and the footnotes Wallace to contemporary patriots, by emphasizing shared sentiment and enduring virtue.

While normally paired with Walter Scott in conversations about the historical novel, I instead place Porter in dialogue with Macpherson to investigate how literary anachronism affects ideas of national character and progress in the long eighteenth century. I argue that while Porter borrows Ossianic views of a valiant Scottish past, she does so with celebration rather than elegy, and thus revises various Enlightenment theories of national evolution. She considers Scotland's progress toward union with England not as William Robertson's development from childhood to adulthood, or Macpherson's from vigor to decay, but instead as continuous vigor: a national character whose strength endures in perpetuity.

Audrey Faulot (Université de Picardie / Université de Paris Nanterre) L'article « Identité », de l'Encyclopédie aux Questions sur l'Encyclopédie

Panel / Session 214, 'Nouveaux éclairages sur la manufacture de l'Encyclopédie 2'. Tuesday /Mardi 16.30 – 18.00. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne)

Dans le prolongement de l'étude de l'article Identité (Métaphysiq.) réalisée dans l'ENCCRE, nous nous proposons de réfléchir à la réalisation de l'article « Identité » de Voltaire, paru dans les Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.

On sait que la participation de Voltaire à l'aventure encyclopédique est complexe. Auteur d'une quarantaine d'articles pour l'Encyclopédie, Voltaire approuvait l'œuvre de combat mais restait critique face au travail des encyclopédistes, caractérisé par une certaine diversité idéologique – conséquence du travail d'équipe – et souvent marqué par des compromis avec la censure. Cette position périphérique donna ensuite lieu à la rédaction, par Voltaire, de divers « alphabets militants », dont les Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.

La comparaison entre l'article anonyme Identité (Métaphysiq.), paru dans le tome VIII de l'Encyclopédie en 1765, et l'article « Identité » rédigé par Voltaire, fait apparaître des effets de reprise et de confrontation et permet donc d'étudier le travail de recomposition symphonique qui caractérise les alphabets militants. La rédaction par Voltaire d'un article « Identité » postérieur à celui des Encyclopédistes marque sans doute la volonté de proposer une réflexion plus incisive sur un sujet majeur, qui constitue un dénominateur commun des « Lumières » par rapport à leurs opposants : en effet, la nouvelle conception de l'identité qui s'impose, centrée sur la subjectivité, répond à une volonté de penser l'identité à une échelle humaine et dans une dimension plus pratique que métaphysique. In fine, l'analyse des articles « Identité » invite donc à réfléchir à l'identité respective des grands monuments intellectuels que sont l'Encyclopédie et les Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.

Roger Fehner (Adrian College) Samuel Miller's Critique of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers on the Philosophy of the Human Mind

Panel / Session 386, 'American Enlightenment'. Friday /Vendredi 09.00 – 10.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ned Landsman (Stony Brook University)

The Reverend Samuel Miller (1769-1850), author and New York City Presbyterian minister, published "A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century, Part First in Two Volumes Containing A Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts and Literature During that Period" in 1805. In the work Miller attempted nothing less than to encompass the Enlightenment ideas of European thinkers and their American counterparts. Later scholars of the history of American thought have judged it the first work on American intellectual history. More specifically for this paper it contains the first commentary on the metaphysics of eighteenth-century British philosophers by an American authors.

Two fundamental associations Miller experienced as a young adult shaped his cultural, educational, intellectual, professional, and social life, which eventually led to “A Brief Retrospect.” The first was the completion of his ministerial education with the erudite Reverend Dr. Charles Nisbet, the famous Scottish divine and former minister at Montrose, who had come to America in 1784 as the first President of Dickinson College. Miller was most fortunate to live and study with Nisbet, for he was a man of great culture and learning who had a powerful impact on Miller which is later most evident in “A Brief Retrospect.” The second was the maturation of his literary ambitions through the activities of the Friendly Club of New York City, a literary and social coterie of young gentry intellectuals in the 1790s. It was instrumental in enabling Miller to confirm his identity as a man of letters. A primary project of the Club was to discuss the writings of major eighteenth-century authors, which led directly to Miller’s focus on Enlightenment thought in his work

Given his orthodox Presbyterian theology, Miller judged the metaphysicians through that ideological lens. He rejected the ideas in the mind theory of Locke, Hume, Berkeley and others. Instead, he adopted the theory of direct perception of objects championed by Thomas Reid in his works on Common Sense Realism, because they integrated a scientific analysis of the human mind with Christian belief.

Edward Fellows (University of Edinburgh) *A Fratricide of the Faithful? Intellectual Controversies and Shifting Religious Identities in the Early Enlightenment*

Panel / *Session* 108, ‘Irreligious Identities’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Devin Vartija (Utrecht University)

There are different views as to whether the Enlightenment was essentially anti-religious, or originated from and was compatible with religion. In this context, intellectual histories of the long eighteenth century often categorise thinkers in terms of identities such as ‘orthodox’, ‘deist’ and ‘radical’. The identities of the ‘deist’ and the ‘atheist’ are of particular interest, both as they are often applied constructively to thinkers who did not specifically use these labels (whatever their private views), and as the emergence of movements such as providential deism are seen as intimately connected with the trajectory of Enlightenment thought. Drawing on the notion of the ‘fratricide of the faithful’ put forward by Kors (1990), this paper will examine religious and irreligious identities in the context of the intellectual controversies of the early Enlightenment. This period saw conspicuous debates between figures such as Edward Stillingfleet and John Locke, and Samuel Clarke and Anthony Collins, and the paper considers how the dialectic between different versions of Christianity played a role in the development of these philosophical identities, and how this linked to broader shifts in Christian thought.

Olivia Ferguson (University of Edinburgh) *‘Paint Every Plook’: Caricature, Accuracy, and John Kay’s Series of Original Portraits*

Panel / *Session* 56, ‘New Directions in the Study of Caricature (Eighteenth-Century Literature and Visual Culture Research Network)’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

Published by subscription in 1837 and 1838, Hugh Paton’s two-volume edition *A Series of Original Portraits and Character Etchings* remains the most important effort to catalogue and annotate the prints of John Kay (1742-1826). Biographical and explanatory notes were compiled by a team of writer-researchers supported by a network of antiquarians and unacknowledged contributors. Paton claimed that Kay’s portraits possessed ‘general accuracy’ and acted as ‘a record ... in after times’ of late-eighteenth-century Edinburgh.

Kay now features little in histories of caricature. Compared with the work of contemporary London-based graphic satirists, his efforts may seem staid: he evinced less interest in the fantastical or the pornographic, and most of his works perhaps have more in common with miniature portraits and silhouettes than with satirical prints. Yet in his day, and in the *Series of Original Portraits*, he was acknowledged as a producer of caricatures.

Beginning with an analysis of how the *Series of Original Portraits* frames Kay’s work and legacy, this paper will highlight the uniqueness of Kay’s reception as a caricaturist. I will argue that Kay’s work, though seemingly atypical of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century caricature, is crucial to understanding a contemporary notion of

caricature as a mode capable of a particular kind of accuracy. This will be illustrated by a variety of quotations – from the Dublin Literary Gazette, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Leigh Hunt – and a more in-depth look at the place of Kay's portraits in Walter Scott's views on caricature.

Rebecca Ferguson (University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, Lampeter) **Who Were They? The Restoration Context of Pope's 'Phryne' and 'Artimesia'**

Panel / *Session* 385, 'Alexander Pope'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Schoenberger (College of the Holy Cross)

Alexander Pope's two early satires, "Phryne" and "Artimesia" – first published in the Swift/Pope "Miscellanies" of 1727/8, but later described as "Done by the Author in his Youth" – were composed as imitations of Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset. They have long been considered either as type-satires (by John Butt) or – in Kathleen Mahaffey's latterly-accepted view – as personal satires targeting two women of the Hanoverian court: George I's mistress Melusina von der Schulenburg, Duchess of Kendal, and his half-sister Sophia von Kielmansegg, Duchess of Darlington. Pope's nineteenth-century editor Robert Carruthers mooted other subjects for the poems, but his suggestions are far from convincing. Critics who have approached the works as personal satires have all assumed that if Pope was attacking any known individuals, they must have been people living in his own time. This paper argues that the poems are indeed directed at particular targets, but that the women in question belonged to an earlier age – the Restoration court of Charles II – and one of them had died many years before Pope's birth. Pope's reasons for taking up such seemingly "retrospective" targets in his youthful verses may be understood in the light of various factors that were central to his developing literary and personal identity: his relationship with Dorset as a notable court poet and admired satirist, his early intimacy with a range of older mentors who had prominence in the Restoration era, his close study of his predecessors' political writings, and his broader acquaintance with the fascinating body of popular satire, libel, memoir and anecdote deriving from the reigns of the last male Stuarts. Pope may be seen as "impersonating" Dorset in his choice of satiric victims, not simply imitating him in style and versification. His interest in the visual arts of the Restoration also has its place in "Artimesia," where he evidently refers to a distinctive painting of his subject from the circle of Sir Peter Lely.

Lourenço Fernandes Neto e Silva (Universidade de São Paulo) **On Condillac's Use of the Principle of Identity**

Panel / *Session* 168, 'Equation and Equivalence'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Clemis (Mount Royal University, Calgary)

Condillac writes in *The Art of Reasoning* that an evidence of reason, which is the minimum requirement of a true proposition, can always be reduced to the formula "the same is the same". This use in Condillac's philosophy of the principle of identity has often been misinterpreted as a mark of rationalism, or, when taking *La Langue du Calcul* as further evidence, of algebraism. This paper aims to counterbalance such interpretations showing they isolate what should be considered a marginal aspect of his philosophy from other, more substantive features. We shall hence expose Condillac's comprehension of thought, language and method as a metaphorical enterprise, and develop some consequences of this for his logic and philosophy. Stressing this feature could renew standard interpretations of his philosophy, first by reformulating what Condillac means by "reducing" something to another thing, and finally by showing the transformation of the function of the Principle of Identity in his philosophy: from a potential totalitarian threat of crushing every individual thought under the mark of the One, it becomes the very *de jure* guarantee of plurality and singularities, operating as institutor of ever-partial relations, or a principle of association and web-weaving, be it in sciences and knowledge or in society at large.

Nathalie Ferrand (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / Ecole normale supérieure) **Correspondance, fiction et identités nationales : être étranger dans *La Nouvelle Héloïse***

Panel / *Session* 425, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIIIe siècle – La lettre entre les nations 1 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth

Century – Letters between Nations 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Décultot (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

“Il m’entretint de ses voyages, et le sachant Anglois, je crus qu’il m’alloit parler d’édifices et de peintures...” (I, 45)

Dans la Préface de *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau avertit son lecteur. Celui-ci devra s’armer de patience face au style dépaysant de ce recueil de lettres : « ceux qui les écrivent ne sont pas des Français, des beaux-esprits, des académiciens, des philosophes ; mais des provinciaux, des étrangers [...] ». En effet, cette correspondance fictive met une plume dans la main de plusieurs personnages de différentes nationalités (mais pas un seul Français) : des Suisses, un gentilhomme anglais, un prince russe à l’origine énigmatique, une prostituée italienne dont une lettre est enchâssée à la VIe partie. De quelle manière Rousseau, qui lui aussi était un étranger dans sa nouvelle patrie d’écriture, la France, a-t-il joué de ces différentes nationalités dans l’échange des lettres, comment à travers elles a-t-il construit le rapport des personnages entre eux et son rapport au premier lectorat qu’il visait, le public parisien ? On s’attachera d’une part à certains portraits ou remarques qui font intervenir le “caractère national” chez un auteur qui dénigre le cosmopolitisme ; puis à la manière dont les traductions (anglaise, allemande et italienne) de l’œuvre ont réagi aux caractérisations nationales proposées par l’écrivain ; enfin on se demandera ce que sont un étranger et un Européen pour Rousseau.

Nathalie Ferrand (CNRS/Ecole normale supérieure) Le temps de l’Histoire dans « *La Nouvelle Héloïse* »

Panel / *Session* 162, ‘Between Universal History and National Histories: Building the Past in the Age of the Enlightenment 1’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Patrizia Delpiano (University of Turin)

This paper examines the use of History in Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s novel *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. The fiction is set in a precise historical frame, with real events and facts that contribute to date the internal chronology of the plot. According to these elements, the story “takes place” about 15 years before it is written. But what kind of History is used by Rousseau and what is its scale? Local, national, universal? And how far does Rousseau go back into the past? In fact, mythological and biblical episodes are also mentioned, creating several layers of History that work together to enrich the meaning of time in this novel.

Angela Ferraro (Université de Neuchâtel / IHRIM Ens Lyon) Identité personnelle et empirisme : le renouvellement de la métaphysique du sujet selon Mérian et Lelarge de Lignac

Panel / *Session* 371, ‘La quête de l’identité après Locke. Ou comment être empiriste au siècle des Lumières’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Brunet-Fontaine (Université d’Ottawa / Université Paris X, Nanterre)

On se propose de faire le lien entre deux auteurs qui, tout en étant issus de milieux intellectuels en apparence très distants, non seulement partagent des références culturelles fondamentales, mais ont aussi en commun un projet philosophique au sens fort : celui du renouvellement de la science métaphysique. Il s’agit, d’une part, de Jean-Bernard Mérian (1723-1807), membre de la Classe de philosophie spéculative de l’Académie de Berlin – l’un des foyers des Lumières allemandes – qui, pendant sa longue carrière, rédigea plusieurs mémoires, dont l’un *Sur l’identité numérique* (1755) ; d’autre part, de l’abbé Joseph-Adrien Lelarge de Lignac (1710-1762), auteur de différents ouvrages aux accents polémiques, dont le *Témoignage du sens intime* (1761), qui attestent de son rapport complexe, voire controversé avec le mouvement des Lumières françaises. Dans leur réflexion sur le problème de l’identité personnelle, Mérian et Lelarge de Lignac font preuve à la fois d’attachement au passé – ils reviennent en quelque mesure aux métaphysiques classiques, notamment cartésienne et malebranchiste –, et d’ouverture aux nouveautés de l’empirisme d’origine anglo-saxonne. Ils définissent néanmoins leur propre identité philosophique en se démarquant par rapport à la plupart des dépositaires de l’héritage de Locke au 18e siècle. La question fondamentale qu’ils se posent pourrait être résumée de la manière suivante : comment peut-on donner suite à l’idée lockéenne d’une métaphysique coïncidant avec la physique expérimentale de l’âme, tout en évitant de retomber dans les pièges du matérialisme et du scepticisme ? En examinant les réponses que Mérian et Lelarge de Lignac ont données à cette

interrogation cruciale, on justifiera leur intérêt pour l'introspection en psychologie aussi bien que leur adhésion à l'éclectisme.

Breno Ferreira (Universidade Estadual de Campinas) The Construction of Knowledge about the Indigenous Peoples and Animals of Portuguese America: The Appropriation of a French Translation of William Robertson's *The History of America* by Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (1783–1792)

Panel / *Session* 139, 'Man and Beast'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephanie Howard-Smith (Queen Mary University of London)

This paper aims to discuss the way in which the Portuguese-American naturalist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira constructed his knowledge on the indigenous people and animals of Portuguese America during the Philosophical Journey (1783-1792). Appointed by the Portuguese Crown to lead the expedition, Ferreira had as one of his duties to describe and catalog the nature and customs of the indigenous populations of the captaincies of Grão-Pará, Rio Negro and Mato Grosso. It is intended to show how a French translation of the "Book IV" of *The History of America* (1777) by the Scottish historian William Robertson was appropriated by the naturalist to compose the report "General and Particular Observations on the Class of Mammals" (1790). We will argue that although Robertson's work does not deal with Portuguese America, the incorporation of one of his central ideas – that of the existence of a "general character" of the Amerindian peoples – by Ferreira made possible his understanding of local indigenous populations. In addition, the work also provided subsidies with which Ferreira could form his understanding on the American mammals, and particularly those of Portuguese America.

Paulo Ferreira Junior (Universidade Federal de São Carlos) Entre Littérature et Philosophie : le thème de la sexualité dans la pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Panel / *Session* 439, 'Rousseau, émotions, sexualité'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christophe Martin (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau est un écrivain « séducteur », comme le souligne Jean Starobinski (*Accuser et Séduire*, 2012). Nous pouvons dire que Rousseau « séduit » ses lecteurs aussi bien par ses idées politiques que par son écriture romanesque. Pour cette raison, il est, comme la plupart des grandes figures des Lumières françaises, un auteur qui passe sans difficulté de la philosophie à la littérature. Il fut aussi un critique sévère de la philosophie et de la littérature. Pour nous, la relation entre littérature et philosophie met en lumière un autre thème de sa pensée : la sexualité. Est-ce que la littérature permet de comprendre la sexualité comme un thème dominant de la réflexion philosophique pour Rousseau ? Dans cette communication, nous évaluerons la pertinence de cette question dans certaines œuvres de Rousseau ; en particulier, le *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, la *Lettre à d'Alembert*, et la *Préface de La Nouvelle Héloïse*.

Daniel Ferris (Miles Community College) Ploughman or Professor: *Tom Jones* as Exemplar of Thomas Jefferson's 'Natural Aristocracy'

Panel / *Session* 416, 'American Enlightenment: Influences and Influencers'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

On August 3, 1771, twenty-eight year old Thomas Jefferson responded to a request by Robert Skipwith, a relative of Jefferson's future wife, who sought "a list of books for a private library." The literature section of the list reads as a veritable who's who of early eighteenth-century English novelists, with Smollett, Richardson, Sterne, Goldsmith and Fielding among those he believed should form the core of one's fiction collection. The novel most often associated with Jefferson is *Tristram Shandy*. It is well known that he advised his nephew, Peter Carr, "The writings of Sterne particularly form the best course of morality that ever was written."

Jefferson's relationship with novels eventually soured. The library he constructed for his own retirement nearly four decades after producing his list for Skipwith was largely devoid of them, a shift which may have pointed to his distaste

for the rise in Gothic fiction. Even so, his letters to Carr, Skipwith and others he mentored contain practical praise for the potential value of novels which attained high levels of achievement as works of moral reflection.

This paper considers a novel that has escaped detection as a work which runs parallel to Jefferson's ideas about ethics: Tom Jones, which he knew well enough to use in learning Italian. Especially when examined in relation to his writings about meritocracy, Fielding's novel bolsters Jefferson's conception of a moral foundation built upon common sense. "State a moral case to a ploughman & a professor," wrote Jefferson. "The former will decide it as well, & often better than the latter, because he has not been led astray by artificial rules." While history has not been kind to Fielding, whose works are often dismissed as shallow, it is important to point out that Jefferson—who prized direct, relatable writing—shared a kinship with Tom Jones, especially in his valuation of the natural potential of individuals over the "artificial aristocracy."

Christian **Feser** (University of Duisburg-Essen) 'N.B. I did not visit the arsenal': Travelling Eccentrics in 'Coryat's Crudities' (1611) and 'Another Traveller!' (1768–69)

Panel / *Session* 474, 'Travels Abroad'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

Authenticity is a notoriously delicate matter in travel writing. Samuel Paterson's "Another Traveller!" (2 vols., 1768-69) is a case in point. Its publisher came up with an intriguing marketing scheme. After "Another Traveller!" had been denounced as a mere imitation of "A Sentimental Journey", which had appeared several months earlier, Paterson published a pamphlet under the pseudonym 'Coriat Junior', to accuse Sterne of plagiarism. 'Coriat Junior', who is also the narrative persona of "Another Traveller!", argues that his work had been finished much earlier. The reproach was addressed and discussed in both the "Monthly Review" and the "Critical Review", with affidavits for and against Paterson's claims. While this appears like an obvious attempt at attracting attention, the matter is not as simple as it may seem. "Another Traveller!" is by no means a mere "Sentimental Journey" knock-off, but strikes a delicate balance between sentimental narrative and authentic travel description.

The pseudonym alone raises the question of who 'Coriat Senior' might be. Clearly, Paterson refers to one of the most eccentric travel writers of the preceding century: Thomas Coryate (1577?-1617). This English courtier is best-known for "Coryat's Crudities: Hastily gobbled up in Five Moneths Travells" (1611), a massive travelogue of a tour of Western Europe. Coryate, a master of self-fashioning, makes his agenda obvious on every page of the "Crudities": to advertise his own wit and powerful eloquence, and to impress the reader with his knowledge of foreign countries and their languages. However, Coryate's fame faded soon after his death.

Why would "Another Traveller!", a text so fundamentally rooted in the Enlightenment, evoke the voice of a long-forgotten traveller? By then, key ideas of travel writing had changed. Features such as showing off historical erudition, transcribing ancient inscription verbatim and providing exact measurements of sights were no longer valid indicators of authenticity. My paper will offer a reading of "Coryat's Crudities" and "Another Traveller!" and explore how these parameters of travel literature changed within the 150 years between the publications.

Florence **Fesneau** (Université de Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne) L'identité du dormeur en question : du sensible à l'onirique dans les représentations du sommeil au temps des Lumières

Panel / *Session* 344, 'Restituer, trafiquer, reconstruire'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

Comment représenter un homme ou une femme endormie tout en lui conservant son identité ? A cette question, les portraits officiels, historiés ou non, qui couvrent en nombre croissant les murs des Salons de l'Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, disent tous l'impossibilité de la tâche. Non seulement le sujet endormi est incapable d'exprimer les passions qui font le charme de sa personnalité et l'excellence du peintre qui sait les saisir, mais, de plus, son état est contraire aux règles élémentaires de la bienséance. Seules les figures anonymes de la peinture d'histoire peuvent s'assoupir voluptueusement sous les traits d'Endymion ou d'Antiope. Et pourtant sous l'anonymat des dieux et déesses, puis des bergers et bergères endormis, percent une nouvelle façon d'interroger l'individu. Que se passe-t-il derrière ces paupières closes ? Est-il possible de rester totalement insensible aux sollicitations du monde extérieur ?

Les tableaux se font l'écho des questionnements qui animent la philosophie sensualiste et donnent ainsi une nouvelle identité au dormeur du quotidien, sollicité par le toucher, l'ouïe ou l'odorat. Ces interrogations mènent progressivement à une compréhension nouvelle de l'individu endormi qui n'est plus seulement un corps qui se repose, mais devient aussi une identité qui se forme, se déforme et se transforme au travers de ses rêves. Ceux-ci, bien que difficilement exprimables et exprimés, donnent à leur tour un relief différent au dormeur sur le visage duquel affleure l'inconscient : c'est cette nouvelle identité du dormeur, et sa part d'obscurité, que le peintre interrogera à la fin du siècle des Lumières.

Lynn Festa (Rutgers University) The Partial Worlds of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Panel / *Session* 382, 'Sexual Identities in Global Empires'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Wolf (Birkbeck, University of London)

In her Turkish Embassy Letters, in numerous paintings and in widely-circulated prints, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu cultivated an image of herself as a "citizen of the world." This paper examines the intertwining of gendered, racial, national, erotic and exotic identities in her writings and in visual images, focusing on the figures— the African page, the exotic sultanness, the ruddy milkmaid, the bluff English squire—who serve as foils to the cosmopolitan identity Montagu seemingly embraces. I argue that Montagu deploys these figures less as placeholders for entire cultures— as stereotypes— than as tools for critiquing Enlightenment claims to universality. By multiplying parochial or stereotypical figures in order to reveal the incompleteness of the representative part, Montagu shows how synecdoche (part for whole, whole for part) both consolidates and critiques individual and collective identities, using plurality to combat both the partiality of our default preferences and the partiality of our modes of representation. Montagu's sequential singling out of discrete figures or objects as representative parts, I argue, opens up a broader critique of the synecdochal representation of culture, countering Enlightenment pretensions to represent the whole world by attending to the fragmenting operation of the tropes used to give it form.

Agnieszka Anna Ficek (City University of New York) Pastel Portraits, Partitions, and Revolution: Anna Rajecka's Artistic Career in Late-Eighteenth-Century Warsaw and Paris

Panel / *Session* 420, 'Beyond the Amateur: Reintegrating Women Artists into Eighteenth-Century (Art) History 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Hyde (University of Florida)

In the 1780s, the Polish pastelist, Anna Rajecka (c. 1760 – 1832), arrived in Paris to study under key artists of the late-eighteenth-century like Jean-Baptiste Greuze and Elisabeth Vigée le Brun. As a pensionnaire of the Polish King Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski, Rajecka's career in Poland and in France reflects a unique artistic trajectory through the upper echelons of the Polish aristocracy and the Parisian art world in the lead up to the French Revolution. Much like many women artists of the Early Modern period, Rajecka's early artistic training took place mainly in her home, under the instruction of her father, the Polish portraitist, Józef Rajecki. Later, she studied in Poniatowski's court in Warsaw with important foreign artists such as Marcello Bacciarelli and the French painter and pastelist Louis-François (Ludwik) Marteau. It is allegedly through Marteau's influence that Rajecka was able to secure Poniatowski's financial support to continue her artistic education abroad. In Paris, not only did Rajecka find herself in the circles of some of the most important artists of the time, her sitters also constituted the height of the Polish expatriate aristocracy.

Her career, however, was greatly impacted by the precarity of the political situation in which she found herself. While working on commissions for Poniatowski with Jacques-Louis David soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution, she asked for permission to travel to Italy, which Poniatowski denied. Soon after, her relationship with the Polish King deteriorated. Faced with the growing violence of Revolutionary Paris and the political instability of a partitioned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Rajecka traveled Clermont-Ferrand, after which scant information about her life is available. The development of Rajecka's career provides insight into the particular circumstances which elevated the daughter of a portraitist into the most important artistic and political circles of both Poland and France at the close of the eighteenth century.

Agnieszka Anna Ficek is a doctoral candidate in Art History at the Graduate Center- CUNY

Franz **Fillafer** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) Newton-Making in the Habsburg Empire: Actors, Institutions, Imageries 1750–1900 (Co-presented with Johannes Feichtinger)

Panel / *Session* 438, 'Resilience of Eighteenth-Century Science in the Habsburg Monarchy 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Borbala Zsuzsanna Török (University of Vienna)

Newton-Making in the Habsburg Empire. Actors, Institutions, Imageries 1750–1900

Our paper departs from the observation that arguments from nature constituted a key device connecting the Habsburg state building process and the order of knowledge it produced. A privileged site of enquiry for establishing this nexus is Central European Newtonianism. Our contribution maps the scarcely researched regional appropriations and refractions of the Newtonian paradigm across several fields. This rediscovery of the Newtonian portfolio comprising concepts and practices enables us to flesh out the “resilience” of knowledge systems that survive their initial institutional settings and contexts of elaboration. Newtonianism was adapted by the Jesuit order and flourished as a central framework of the Catholic Enlightenment after the order’s demise. Later on, it continued to supply basic premises of possible knowledge about nature in a whole set of domains (e.g. natural law) and did so also in physics, although subordinate functional parts of Newtonianism did not withstand detailed scrutiny (e.g. imponderabilia). Our paper traces the longevity of the Newtonian matrix in the Habsburg lands, up to its devastating unmaking in Fin de Siècle Vienna. Thereby the contribution highlights the multifaceted significance of Newtonianism that was at the same time a formative cultural cliché about what science should be capable of and a repository of concepts used by savants in rival domains of enquiry.

Francesca **Fiore** (Queen’s University, Kingston) Identité(s) sexuelle(s) et Lumières

Panel / *Session* 170, 'Identités genrées'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Odile Richard-Pauchet (University of Limoges)

Les amans philosophes (1755) de Jacqueline-Aimée Brohon remet en question la différenciation entre les sexes et fut donc un moment fort de dissidence sexuelle. Le travestissement de Victoire, un des trois personnages féminins que Brohon met en scène dans son court et riche roman, sert, de prime abord, de moyen d'éloignement de son frère incestueux, mais aussi de dévoilement de l'existence d'une identité sexuelle flottante et interchangeable jusqu'alors réprimée. Mérindor et Emily, personnages de sexes opposés, tombent tous les deux amoureux de la jeune Victoire revêtue en habits masculins. Ce comportement amoureux interroge à la fois la féminité des hommes et la masculinité des femmes et questionne donc la classification des genres et des identités sexuelles. Brohon part d'une réflexion épistémologique qui ne sera élaborée qu'au XXe siècle lorsque Simone de Beauvoir distingue nettement le sexe et le genre selon des différences biologiques et culturelles.

Certes, la trame romanesque de Brohon exalte les valeurs morales et religieuses, mais elle est surtout marquée par un vif questionnement scientifique que permettaient les découvertes de l'époque. En effet, cette dernière a rendu possibles des progrès significatifs dans l'étude de l'anatomie féminine et de ce que le corps féminin représente sur le plan symbolique. Il suffit d'évoquer comme exemple le passage du modèle unisexe au modèle des deux sexes. Donc, il s'agit de voir comment cette romancière puise dans le discours médical, scientifique ainsi que dans le discours philosophique pour mettre en question les relations de genres, et donc la loi naturelle, civile et religieuse de la société de son époque.

Pascal **Fischer** (University of Bamberg) Loyalist Positions on the Rule of Law in the 1790s

Panel / *Session* 173, 'John Thelwall 1: The Rule of Law'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christoph Houswitschka (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg)

The paper shows that the Rule of Law was an important reference point for loyalists in the French Revolution Debate in Britain. Apart from looking at Edmund Burke’s well-known pamphlets Reflections on the Revolution in France and Letters on a Regicide Peace, the study is particularly interested in the lesser-known voices, be they literary or non-literary. Burke attached great importance to the separations of powers and the protection of British subjects against the misuse of authority, for instance when he claims that a moderate government “ought to make its judicature, as it

were, something exterior to the state” (Reflections). Like Burke, many other conservatives held that the traditional order sufficiently secured their liberties, whereas a popular revolt would sweep away established rights. In *Equality, As Consistent with the British Constitution* William Paley praises Britain for the liberties it provides for the common man. Referring to the King, he writes: “Neither he nor his minister can encroach upon the liberty of the meanest Briton; and if they do, they are subject to damages in the court of law.” In the dialogue between the misguided revolutionary Tom and the benevolent traditionalist Jack in Hannah More’s *Village Politics*, the British legal system emerges as a safeguard against oppression from above: “I may go to law with Sir John, at the great castle yonder, and he no more dares lift his little finger against me than if I were his equal.” The anonymous author of the pamphlet *A Few Plain Questions, and a Little Honest Advice, to the Working People of Great Britain* defines freedom as the absence of undue government intervention: “But, when they tell you, that voting, and this alone is freedom, they tell you a falsehood. TRUE FREEDOM IS FREEDOM FROM INJURY.” In the debate over the Rule of Law in the 1790s, loyalism clearly did not associate with the Ancient Régime, but should rather be regarded as one position in a spectrum of Enlightenment viewpoints.

James Fisher (University of East London / King’s College London) *Agricultural Enlightenment? A Critique of the Knowledge-Diffusion Model in the Case of Eighteenth-Century British Agricultural Books*

Panel / *Session* 151, ‘Sciences et Mouvement des Lumières dans les campagnes/Science and Enlightenment Movement in the Countryside’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (Université de Lille)

This paper presents a critique of the dominant model for studying agricultural knowledge in the eighteenth. It argues that the model of knowledge diffusion is insensitive to social relations and creates a distorted account of how and why agricultural knowledge was made, stored and transferred. Instead, it argues that British agricultural literature must be understood as a tool of knowledge appropriation as well as a vehicle for knowledge diffusion, which contributed to the development of new capitalist relations.

Histories of eighteenth agricultural knowledge have been driven by a preoccupation with explaining an ‘agricultural revolution’, primarily in terms of increases in productivity. In particular, printed agricultural books have been studied primarily in terms of their role in spreading useful knowledge leading to practical improvements. However, when scrutinised these books appear to have been poor transmitters of useful knowledge. These assumptions have been recently theorised under the label ‘agricultural enlightenment’, which Peter Jones characterises as the widespread diffusion and adoption of new farming techniques, partly driven by the production and diffusion of knowledge.

However, this narrative of enlightened agriculture treats knowledge and books as socially neutral entities, and, in the case of Britain, neglects the significant social transformations from 1660-1800. The model of knowledge diffusion, in which knowledge flows from experts to practitioners, fails to account for differences in power within the social order. Further, early modern Britain underwent a gradual concentration of managerial control over cultivation, due to the concentration of land ownership, increasing farm size, and occupational polarisation. This necessitated a social redistribution of knowledge. I argue that the publication of agricultural books was both stimulated by and a contribution to these changes in the social structure of agricultural knowledge.

Irene Fizer (Hofstra University) *The Unstitched Being: Seams, Pockets, and Second-Hand Things in the 1818 *Frankenstein**

Panel / *Session* 18, ‘“Men Appear to Me as Monsters’: Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* at 201’. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvia Marks (New York University Tandon School of Engineering)

The Unstitched Being: Seams, Pockets, and Second-hand Things in the 1818 *Frankenstein*

Dr. Irene Fizer, Associate Professor, Department of English, Hofstra University, USA

Encased in a skin fissured with gruesome slits, the creature in Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818) is fated to display the handiwork of a derelict craftsman. But the implications of this fabricated cutis also extend beyond the

visible deformities that will burden the creature's existence, and his face-to-face interactions with human beings, throughout the novel. As I will argue, the ruptures in the creature's skin inform, and align, with the ways in which the creature will subsequently assess, appropriate, and make use of a set of material objects—a man's cloak, the pockets in that cloak, a shepherd's "wallet," a leather portmanteau, and a pocket hidden beneath a girl's petticoat. Ranging in scale from huge to small, and marking formative stages in the creature's first years of existence, these material objects will prove valuable to the creature either for what they already contain (edible provisions, books, and laboratory reports) or for what they can hold. All come into the creature's hands as second-hand objects, and all serve either as articles of dress, worn for purposes of safe-keeping or storage, or as portable depositories, that securely enclose whatever possessions or necessities are placed inside. Unlike the creature's own skin, therefore, which "leaks," these second-hand objects are structurally intact, unmarred with signs of prior usage or wear. Beyond their assigned function and condition, each one of these objects delineates a cultural, social, or gendered threshold, mediating between an interior and an exterior condition, that the creature learns, in time, to decode. He will turn this understanding of inside/outside to his advantage, in a self-directed process of subject formation and intellectual development, as an assertion of agency, and as a means to engage in acts of intentional malice.

Catherine Fleming (University of Toronto) 'My Fellow-Servants': Colonel Jack, Identity, and Othering

Panel / Session 130, 'Daniel Defoe 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

Daniel Defoe's eponymous Colonel Jack, brother to Captain Jack and Major Jack, is a natural candidate for an identity crisis. He defines himself not by his name, for Jack is given to him as a default rather than chosen as a mark of identity, but by a title that he has no legal claim to, a parentage he knows only from hearsay, and the memory he "laid up... in my heart" that the townsfolk said he had "a pleasant, smiling countenance" and looked like "a gentleman's son." Clinging to this fragile sense of self, Jack spends much of the novel defining himself in opposition to his legal and social equals, an opposition that becomes especially troubling during his time in Virginia as an indentured servant – or perhaps Maryland for, as Defoe claims "Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance," an indistinguishability that troubles Jack's identity even further.

Jack claims an innate quality of a similar sort to Behn's Oroonoko, who is recognized on sight as princely, but although he is recognized for exceptional individual qualities from the beginning of his life, it is not until he is captured and taken to America as an indentured "slave" that he receives the recognition he believes is his due. Here, surrounded by condemned criminals and "Negroes," Jack loudly proclaims his innocence and unfitness for menial work while his narration undergoes a more subtle slippage away from the language of commonality toward a language of exceptionalism. This shift increasingly brands his fellow indentured servants as "Negroes" as he lumps them into the category of otherness. While George Boulukos argues that Jack deploys a rhetoric of sympathy and similarity in this book, claiming that Defoe "creates the clearest distinction between Africans and Europeans," I demonstrate how Jack's rhetorical slippages between the terms "Servant," "Slave," and "Negro" encourage identification between these categories even as he strives to keep them separated.

Maria Florutau (University of Oxford) Philosophical and Theological Identities in the Dutch Academic Societies between 1773 and 1780

Panel / Session 256, 'Academies and Academics'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

This paper examines the issue of philosophical and theological identities in two Dutch academic competitions: University of Leiden's Legatum Stolpianum and the Haarlem-based Teylers First Society. Both competitions were founded with the specific purpose of demonstrating God's existence using the scientific and philosophical means of the Enlightenment. However, thinkers responding from all over Europe held highly fluid positions beyond their philosophical traditions and their religious backgrounds. Furthermore, the respondents were all academics that published widely, but belonged to a mainstream Enlightenment that lacked the influence and recognition of the philosophes.

The paper will focus on Legatum Stolpianum's 1773 question on whether there is an innate sense of morality and Teylers' 1780 topic of providence. The 1773 contest demonstrates the limits of a philosophical identity, as five out of nine respondents started from a Leibnizian position, but adeptly negotiated with what we would now refer to as British empiricism, in particular quoting Shaftesbury and Lord Kames. In what might be termed as moral aesthetics, the responders argued for an innate sense of morality, filtered through reason. The 1780 contest illustrates the fluidity of theological positions amongst the mainstream Enlightenment. Protestants of Italian, German, Dutch and Transylvanian origin used the writings of Malebranche, a Catholic and occasionalist, to discuss the theological theory behind providence in the context of philosophical causality in a Mennonite competition. They ultimately rejected the concept of particular providence, but their exercise in reconciling dogma with philosophy demonstrates that, while they keenly supported a religious framework, they relinquished orthodoxies that they saw in contradiction with reason. The findings provide an indication of the lack of homogenous philosophical and religious identity in the mainstream Enlightenment and their fluidity as a main characteristic.

Amparo Fontaine (European University Institute) Harmonic Republic: Musical Harmony and Public Order in Revolutionary France

Panel / *Session* 250, 'The Arts of Politics and the Politics of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century French Thought'.
Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* :
Ann Thomson (European University Institute)

In the years surrounding the French Revolution, references to musical harmony flooded political discourses, from pamphlets and caricatures, to political treatises and speeches. Yet these countless references to harmony have been largely overlooked by historians of both music and the French Revolution. Why was musical harmony frequently referenced in political contexts? What did these calls using the imagery of musical harmony advocate, and how did they relate to revolutionary concepts or programmes? This presentation argues that musical harmony provided a powerful model for envisaging a new public order during Revolutionary times. The call for musical harmony was not merely a metaphor: it constituted an archetype and prescriptive model for making this new order. In debates around the Estates General, the three estates were often conceptualised as the three notes of a 'perfect chord'—a crucial element in Jean-Philippe Rameau's theory of harmony—which exhibited potential agreement, proportional order, and integrated dissent just as Rameau integrated dissonance into harmony.

Dena Goodman discussed how salonnieres maintained harmony in salon sociability, balancing discordant voices 'like the strings of an instrument played by an able hand' (Marmontel). I will demonstrate that notions of musical harmony had already been widely embedded in French society. Drawing upon the classics and the paradigm of the harmony of the spheres, musical harmony was deemed a 'tasteful science' in the first half of the century, and soon became a defining feature of French national character and ingenuity. Throughout the century, musical harmony remained connected with ideas of nature and the cosmos, thereby allowing harmony to be appropriated for an Enlightened, 'natural', 'tasteful' and collective political project. Yet under whose authority was social harmony legitimised and guaranteed, what was the role of the king within, and how it related to equality, were all subjects of contention during the Revolution.

Vincent Fontana (University of Geneva) The Art of Questioning: The Interrogation and the Profession of Judge during the French First Empire

Panel / *Session* 70, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

While interrogation is the cornerstone of the inquisitorial procedure under the Ancien Régime, it remains predominant even after the Revolution with the advent of modern French criminal law. Interrogation is actually the main prerogative of the juge d'instruction (examining magistrate), a symbol of the Napoleonic judicial model. Despite the evolution of the system of proof provided for by the Napoleonic codes, the confession remains the key to the trial in France : it is "la reine des preuves" (F. Chauvaud) throughout the 19th century. The art of interrogation is therefore

one of the “tricks of the trade” for these examining magistrates who embody all the professionalization of judges under the Empire.

This paper will point out the impact of revolutionary and imperial criminal law on interrogation methods and techniques. What breaks and continuities can be observed between the first modern judicial police manuals and the doctrine of the Ancien Regime? How does the new judicial staff acquire the basics of interrogation? Based on case studies in a provincial city of France during the Empire, we will also examine the daily routine of interrogations conducted by Napoleonic examining magistrates.

Rebecca **Ford** (University of Nottingham) Discredited Practices in the *Encyclopédie*: Alchemy and the Divining Rod

Panel / *Session* 461, ‘Industry and Technology’. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Philippe Sarrasin Robichaud (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières / Sorbonne)

In Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* article ‘*ARGENT’ we find an evocative account of a descent into the Sala silver mine, where the narrator passes through states of confusion, fear and horror to delight on discovery of the shining, ordered, collaborative and cosmopolitan workplace underground. This account may be seen as a metaphor for the reform in the practical arts that Diderot and his fellow Encyclopedists sought to bring about; transforming the identity of the arts from practices based in secrecy, tradition and superstition to open, rational, scientifically-based industries, cementing in the process the *Encyclopédie*’s identity as a beacon of Enlightenment. Yet while a good deal of work has been done on the ways in which *Encyclopédie* writing on the mechanical arts may (or may not) be seen to represent innovations in either technology, outlook, or epistemology, this paper focuses on the way in which *Encyclopédie* writers on the sciences and arts dealt with the presence within the work’s volumes of practices which they deemed out-of-step with an enlightened century. My paper concentrates on the mining and metallurgical industries, and considers firstly *Encyclopédie* writing on the use of the divining rod, a practice which was subject to a certain amount of philosophe scrutiny over the course of the eighteenth century, and secondly the *Encyclopédie*’s account of alchemy, which shifts considerably with the change in the project’s main contributor on chemistry. By examining these two examples I argue that the *Encyclopédie*’s presentation of the eighteenth century as a time when ‘backward’ practices were to be swept aside did not in fact reflect the reality of its time, and moreover that the *Encyclopédie* authors drew upon a range of the work’s internal mechanisms to suppress discussion and presentation of such practices.

Fabio **Forner** (Università degli studi di Verona) Lumières entre l’Angleterre, la France et l’Italie

Panel / *Session* 399, ‘L’identité italienne en jeu face à l’hégémonie du français : la traduction et la question de la langue 1 (Ouvrages bilingues et traductions d’œuvres littéraires)’. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.
Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Rotraud von Kulesa (Universität Augsburg)

Les travaux des érudits anglais sont restés assez inconnus du grand public italien, du moins dans leur version originale. Ce n’est qu’après la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle que les lecteurs italiens ont pu lire des traductions réalisées directement sur le texte original anglais. Cependant, au cours du siècle, de plus en plus de versions de textes anglais sont parvenues aux Italiens par le biais de traductions intégrales du français : les érudits de la péninsule ont été informés de cette façon des innovations littéraires venant d’outre-Manche. Mais non seulement cela, certains textes du XVII^e siècle ou des Lumières anglaises ont été traduits en italien à partir de la version française intermédiaire, bien que parfois uniquement des extraits cités dans des œuvres littéraires destinées à un large public: quelques exemples qui seront illustrés dans cette intervention se rencontrent dans les travaux de l’abbé Chiari de Brescia. Ainsi se produisirent la traduction italienne des œuvres de Newton, ainsi que celles de Thomas Brown, par exemple de son traité *Errori Popolareschi*. Un autre cas intéressant représente la *Storia generale de’ viaggi, o nuova raccolta di tutte le relazioni de’ viaggi per mare, e per terra, state pubblicate fino al presente nelle diverse lingue di tutte le Nazioni cognite*, imprimée à Venise par Pietro Valvasense entre 1751 et 1764 en 30 volumes, portant, dans son passage du français à l’italien, un traducteur d’exception, Gasparo Gozzi, mais aussi l’original de cette publication monumentale

en anglais. La contribution entend donc enrichir de nouvelles informations l'histoire de l'arrivée en Italie au cours du XVIIIe siècle des œuvres de la littérature anglaise par le biais d'une traduction intermédiaire en français.

Ellinor **Forster** (University of Innsbruck) Enlightened Identity in Transition: Ferdinand III of Tuscany between Inheritance and Realpolitik

Panel / *Session* 453, 'Enlightenment Rulers'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jonathan Singerton (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Brought up in one of the most famous enlightened territories, Ferdinand III came to power in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in 1790, when his father Leopold II relocated to Vienna upon his accession to the regency of the Austrian lands and the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. His father left him comprehensive and detailed instructions how he should continue his reforms under the ideas of enlightenment. However, the 1790s confronted Ferdinand not only with an internal revolt of his subjects, but also with the impact of the French Revolution.

The State Archives of Austria contain the comprehensive correspondence between Ferdinand and his brother Francis II, which stretched from 1788 until the early 1800s, when they both ruled their separate territories. They exchanged around 80 letters each year; increasingly discussing their ideas about ruling and political order. These letters enable us to trace the slow and step-by-step transformation of and competing adherence to different aspects of enlightenment thinking and rulership. The two brothers always discussed and reassured their views in light of the contemporary events and challenges facing them in Europe.

This rich primary source can be analysed in several ways. When French military pressure got too strong, Ferdinand was forced to flee Tuscany in 1799. In 1803 he was compensated with the former Archbishopric of Salzburg. Although Salzburg had enlightened rulers before then, Ferdinand's takeover meant "Italian" enlightened ideas met "German" ones. Being the ruler of a new territory he had the possibility to reorganize a whole system corresponding to his own understandings of political order. This dual inheritance therefore allows us insights into the manifold transformation of „enlightened identity“ across geographic spaces and during the challenges brought on by the demands of the subjects and threats by the continuous wars. This paper will use this corpus of letters to analyse the shifting Enlightened identity expressed through Ferdinand's territorial transference.

David **Forsyth** (National Museums Scotland) Exhibiting the Jacobites: Public History vs Private Sympathy

Panel / *Session* 335, 'Jacobite Material Culture'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vicky Coltman (University of Edinburgh)

Drawing on my experience as curator of the 2017 exhibition "Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites", this paper will look at the challenges and delights of curating a major exhibition on the Jacobite cause in the 21st century.

Joseph **Fort** (King's College London) Fictional Characters of Musicologists' Making: A Brief Biographical Study

Panel / *Session* 331, 'Facts and Fictions: Biographical Imperatives in Researching the Eighteenth-Century Dancer – The Oxford Dance Symposium'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurel Zeiss (Baylor University)

A certain trend has emerged recently among musicologists studying the eighteenth-century, which involves inventing fictional but plausible eighteenth-century characters, and presenting an account of a musical passage or historical situation from what we believe would have been their perspective. Quite often, these characters know how to perform the fashionable dances of their day (e.g. Lowe 2007). Expounding his 'theory of multiple agency', Edward Klorman (2016) attests to the opportunities such an approach can offer an historian, particularly in its potential to encourage us to allow for possible multiple meanings and historical perspectives in our interpretations. However, this approach is not without its pitfalls, as I have discovered in my own (unpublished) forays into the genre. In this paper I

will present a sympathetic but critical ‘collective biography’ of some such characters, suggesting that their background and concerns sometimes align suspiciously closely with those of twenty-first-century musicologists. I explore some possible solutions, and, with these in mind, offer a brief essay into a particular ball at Vienna’s Hofburg Redoutensäle in 1792, from the imagined perspective of an attendee.

James Foster (University of Sioux Falls) **Motivation and the Miraculous: Lady Mary Shepherd on Testimony and Reputational Risk**

Panel / *Session 209*, ‘Lady Mary Shepherd as a Scottish Philosopher’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gordon Graham (Princeton Theological Seminary)

In her response to Hume’s famous essay ‘Of Miracles’ (EHU X), Lady Mary Shepard illustrates the professedly religious tenor of her philosophy. This paper examines her three-fold defense of the existence of and belief in miracles and compares it to other contemporary defenses – by William Adams, Richard Price, and George Campbell – in order to make clear both Shepard’s bedrock metaphysical principles, and her sensitivity to the reputational risk involved in testimony.

José Eduardo Franco (Universidade Aberta) **Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Pombal: Enlightenment Identity through the Politics and Contradictions of a Statesman (Co-presented with Joana Balsa Pinho)**

Panel / *Session 224*, ‘Double Identities’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer ()

Ambassador in London and in Vienna, prime minister of king D. José, count of Oeiras, marquis of Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699-1782) embodies the tensions and paradoxes of an epoch founded in reason. He is probably the Eighteenth-Century personality that generated the most conflicting and contradictory assertions on the same object, not only amongst the Portuguese but also international historians, as contemporary historiography proves, in discussing the identity of this enlightened (and) despot. In reforming the education in Portugal, in prohibiting the importation of slaves, in dismantling the old and traditional nobility, in promoting trade, in expelling the Jesuits from the Kingdom (and for the first time in Europe) and Conquests, pombaline politics brings to daylight several “identities”, and perhaps, first of all, the identity of a century and of an intellectual and cultural movement. With this paper, and through the examination of the major historical figure of the Marquis of Pombal, I intend to reflect on the meaning and value of identity in the Eighteenth-Century. To do so, I will consider not only historical sources and historiographical works, but also some thoughts and outputs of the on-going research project POMBALIA “Towards the construction of a Pombaline corpus: Part I – The historiographical writings of the Marquis of Pombal” (PTDC/HAR-HIS/32197/2017), hosted by the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lisbon, and funded by “Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia” (FCT), the Portuguese public agency that supports science, technology and innovation, in all scientific domains, under responsibility of the Ministry for Science, Technology and Higher Education of Portugal.

Marilyn Francus (West Virginia University) **Wrestling with Burneyness: The Case of Alexander D’Arblay**

Panel / *Session 36*, ‘Burneys and Identity’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Engel (Duquesne University)

Alexander D’Arblay, the only child of Frances Burney and Alexandre D’Arblay, had a lot to live up to: a mother known internationally for her novels, a father known for his military abilities, and both parents connected with the social and political elites of their nations. After spending much of his childhood in France, Alex returned to England with his mother, to be welcomed back into the Burney family fold. This paper will analyze Alex’s struggles in being a Burney, which largely revolved around his apparent inability to succeed at university or in a profession. Although it was his biological and social inheritance, seemingly Alex did not know how to be a Burney—and his mother, despite her best

efforts and help from her family, could not seem to teach him how to do it either. I will argue that Alexander's history not only demonstrates the ways that family identity not only puts pressure on family members, but also the ways that family members put under pressure on family identity as well.

Kate Frank (University of Toronto) Shoreline Identity, Mobility, and Sublimity in Mary Wollstonecraft's 'Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark'

Panel / *Session 276*, 'Mary Wollstonecraft'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

Mary Wollstonecraft's "Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark" records the author's encounter with the boundary of land and sea, and the people, landscapes, plants, and economic systems which she finds at the shoreline. In this paper, I engage with recent feminist scholarship and literary criticism in oceanic studies to place Wollstonecraft's "Letters" in the context of contemporary maritime trade and artistic representations of oceanic and shoreline space. I argue that Wollstonecraft depicts the coast as a space which creates a unique opportunity for women's self-development, literary production, and intense emotional engagement with the natural world. My paper situates Wollstonecraft in a literary tradition of female writers who described the coast as a space of mobility and inspiration, including Charlotte Smith and the modernist poet H.D.

Though the coastline first appears as a sharp boundary, representing an isolating entry into a new society, through her travels Wollstonecraft eventually finds on the coast an environment which not only blends the oceanic and the terrestrial, but allows for the blurring of the boundaries between male and female, landscape and body, and self and other, opening up the possibility to experience a new identity, unrestrained by these boundaries. I examine how her experience of the coastline as a space between these divisions allows Wollstonecraft to question Edmund Burke's gendering of the sublime as masculine and the beautiful as feminine. Wollstonecraft's "Letters" thus represents a positive potential of the eighteenth-century process that Margaret Cohen's describes in "The Novel and the Sea" as "the sublimation of the sea," or the gradual removal of the oceanic sublime from its associations with the mariner's craft and evolution into an aesthetic zone. While Wollstonecraft's experience of the coast in her "Letters" remains tied to the masculine world of work at sea, she begins to glimpse moments of radical identification with the coastal sublime as a space beyond the gendered boundaries of work, aesthetics, and literary production.

Marcie Frank (University of Concordia) The Rake from Theater to Novel

Panel / *Session 69*, 'Character, Theatre, Novel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

The character of the rake and the story of his reform, or lack thereof, are crucial to Restoration and 18th century literature, yet this plot follows a different trajectory on stage and in novels. Stage rakes underwent steep social decline between the Restoration and 1730, or thereabouts. Etherege's Dorimant, an aristocrat obliged to marry for money in *Man of Mode* (1676), suffers from status inconsistency but Tom Fashion, Lord Foppington's younger brother in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* (1696), slides into poverty. The rake is a servant in Steele's *The Conscious Lovers* (1722) and a criminal in Gay's *Beggars' Opera* (1728). Meanwhile rakes in novels from Behn's *Philander* to Richardson's *Lovelace* remained aristocratic; indeed, they retained their social privilege for more than another century, as can be seen in Brontë's *Mr. Rochester* and Hardy's *Alex D'Urberville*. Complicating this contrast, however, is performance history: aristocratic rakes were kept on view alongside those of lower social standing until the 1760s, when some plays featuring rakes, like *The Country Wife*, were cleaned up and others, like *The Rover* and *Love's Last Shift*, were dropped from the repertory. Erin Mackie has successfully analyzed the rake's appeal in terms of social and gender ideologies, though she does not address the generic division of labor between the theater and the novel. How can the category of character, stock or other, help to address this question of literary representation?

Pierre Frantz (Sorbonne Université, CELLF) Le drame bourgeois fut-il bourgeois ?

Panel / *Session* 61, 'Théâtre et Identités 1 : Identités des genres dramatiques dans le théâtre du XVIIIe siècle'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Renaud Bret-Vitoz (Sorbonne Université, CELLF)

Cette communication présente une réflexion critique sur l'invention d'un genre en France et en Allemagne, le drame bourgeois, et sur la constitution d'une identité bourgeoise en Europe.

Lisa **Freeman** (University of Illinois, Chicago) Theatrical Politics and Dramaturgical Strategies: George Colman's *The Iron Chest* (1796)

Panel / *Session* 308, 'Performing Enlightenment Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Rosenthal (University of Maryland)

In the advertisement to the first published edition of *The Iron Chest* (1796), George Colman the Younger took great pains to demur from any claims that the play might contain political content: "I have cautiously avoided all tendency to that which, vulgarly, (and wrongly, in many instances), is termed Politicks; with which, many have told me, Caleb Williams teems. The stage has now no business with Politicks; and, should a Dramatick Author endeavour to dabble in them, it is the Lord Chamberlain's office to check his attempts, before they meet the eye of the Publick." On the one hand, he claims not to have any personal knowledge of political content in *Caleb Williams*. Any awareness he might have arisen only from the fact that "many have told him" that the novel "teems" with political content; he himself did not recognize it as such. On the other hand, Colman lays claim to a nuanced political consciousness that is at least acute enough to distinguish when the label of "Politicks" may have been "wrongly" applied. This paper will explore both how late eighteenth-century politics, writ large, were mediated by theatrical representations and how the theatrical playhouse was mediated by political considerations. In the process, it will demonstrate how Colman's adaptation was regulated as much by larger political concerns as by the specific requirements of theatrical representation that appertained to the late eighteenth-century London playhouse.

Friederike **Frenzel** (Technische Universität Dresden) A Self-Conscious Conscience

Panel / *Session* 376, 'Moral Self-Constitution: The Conscience in the Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Frank Grunert (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg)

Introspection, reflexion and the positioning of the self as well as the question, if a common moral sentiment, a moral sense, exists and what its essence would be are two key problems that traverse the works of Johann Georg Heinrich Feder. While being a professor for philosophy in Göttingen and in his later years as a director at the Georgianum in Hannover, Feder strived for his philosophy to be a process- and discourse-based, eclectic endeavour, which he undertook emphatically before the interested and critical eyes of the educated German public.

The "Inquiries about the Human Will" ("Untersuchungen über den menschlichen Willen", 1779-1786 FE) is one of Feder's principal works. In it, he describes the human inner self in engagement and connection with the external world. Like even the work's title suggests, he is heavily influenced by English thinkers like John Locke and Thomas Reid and relies fundamentally on Locke's empiricist concepts of consciousness and of sensuality. He attempts to blend it with his own German academic background of Wolffian psychology, while trying to avoid a rigid system and the division and classification of philosophy in schools – like the legacy of academic Wolffianism entailed. In "About the Moral Sentiment" ("Über das Moralische Gefühl", 1792), Feder deals with the problem of a fundamental human morality, a human good, even more upfront.

If we assume his text-critical, historical-conceptual approach and apply it to his own works, as was his demand, we can see that he tries to clarify the terms of perception ("Empfinden"), senses ("Sinne") and sentiment ("Gefühl"). He works out the difficulties that arise if one attempts to distinguish initial human perceptions before they are altered by the individual's intellect, reason or judgment of the senses. In accordance with Locke, but also with Condillac and Bonnet, Feder describes the "human understanding" as a process with various elements and a sequence. The human mind charges experience and perception with emotion and association. The perception itself may hint at the truth of the external world, achievable through observations. However, emotions and associations are not inherent, but

Nicolas Fréry (Sorbonne Université) *Le moi, l'amour, les qualités : échos d'un fragment de Pascal dans la fiction du XVIIIe siècle*

Panel / *Session 76*, 'Herméneutique de l'individuel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.05, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Le célèbre fragment des *Pensées* où Pascal soutient que l'on n'aime jamais « le moi » mais de périssables qualités, a eu au XVIIIe siècle une riche postérité, dans des écrits théoriques certes (Condillac, *Traité des sensations*), mais aussi dans des œuvres de fiction. N'est-ce pas parce qu'il se présente comme une expérience de pensée, fondée sur un jeu d'hypothèses et un usage du dialogisme, que ce texte de Pascal était tout porté à recevoir des prolongements fictionnels ? Marmontel, dans *Alcibiade ou le moi*, procède à une transposition ludique du fragment de Pascal, Alcibiade découvrant que le désir d'être « aimé pour lui-même » est une « prétention ridicule », tant il est inévitable d'être aimé pour « des accidents » qui « ne sont pas nous ». Ce rêve d'être aimé pour un hypothétique moi profond (caché sous les apparences physiques, morales, sociales) se déploie dans d'autres écrits de la période. Marivaux réinterprète le fragment de Pascal dans une page de *La Vie de Marianne*, et il mène dans plusieurs de ses comédies (*La Double Inconstance*, *Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard*, *L'Épreuve*) une réflexion critique sur la possibilité ou l'impossibilité d'accéder à un moi dépouillé de ses attributs contingents. Chez Mme Riccoboni, la même hantise ne se retrouve-t-elle pas dans *l'Histoire d'Ernestine*, où M. de Clémengis recherche « un cœur qui ne prise en [lui] que lui-même » ? Il n'est pas jusqu'au scénario pascalien de l'amour détruit par la perte des qualités qui n'ait inspiré des écrivains, comme Prévost dans *la Jeunesse du Commandeur* : incapable d'aimer Hélène défigurée par la petite vérole, le narrateur comprend que son amour portait sur « des qualités extérieures qui dépendent des accidents du hasard ». En mettant au jour la postérité littéraire (encore largement ignorée) de la dialectique pascalienne du moi et des qualités, notre propos est de montrer combien la mise à l'épreuve, par la fiction, des analyses de Pascal – tantôt accréditées, tantôt déplacées, voire infirmées, en vertu de parti-pris philosophiques et esthétiques qu'il faudra identifier – a été l'occasion, dans des textes narratifs et dramatiques du XVIIIe siècle, d'explorer sous un prisme nouveau les liens entre amour et identité.

Arthur Friedly (Université de Neuchâtel) *Pratiques de lecture et suicide : le cas d'Henri-David Chaillet (1751–1823)*

Panel / *Session 336*, 'La Suisse dans les Lumières européennes'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Moret Petrini (Université de Lausanne)

Durant l'hiver 1779-1780, Henri-David Chaillet, pasteur neuchâtelois et principal rédacteur du *Journal helvétique*, envisage de se suicider. La Classe des pasteurs de la Principauté de Neuchâtel l'a en effet sommé de mettre fin à sa fréquentation supposée innocente avec Rose Du Pasquier. Acculé, abandonné par ses proches, Chaillet rédige alors son testament sur un bout de papier. Hormis les dispositions conventionnelles, ce testament parle d'âme sensible « dont l'énergie même [lui] donne maintenant la mort », de la destruction de son exemplaire de *Werther* ou encore d'amitié « plus forte que la mort ». Ces références suggèrent que Chaillet ait été inspiré en partie par ses lectures, notamment celles de *la Julie* de Rousseau ou du *Werther* de Goethe.

La situation du pasteur se débloquera finalement, mais il reviendra à plusieurs reprises sur cet épisode. Il réfléchira sur les causes du suicide ainsi que sur la lecture comme vecteur d'une quête identitaire. En effet, dans plusieurs de ses articles journalistiques écrits entre 1779 et 1784, Chaillet détaille la façon dont il intègre ses lectures à son univers mental. Elles servent à la recherche d'une existence autrement vécue, plus pleine, plus profonde. Notre intervention sera alors l'occasion de réfléchir sur des questions d'appropriation des grandes œuvres des Lumières ou leurs effets sur la constitution de l'individu, et de discuter des difficultés méthodologiques qu'une telle causalité pose.

Elisabeth Fritz (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena) *Relational Identities: Watteau's Sociable Figures between Arbitrariness and Specificity*

Panel / *Session 437*, 'Painting Modern Life'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Deniz Eyüce Şansal (Bahçeşehir University)

According to the Comte de Caylus, a friend and rather harsh critic of Antoine Watteau, the painter was not skilled enough to give his figures “a certain greatness”. While Caylus generally accused the *Fête Galante* of lacking any concrete object, the absence of specificity especially seems to pertain to the genre’s figurative realm. Indeed, Watteau’s continuous repetition and rearrangement of one and the same types, costumes and poses let them appear to be rather arbitrary and interchangeable. In contrast, another of the artist’s patrons, Jean de Julienne, praised his figures of possessing each “a character so true and so natural, that it could satisfy one’s attention by itself alone”. Consequently, in his two volume posthumous edition of Watteau’s “*Figures de différents caractères*” (1726–28) Julienne had most of them printed separately on a single sheet. However, by extracting the figures from a specific surrounding they show all the more their genuine relational quality: every gesture, face or body tilt still seems to be directed to a human counterpart.

The paper asks how the tension between interdependency and self-sufficiency in Watteau’s figures can be understood in the context of early enlightenment theories of subject identity and individual autonomy. As the meaning of the painter’s ‘characters’ is determined only within every specific pictorial correlation, also personal identity is signified to be different according to each concrete setting—and yet it seems to never merge fully within its temporary determination. By highlighting that the creation of identity depends necessarily on the relation to some kind of ‘other’ the *Fête Galante* thus not only reveals that the picture plane is a more or less random and transient aesthetic arrangement, but also that the same may be true to the social constellations they represent. In doing so, the establishment of the autonomous subject is finally disclosed to be possible not despite, but because of sociality.

Julia Ftacek (Western Michigan University) ‘All women his description fits’: Jonathan Swift in the Transgender Classroom

Panel / *Session 380*, ‘Queer Swift’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Declan Gilmore-Kavanagh (University of Kent)

Answering Kirsten T. Saxton, Ajuan Maria Mance, and Rebekah Edwards’ call for more “trans-aware pedagogy” in the eighteenth-century literature classroom, this paper provides a model transgender reading of Jonathan Swift’s poem, “The Lady’s Dressing Room.” First examining Swift’s poem for its historical situation within what Thomas Laqueur has called a “radical eighteenth-century reinterpretation of the female body in relation to the male,” this paper theorizes how historical notions of sex and gender are received by twenty-first-century trans and gender non-conforming readers. Looking at the way the poem subverts and critically examines the eighteenth-century dressing room scene, this paper connects Swift’s satire to what contemporary trans theorist Julia Serano has deemed the “two main archetypes [of transgender women]: the ‘deceptive’ transsexual [and the] ‘pathetic’ transsexual.” Through this lens Swift’s poem seems to move from one archetype to the other, Strephon appalled at the materials and deceit involved “in calling Celia sweet and cleanly” before becoming “blind / To all the charms of female kind,” his disdain coming to resemble Serano’s concepts of “effemimania” and “transmisogyny” that dictate contemporary depictions of trans women. My examination of Swift through a trans framework not only opens up new possibilities for interpreting Swift’s satire within the context of eighteenth-century shifts in gender roles and perceptions, but also provides a launching point for instructors to provide more trans-aware pedagogy in the eighteenth-century literature classroom.

Alexandra Fuchs (University of Graz) The Making of Identities in the Italian Moral Periodicals

Panel / *Session 279*, ‘Real and Fictitious Identities in Relation to Political, Social, and Cultural Spaces in the European ‘Spectators’ 1’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Angela Fabris (University of Klagenfurt)

The negotiation of identities in the “Spectator”-genre takes place at several levels. The journalistic genre of the “Spectators” had its origins at the beginning of the 18th century in England with *The Tatler* (1709-11) and *The Spectator* (1711-12; 1714) by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. The Spectators spread rapidly all over Europe and became an important feature for the discourse system of the Enlightenment.

The Italian journal *Il Filosofo alla moda* has been translated (1728-30), based on the French translation of the English original version *The Spectator*, and adaptations to the Italian context and the Italian readership were made. In this

manner, to some degree, a new text has been created which became part of the Italian cultural background and strengthened its identity.

The negotiation of identities take place on another level; especially when the authors of the journal *Il Caffè* (1764-66) are seeking to highlight the significance of the Italian language and its position within Europe, handling subjects like science, politics and economics.

Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia) **Dr. Vicente Alaño y Serviá** according to the *baró de Maldas's Calaix de Sastre*

Panel / *Session 144*, 'Peripheral Identities in the Hispanic World 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Enid Valle (Kalamazoo College)

This panel will explore the writings of two different yet similar men from Barcelona. The first, Dr. don Vicente Alaño y Serviá, doctor in theology and law writes a seemingly conservative play on the French revolution and more specifically on the death of Louis XVI. The other, the *baró de Maldá*, is the author of a 40 year diary, *Calaix de Sastre*, that included newsworthy information about wars, battles, defeats, victories and natural disasters, as well as all sorts of local gossip about people's houses, parties, celebrations, and so forth. The presentation looks at the points of convergence of these two lives and attitudes about what it is to be Spanish, Catalan, Catholic, and a patriot.

Daniel Fulco (Washington County Museum of Fine Arts) **Envisioning the World at the Court of Charles III: Tiepolo's Wealth and Benefits of the Spanish Monarchy**

Panel / *Session 71*, 'Conquering Europe: The Continent Allegories and their Cultural Popularity in the Eighteenth Century'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Moisan-Jablonski (Kazimierz-Wielki-University in Bydgoszcz)

Under King Charles III (1716-1788), the Spanish monarchy became ever more aware of the world beyond its borders as society globalized gradually during the eighteenth century. Ultimately, this transformation led to a host of new discoveries about exotic lands, a rich exchange of ideas about the globe's diverse populations within the Hispanic world and Europe, and the emergence of philosophical discourses on non-western cultures. Upon his ascension to the throne, Charles embarked on a series of major political, social, and cultural reforms that critically shaped his nation's future. Most notably, these changes included the centralization of royal authority, the introduction of core Enlightenment ideas to society as a whole, and a revision of Spanish colonial policy that stimulated substantial growth in the Trans-Atlantic Empire.

Taking into account key developments in politics, colonialism, and imperialism during Charles' early reign, this paper will focus on allegorical depictions of the four continents in Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's (1696-1770) monumental ceiling fresco, *The Wealth and the Benefits of the Spanish Monarchy* (1762-1764), in the Throne Room of the Palacio Real, Madrid. In close relation to both Spain's losses and gains of colonial territory in the Americas, East Indies, and Africa, it will be argued that continent allegories were employed to transmit concepts of Spanish superiority over other peoples and were used as political capital to qualify the King's claims to global or imperial power in international affairs and conflicts. As will be demonstrated, such representations could be used to express a range of Charles' ambitions which aimed to advance his new vision of Spain's central role in Europe and around the globe.

Daniel Fulda (Universität Halle) **Brightening Skies around 1700: Images of the Enlightenment avant la lettre**

Panel / *Session 314*, 'The Contribution of Images to the Enlightenment Agenda / L'apport des images au programme des Lumières 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Décultot (Universität Halle)

Until well into the second part of the eighteenth century, visual media played a larger role for the articulation and propagation of demands of Enlightenment than written works, at least in Germany. Iconographically, the most

relevant pictures revert to the original meteorological meaning of 'Aufklärung'. This original meaning that long continued to be in common usage provided easily decodable visual motifs with strong power claims.

Visual media with Enlightenment motives in this sense provide evidence for the thesis that the first decades of the eighteenth century already displayed a programmatic understanding of the Enlightenment as criticism and reform for establishing a better future. The core of our understanding of Enlightenment is not a product of twentieth-century historiography, that is, a "retrospective 'construction' on the part of scholars", as J. Robertson puts it, or even a "réification anachronique", as Jonathan C.D. Clark writes somewhat more poignantly, but is already rooted in the self-conception of the historical actors, and even in the early phase of the Enlightenment. Especially in its beginning, the large reform project envisaged by contemporary philosophers apparently lent itself more readily to visual expression than to textual explication. It took decades until the cognitive concept of Aufklärung, first noted in 1695, established itself. Images of Enlightenment designated more clearly what was meant.

Guglielmo **Gabbiadini** (Università degli Studi di Bergamo) A Portrait of the Sovereign as a Young Cosmopolitan? Observations on Politics, Literature, and Visual Arts in German-Speaking Late Enlightenment

Panel / *Session 283*, 'The Contribution of Images to the Enlightenment Agenda / L'apport des images au programme des Lumières 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Fulda (Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

Cosmopolitanism constitutes one of the moral and political values of a certain current of European Enlightenment that places the emancipation of mankind at the centre of its agenda. While much has been said about ancient sources and modern adaptations of cosmopolitanism, this paper intends to investigate the visual traditions of this program. Particular attention will be paid to the case of German-speaking Late Enlightenment. Ekphrastic descriptions of cosmopolitan sovereigns (real and fictional) together with portraits and illustrations in literary works directly concerned with cosmopolitan issues will feature prominently in the paper. Politics in the light of cosmopolitanism represented a conceptual and an iconographic challenge for the thinkers of the Enlightenment. What visual traditions are to be privileged? What symbols was it appropriate to evoke? Which audience was to be addressed? How direct could communication be? The contribution will try to provide some provisional answers to these questions.

Aurélia **Gaillard** (Université Bordeaux Montaigne) Le rose : couleur sexuée, couleur sociale au 18e siècle ?

Panel / *Session 102*, 'Couleurs et identités à l'époque des Lumières 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford)

Antoine Renou dans son commentaire du Salon de 1773, Dialogues sur la peinture évoque le « coloris neuf » des « chairs virtuoses » de Fragonard : incarnat, rouge pâle, couleur-de-rose, tartouillis de crème fouettée, le rose peine à se définir – le mot et la chose – au 18e siècle à tel point qu'il n'est pas vain de se demander de quelle couleur est le rose ? Ou encore, quand le rose devint-il rose ?

Il s'agit alors d'étudier le rôle tout particulier qu'occupe le rose au 18e siècle : couleur « inventée » par ce siècle, dont le signe le plus probant est l'apparition de l'adjectif puis du nom de couleur dans la 2nde moitié du siècle, elle est au cœur des questionnements et des enjeux de ce qui peut apparaître comme une véritable révolution sensualiste – l'irruption pour et par les couleurs d'un monde visible et non plus d'abord symbolique. Cette étude se veut une enquête sur une couleur qui signe une nouvelle perception du monde (la mode du rose, la vie en rose) et engage des enjeux identitaires décisifs concernant la distinction sexuée et/ou sociale.

Lynée Lewis **Gaillet** (Georgia State University) Not Just the Methodist Madonna: Susanna Wesley as Early Bluestocking and Feminist Religious Leader

Panel / *Session* 423, 'British Women's Enlightenment Identities: Improvements and Appropriations'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Troy Davis (Stephen F. Austin State University)

Gaining notoriety through the act of mothering, Susanna Wesley (1669-1742), mother of Methodist founder John and hymnist Charles Wesley, is a woman admirable in her own right (revealed in her letters and diaries)—one who lays what will become foundations of Methodism. She creates a powerful community ethos in reaction against her husband, local ministers, and the Church of England, claiming and embodying the right for women to become leaders in the emerging Methodist religion. Specifically, the role Wesley adopted in her own community and the resulting local admiration, the creation of her ethos as one sanctioned to speak, and her role as a woman who could and would fill in gaps in local religious practice provides a sustained model of women as agents within emerging notions of Methodism.

Justyna **Galińska** (Polish Academy of Science) Searching for Political Identity: Polish Count Athanasius Raczyński in Conversation Piece with Sir William Drummond of Logie-Almond

Panel / *Session* 309, 'Portraiture'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sandra Gómez Todó (University of Iowa)

This paper aims to solve the iconography concept behind a collective portrait by the Swiss painter Léopold Robert, executed in Rome in 1821. The painting presents, among others, Athanasius count Raczyński, aged 33. Deposited at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, the piece has been unknown to Polish art history so far. The work was commissioned by the Scottish diplomat, writer, philosopher and outstanding Enlightenment scholar Sir William Drummond (1770?-1828), who is actually the painting's main protagonist. The conversation piece type composition, including a visible interaction among the presented characters, implies through their gestures, they are all talking. The portrayed may be shown in Drummond's apartment in Rome, while the conversation focuses on Athanasius Raczyński's memorandum of March 1821, whose copy is to be found at the Raczyńskis' Library in Poznań in Poland. At this point Drummond seems to be the young Pole's mentor and adviser in his political and diplomatic career.

Catherine **Gallouët** (Hobart and William Smith Colleges) Rhétorique et discours racialisé dans les fictions du 18e siècle

Panel / *Session* 109, 'L'autorité de la rhétorique au siècle des Lumières'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marc-André Bernier (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

Comment la rhétorique classique fonctionne-t-elle dans les discours rapportés de personnages non blancs exprimant la résistance ou la révolte contre l'ordre colonial et esclavagiste des fictions du 18e. La question étant, la rhétorique classique peut-elle permettre au sujet noir d'exprimer sa résistance ou sa révolte de se décoloniser par son discours, ou bien le réinscrit-elle dans l'ordre colonial ? Autrement dit, le personnage noir dont on rapporte le discours peut-il se constituer en tant que sujet dans un discours construit sur la rhétorique classique, ou bien est-il re-colonisé par elle ? David Diop dans *Rhétorique nègre au XVIIIe siècle. Des récits de voyage à la littérature abolitionniste* (Classiques Garnier, 2018) propose qu'il faut séparer la rhétorique de la représentation du noir de l'usage de la rhétorique classique dans le discours de noirs rapporté. Je n'en suis pas sûre. Les travaux d'auteurs tels Y. Mudimbe, F. Fanon, A. Khatibi, Foucault, Derrida, nous engagent à questionner le discours rapporté de personnages non blancs exprimant résistance et révolte, comme on en trouve chez des auteurs comme Lahontan, Castilhon, Prevost, Diderot, Saint Lambert, etc. Une rhétorique nègre est-elle possible ? Le discours issu de la rhétorique classique peut-il être décolonisé ?

Dario **Galvão** (Universidade de São Paulo / Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne) Hume and the Reason of Animals

Panel / *Session* 139, 'Man and Beast'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephanie Howard-Smith (Queen Mary University of London)

In this paper we intend to discuss the problem of the reason of animals in Hume's philosophy, taking into account sections of both the *Treatise of Human Nature* (Section XVI, Part III, Book I) and the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (Section IX) dedicated to the present subject. By examining the arguments employed by the philosopher, our objective is to understand why, according to Hume, we cannot deny the existence of reason in animals. We will focus on the central role of the analogy between men and beasts in Hume's considerations, without ignoring some of the differences found in both works. Hume argues that the analogy should not be limited to anatomical observations, but must also be extended to every theory concerning the operations of the understanding or the connection of passions. From the perspective of the imagination, as it is conceived in Book I of the *Treatise* and in the *Enquiry*, we expect to comprehend how the acceptance of animal reason may have a strong connection with the critique of human understanding in Hume's philosophy, as he himself suggests.

Daniel Gane (Newcastle University) *The Journals of Pacific Exploration in the Eighteenth Century: Disputing the Mariner's Identity*

Panel / *Session 211*, 'Life at Sea'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Beck (Institute of Historical Research)

In this paper I will look at the disputation of the mariner's identity in eighteenth century Britain. I focus on the journals of Pacific exploration in the 1760s and 1770s by the mariners John Byron, Samuel Wallis, Philip Carteret and, most famously, James Cook, and their adaptation for publication by John Hawkesworth. I argue that, as with the treatment of the ocean, the understanding of the mariner was disputed. We see a negotiation between the mariners' own articulation of a professional identity and one re-fashioned to suit the cultural imaginary.

I will examine the form and language used to describe the ocean experience in the original manuscripts, making comparisons with the final published edition and other literary texts. In their journals, the mariners expressed a professional and cultural identity in response to the hostile environment of the Pacific Ocean, then mostly unknown and uncharted. Their narratives were rooted in the navigational account and professional description, while reflecting the increasingly scientific nature of their voyages. However, the journals also illustrated both the conditions and circumstances of writing, constructing a psychological engagement.

The adaption of the journals for publication in part reimagined that treatment and within a wider literary context disputed the appropriate language with which to describe the ocean, particularly in the treatment of the sailors' vernacular. Hawkesworth's adaptation homogenized the mariners' individual narrative voices to create an archetypal mariner. This was founded primarily in the terrestrial stops of the voyages. I suggest this reflected an on-going struggle with the cultural place of the mariner and the understanding of the ocean, as the unknown 'other' of the Pacific was familiarized and charted.

Zachary Garber (University of Oxford) *Identifying the Author of Waverley: Reframing Sir Walter Scott as an Eighteenth-Century Novelist*

Panel / *Session 346*, 'Sir Walter Scott'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Emma Macleod (University of Stirling)

This paper liberally interprets the Congress's theme and capitalizes upon its setting in Edinburgh to call for renewed examination of Sir Walter Scott's identity as the Author of *Waverley* and of his relationship to eighteenth-century literature. While Scott's debt to the eighteenth century has been noted with reference to the philosophical history of the Scottish Enlightenment and the settings of many novels, this paper argues that Scott inherits an eighteenth-century self-consciousness about the roles of author and reader in an age dominated by print culture. Tracing a pattern of allusions and adaptations in 'The Heart of Midlothian' and 'Chronicles of the Canongate', two novels nominally set in Edinburgh, this study posits the existence of an intertextual framework connecting Scott to some of the eighteenth century's most celebrated authors, including Fielding, Sterne, and Mackenzie—themselves purveyors of extensively self-aware fiction.

Whereas critical attention has until now largely been focused on the first edition prefaces and Scott's later *Magnum Opus* introductions, this work links his narrators' uncertain diegetic ontologies to his anxieties regarding the authority

of historical narrative. Focusing on two novels—one published prior to his unmasking and one featuring Scott as named author—this investigation sees Scott as a more equivocal producer of fiction, more uncertainly ready to take up the mantle of authorship once his identity as the Author of *Waverley* was publicly revealed in 1827. Similarly, by focusing on Scott's relationship to print culture and narrative authority, it takes Scott and his narrators at their word; Scott appears an anachronism, more at home among his eighteenth-century peers than in an era increasingly conscious of the distinction between History and Literature.

Máximo García (University of Valladolid) Castilian, European and Transoceanic Identities: Fashion and Material Culture

Panel / *Session 78*, 'Iberian Material Identities: Clothing Appearances in Contrast'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia)

The appearances during the Ancient Regime defined spaces of struggle, converted into identity and ideological ranks. In the Spanish public scene, copying the Parisian's and European's model, the differences between the urban and the popular costume were increasingly. New protagonists marked the renewal of stereotypes and images, mixing vanities, luxuries and comforts. In terms of collective mentalities and gender, everyday material culture rethinks explanations about modernity versus traditionalism present in the material, cultural, mental and civilization dimensions of the objects.

The dress was representation and individual image. Socio-cultural clothing can be read in terms of gender, used by young and old people or seen in urban or rural spaces, unifying their bearers until the modernization of their sale in the store and increasing demand modifies clothing consumption under new aesthetics and meanings.

The models of the 'French habit', the 'petimetre', the 'maccherone', the 'dandy' or the 'sans-culote' would appear and spread, as well as the 'majas', the 'Iberian regional costumes' or the criticisms towards the most vulgar fashion. Over multiple shortages or restrictive sumptuary laws, families were re-dressed with cotton or traditional wool cloths.

Many archival documents and all kinds of literary stories illuminate the prominence of their tissues and patterns. Female gifts, post-mortem inventories, store inventories, family expense books and inheritance lawsuits... moral literature, fashion magazines, newspaper articles, travel books and paintings... show that visible reality.

Mar García Arenas (University of Alicante) The Portuguese Anti-Jesuit Policy and Its Repercussion in the Court of the Hispanic Monarchy through the Diplomacy (1758–1767)

Panel / *Session 444*, 'Traditional and Unconventional Identities of Diplomacy of the Iberian Monarchies in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Irene Andreu-Candela (University of Alicante)

The regalism of Catholic monarchies to retain their sovereignty and prerogatives in the face of the aspirations of the Pontiff to have them will use anti-Jesuits policies as one of their main instruments. The beginning of the strife against the Society of Jesus took place in Portugal under the reign of José I, governed by the Secretary of Internal Affairs, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, in years to come, Count of Oeiras and better known for his last title, Marquis of Pombal. The process of expulsion of the Portuguese Jesuits was followed with great expectation in the Hispanic Monarchy in the twilights of the reign of Ferdinand VI and Charles III. This will be possible by following the correspondence of the Portuguese ambassadors established in Madrid, Rome and Naples. The main objective of this presentation is to analyze the influence the politics and the propaganda campaign against the Jesuits had in Madrid, which ended in the expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits by the future Marquis of Pombal.

Víctor García González (Universidad de Málaga) Vesta Facing Mars: Strategies of Wives, Mothers, Sisters and Daughters of the Military in Eighteenth-Century Spain and their Relationship with the Power

Panel / *Session* 160, 'Women of Power in the Eighteenth Century: Identity and Representation'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Claire Boulard-Jouslin (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 3)

In parallel to the professionalization process of the Spanish armies under the Bourbon dynasty and its reforms there was an increase of bureaucracy and a growing systematization in the production of new documents, which reflected the relationship between senior officers and lower ranks. Among these files, ranging from service records and letters to petitions and memorials, there is a remarkable set of documentation that has not been studied in depth yet. We are referring to the files produced by female relatives of those soldiers.

These sources, preserved to a great extent in the General Archive of Simancas, show how, despite certain widespread prejudices, ordinary women of the eighteenth century would address the authorities directly whenever their family interests were challenged by adverse circumstances, displaying a degree of empowerment superior to what is frequently believed for that time.

Two main lines of action can be tracked. The first one is the protection of the economic stability of the family by demanding overdue payments, the recognition of pensions or compensations, significantly when the men are absent, whether in campaign or deployed far from home. The second is the intercession in favour of a male relative in order to get a promotion, a transfer or the recognition of grades, jobs or titles. Sometimes the goal was to make a son or nephew inherit the position of his father or uncle. After the decease of their husband or father, widows and orphans did their best lobbying to overcome the economic uncertainty of a time when insurance systems were in an embryonic stage. Among these women, we will highlight the outstanding role of those that belonged to lineages of several generations of military.

Claudia Garcia-Minguillan (University of Salamanca) English Identity in the Epic Literary Critics of Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 179, 'Poetic Past, Poetic Present'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Liz Bellamy (City College Norwich / The Open University)

The epic poetry is well considered a construct of national identity, heroic model and moral values. Thus, identity and nationalism are intrinsic terms to the composition of the genre. As well as the authors who have written some epic texts, members, by necessity, of the same intellectual project. This fact is linked to the neglected situation that is suffered by the epic poetry studies in the Enlightenment period. This paper aims to identify how epic poetry and its literary critic forged English identity as a way of personal promotion.

A translation of Bossu's *Traité sur le poeme epique*, appeared in London by the year of 1695, was signed by the unknown characters of W.F. In the preface of the same authorship, it is argued the decadence and corruption of epic poetry. Amongst many other reasons, the most relevant are the ignorance of classic authors such as Homer and Virgil, the negligence of poetry rules, the corrupted moral of English society and the government support to poets.

A relevant fact is that this translation and preface are dedicated to Richard Blackmore (1654-1729), doctor of physic, fellow of the College of Physicians of the same city and author of many epic poems inspired in English glorious history. Blackmore received bloody critics from Alexander Pope. We guess that not only for his banality, but for his scarcity in poetics talent. Nevertheless, Blackmore is the one who is dedicated the translation of the most important treatise of the epic poem throughout XVII and XVIII centuries.

Blackmore's epic poems were inspired by the figures of King Arthur and Queen Elizabeth mostly, relevant figures in the construct of English nationalism but its reading, far from the excitement of epic poetry, was damed by a tremendous tedium.

This paper argues the situation of epic poetry in the beginning of XVIII century, how confrontation between Blackmore and Pope reveals different ways of understanding the genre and, to its full extent, why the literary critics offers a way to understand identities in the period.

Matthew **Gardner** (University of Tuebingen) Supporting Handel in London: The Musical Interests of Queen Caroline and Her Children

Panel / *Session* 53, 'Music, Reputation, and Commerciality in Eighteenth-Century London – The Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

Queen Caroline (1683–1737) was a long-term supporter of Handel and his music. Her connection to the composer began in 1710 when he was appointed Kapellmeister to the Hanover court – some of the chamber duets Handel wrote at Hanover were probably composed for Caroline, although there is no record of her singing them herself. In London from 1714 Caroline continued to show interest in music and Handel in particular, helping him to further develop his career. She regularly attended the opera, he was music master to her daughters and was commissioned to write new music for a number of royal occasions – the 1727 coronation, the 1734 and 1736 royal weddings, as well as for Queen Caroline's own funeral in 1737. Although royal support of music did continue after Caroline's death, it is evident that the driving force behind royal patronage stemmed from her influence rather than the personal interests of George II. Several of the Royal children, however, developed their own interests in music, especially Handel's pupil Princess Anne, as well as Frederick Prince of Wales, who before his arrival in London in 1728 had received most of his education in Hanover.

Handel's Funeral Anthem The ways of Zion do mourn and Caroline's interest in the arts have received some scholarly attention, however her broader support of music in connection with Handel's London career has yet to be addressed. This paper therefore explores her wider role in shaping royal patronage of music and musicians in London by considering her interests, those of her children (particularly Princess Anne and Frederick, Prince of Wales), as well as how the situation changed after her death in 1737, thereby shedding new light on the direct and indirect ways in which Handel benefited from royal patronage in London.

Nicole **Garret** (Adelphi University) Maternal Identity in Enlightenment Material Culture

Panel / *Session* 12, 'Enlightenment Motherhood and Transatlantic Maternal Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ula Lukszo Klein (Texas A&M International University)

As the role of mothers was being codified in eighteenth-century conduct literature, economic and domestic circumstances often interfered with women's social roles as reproductive engines of property transfer, as nurturers, and as mistresses of children's early education. Though it remained an integral component of wifely identity, maternal identity often collided with constructions of women's marital duty. Widowhood and marital separation, also, strained the maternal role, understood as a subordinate but indispensable affective counterpart to paternal authority. And child death, heartbreakingly frequent, was ever poised to disrupt maternal identity in an era when it was not unusual for a woman to outlive all of her children.

This talk will explore the possibilities for identity recovery and maternal expression enabled by Enlightenment innovations in print, monument building, and memorialization. Grieving mothers published elegies, circulated memorial needlework, and participated in an adapted form of memento mori that focused not on the afterlife but on remembrance. Mothers such as Frances Norton and Sarah Pennington carried their domestic woes into print to mend lost connections or broken family legacies. As these women used a variety of materials to hedge against the oblivion of their own identities as wives and mothers, they nudged maternal grief into public consciousness. Processes of memorialization thus opened up the possibilities of making an ephemeral and precarious maternal identity not only more permanent, but also more public.

Natalee **Garrett** (University of St Andrews) Mother, Miser, Regent: The Many Identities of Queen Charlotte in British Caricature, c. 1785–1798

Panel / *Session* 427, 'Elite Images'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Easterby-Smith (University of St Andrews)

Despite her position as consort to one of Britain's longest-reigning monarchs, historiographical consideration of Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz has been limited. 'Enlightened Princesses', a collaboration between the Yale Center for British Art and Historic Royal Palaces in 2017, considered Charlotte's artistic and cultural interests alongside those of other Hanoverian consorts, but this paper seeks a better understanding of her contemporary reputation. In historiography, the Queen's political and public roles are often relegated to second place in analyses of George III, and her son, George IV. While visual depictions of Charlotte's contemporary Queen Marie-Antoinette have inspired in-depth studies from historians such as Lynn Hunt and Annie Duprat, analysis of Charlotte's public image has yet to materialise. From the Regency Crisis of 1788, to her husband's repeated battles with 'madness', and the outbreak of the French Revolution, Queen Charlotte was a regular fixture in the caricatures circulating London and beyond. These events thrust a private woman and devoted wife into the spotlight of British politics, and caricaturists' responses to her perceived behaviour were rarely favourable. Using caricatures from the British Museum and Lewis Walpole Library, this paper argues that the multitude of identities into which caricaturists placed Charlotte were reflective of contemporary unease at the prospect of a foreign woman displaying such influence over the King of Great Britain, and by extension, the kingdom at large. When not critiquing Charlotte for alleged political interference, caricaturists targeted the supposed dichotomy of her greed and miserliness, accusations which often focussed on her Germanic origins. This paper initiates an inquiry into the many 'faces' of Queen Charlotte as presented by London's caricaturists, and calls for a greater historical interest in Charlotte's central role as wife and mother of British kings.

Catherine Garry (University of Southampton) Italian Opera and Elite Identity in Georgian Britain:
Exploring the Musical Patronage of Elizabeth, 3rd Duchess of Buccleuch (1743–1827)

Panel / *Session* 117, 'Opera'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the popularity of Italian opera in British elite spheres was at an all time high. It was a medium through which aristocratic women could exert significant creative impetus; they were not only spectators, but also patrons, bringing stars of the opera into their houses as performers and teachers. The musical activities and patronage of Elizabeth Montagu, 3rd Duchess of Buccleuch (1743-1827), shows how operatic culture was a strong part of her family's domestic life, and was indelibly linked to her sense of identity and status. She frequently attended opera performances at the King's Theatre in London, subscribing to a box for many years, and on her Grand Tour in the late 1780s she listened to operas in major European capitals. At Montagu House in London and Dalkeith Palace in Scotland, Elizabeth's love for opera was evident through rich layers of domestic engagement: she purchased scores circulating the fashionable London and Edinburgh markets, and invited opera stars such as Angelica Catalani and Nancy Storace to dine with the family, staging private opera concerts across the Buccleuch estates. Most significantly, she established a strong relationship with one of the most reputable Italian singing masters of the era, Domenico Corri, hiring him to teach her daughters to sing in the Italian style.

This paper uses the rich archives of the Buccleuch family, including its vast music collection, to delve into the world of Georgian operatic culture and domestic life. It explores the musical activities of the Duchess of Buccleuch in relation to her status as a patron, a philanthropist, and a benefactor of the arts. In particular, it investigates her vital support of opera singers, composers, and pedagogues, contributing to the influx of musicians migrating from the continent to Britain to build their careers. Above all, it focuses on how the Duchess's genuine passion for opera and her engagement with Italian music and culture contributed to her sense of elite identity, in both domestic and public spheres.

Alex Gatten (University of Connecticut) The Propriety of Language: Gender and Class in Scottish Rhetoric

Panel / *Session* 49, 'Language and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

This paper examines the relationship between gender, culture, and rhetoric in the Scottish Enlightenment, primarily in the work of Hugh Blair, Adam Smith, and George Campbell. Previous scholarship has examined the ways gender

emerged and affected various fields of the Scottish Enlightenment, including political economy, moral philosophy, and history and historiography. Rosalind Carr argues in *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* that gender became an analytical category by which intellectuals in these various fields saw the world and developed theories. She consequently points to the “cyclical relationship between discourse and culture” as discourses about this politeness both altered it and were altered by it. Taking up this notion of a “cyclical relationship between discourse and culture,” this presentation turns our attention to the discourse about language and writing emerging during the eighteenth century and the cyclical relationship between rhetoric and gender. I argue that the rhetorical writings of Blair, Smith, and Campbell demonstrate the complex ways “gender” crosses multiple discursive spheres simultaneously during the eighteenth century. The notion of “propriety,” for example, coexisted in moral and behavioral guides on politeness as well as in Scottish rhetoric. I would like to extend scholarship on polite masculinity further by more explicitly discussing how notions such as “propriety” invoked a gender theory for language and discourse themselves. If “propriety” meant a masculine politeness (without veering into effeminacy through excess) and a feminine chastity, then it also indicated correctly masculinely and femininely gendered way to speak and write (even if masculinity and femininity as such remained unnamed). By extending our consideration of gender and discourse to writings on discourse and language themselves, I argue, we also then might better encounter the complex ways discourse and culture intersected and diverged during the Enlightenment.

Gabor **Gelleri** (Aberystwyth University) Ladies at Sea: Seasickness and the Female Body

Panel / *Session 211*, ‘Life at Sea’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Beck (Institute of Historical Research)

Sailors were not impervious to seasickness, but were meant to get their sea legs quickly. It wasn’t until the number of lay travellers started to rise sharply that seasickness became of interest for medicine. However, in the field of ‘blue humanities’, seasickness has received little attention so far.

I call for an approach covering medical theories, practical management (ship management; production and consumption of ‘remedies’) and representations of the experience. The study of seasickness enhances our understanding of ill-health in context. It was not an ‘illness’ nor a ‘disease’, but a temporary, although debilitating, ‘condition’. Accounts of seasickness can thus only partly be read as forms of ‘illness narrative’.

Women not only represented the epitome of the non-professional traveller, but they were also reputed to be unable to withstand hardship. Thus, a discourse on female resistance against seasickness could become, as in Mme de Genlis’s educational novel *Adèle et Théodore*, an opportunity to present an agenda of gender equality. As an aristocratic refugee, Mme de Genlis later published a range of practical handbooks for travellers: in this changed context, seasickness isn’t “exploited” as a plot device any more, but it becomes a practical issue to be dealt with, and she suggest a range of possible preventive measures.

Among the first to discuss the benefits of sea air and sea travels, Scottish physician Ebenezer Gilchrist (*The Use of Sea Voyages in Medicine* – 1756) saw a direct, feminine angle to his theories: seasickness could assist in curing women of consumption. However, although his theories were widely discussed and soon translated into French, there seems to be little evidence of travelling women seeing their suffering as ‘beneficial’. Seasickness could be, however, exploited as a stylistic tool. In Mary Wollstonecraft’s letters to Imlay, her seasickness and that of her child are used as metaphor and metonymy for her emotional and physical suffering.

Leigh-Michil **George** (Geffen Academy at UCLA) The Overcharged ‘Heart of Sensibility’: Caricature as Sentimental Spectacle in Charles Jenner’s *The Placid Man*

Panel / *Session 56*, ‘New Directions in the Study of Caricature (Eighteenth-Century Literature and Visual Culture Research Network)’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

‘Sensibility’ is a word that does not typically come up when scholars talk about British caricature in the eighteenth century, unless we are discussing how caricature and sensibility are opposed, or how laughter ‘expose[s] the limits of sympathy,’ as Simon Dickie argues in *Cruelty and Laughter*. However, my research shows how late eighteenth-century men and women found a way to affirm their sensibility through looking at and reading about caricatures in

anthologies, like *The Beauties of Sterne*, or sentimental novels, like Charles Jenner's *The Placid Man*, or the *Memoirs of Sir Charles Beville* (1770), where sympathy and ridicule, tears and laughter, are linked, and sometimes on the very same page of a book. My talk will focus on Jenner's *The Placid Man*. At the beginning of the novel, Sir George Beville, a baronet, lives in a comfortable country estate, with his only son, Charles. As Charles enters manhood, Sir George believes that his son's sensibility, his 'innate sensitiveness,' might be at risk. When Sir George discovers his son 'drawing droll caricatura figures ... Nestor in a tie wig, Hector like ancient Pistol, and Paris like a dancing master,' he shares his concerns with Charles's tutor, Mr. Norris. When Norris looks at Charles's drawings he finds them 'very characteristic.' What Sir George doesn't yet understand, but Mr. Norris realizes, is that caricature and 'the knowledge of character' it generates may very well be a path to sensibility, and not a detour from it. Jenner suggests in his novel that Charles's sensibility is whole-hearted, as if tears and laughter are two complementary halves of the sentimental experience.

Jennifer Germann (Ithaca College) *Hidden Figures in the Metropole: Black British Women in Eighteenth-Century Portraiture*

Panel / *Session* 191, 'Women in Forgotten Archives of the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tara Zanardi (Hunter College)

Artists such as Lubaina Himid, Maud Sulter, and the film-maker Amma Asante have actively intervened in art's histories by including Black women in early modern contexts. Women of African descent were few in number in Great Britain but found at all levels of society, from very wealthy heiresses to destitute women seeking poor relief. Some were born in the West Indies, others in London. Some were mixed-race, and a few were the children of two Black parents. While art historians have begun to address the issue of racialized representation, fewer have researched women of African descent as historical figures. Portraits provide a link to these histories; this paper will examine them as a forgotten archive through which Black women's histories can be traced in Georgian Britain. The Portrait of Dido Elizabeth Belle and Lady Elizabeth Murray is perhaps the best-known example of a portrait of a mixed-race woman in Britain, pictured along with her Scottish-Polish cousin. Johann Zoffany's *The Morse and Cator Family* and Francis Cotes's *Miss Frances Lee* are portraits which also picture female subjects of African descent whose names, biographies, and images can be linked. While only affluent women were likely to be featured in a portrait, some mixed-race and Black women were included as attendants alongside white women. These paintings offer less traceable instances of historical women of African descent, as in Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Portrait of Lady Elizabeth Keppel*. These portraits also explore developing ideas about race; therefore, these images also archive what Anne Lafont calls a "long, fumbling era of pictorial and pigmentary development" during which the visual arts joined other fields to produce human hierarchies, including race. In tracing these images and the sitters depicted, this paper will recover the history of some Black women in Great Britain in this era, revealing their place in the capital of the British empire.

Françoise Gevrey (Université de Reims) *L'identité comme arme du combat philosophique dans les Lettres juives du marquis d'Argens*

Panel / *Session* 185, 'Territoires, communautés, appartenances : la question de l'identité individuelle et collective dans les « spectateurs » 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Klaus-Dieter Ertler (Université de Graz)

Les 'Lettres juives' ont paru en Hollande sous forme de périodique (demi-feuille de huit pages d'impression deux fois par semaine le lundi et le jeudi du 12 décembre 1735 au 29 août 1737) avant d'être réunies en volumes de trente lettres environ. Cette périodicité, qui les rapproche du modèle des « spectateurs », leur conférait une efficacité polémique plus grande alors que l'auteur hésitait souvent entre l'essai et le journal dans cette correspondance qui se voulait « philosophique, historique et critique ». Le choix de trois correspondants juifs qui se partagent l'espace géographique européen et oriental au cours de leurs déplacements (deux lettres d'Aaron Monceca sont envoyées d'Édimbourg) permet un décentrement du regard du spectateur sur les nations, les mœurs, les cultures et les religions. La confrontation des identités autorise le combat des idées et une réflexion pyrrhonienne face aux superstitions, l'auteur montrant son attachement au cosmopolitisme des Lumières. D'Argens ne voulait pas être lu

comme un imitateur de Marana ou de Montesquieu. On s'interrogera donc sur l'originalité de l'identité chez celui que Jean Sgard considère comme un « journaliste philosophe ».

Sanae **Ghouati** (Université Ibn Tofail, Kénitra) Denis Diderot un le féministe des Lumières ?

Panel / *Session* 304, 'Lumières, femmes et identités en Orient'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Halima Ouanada (Université de Tunis El Manar)

Le XVIII^{ème} siècle se caractérise par un bouillonnement intellectuel surprenant, animé en particulier par les philosophes des lumières qui, dans leur recherche rationnelle de la vérité et de la liberté ont mené un combat colossal pour la défense des droits de l'homme sur de nombreux terrains. La question féminine aurait dû être incluse dans cette grande lutte contre toute forme d'inégalités sociales. Pourtant, au sein même de cette société philosophique, la femme continuait à être intellectuellement, juridiquement et socialement mineure ; aussi est-elle radiée de tout processus d'évolution politique ou autre. Mais ce qui est surprenant, c'est que cette même société était paradoxalement réglée par des femmes exceptionnelles cultivées, philosophes parfois ou mécènes pour de grandes figures philosophiques masculines. Des femmes fortunées dans leur majorité, célèbre par leur intelligence et leur culture. Leur impact est très grand sur les philosophes car leurs noms reviennent dans les écrits des philosophes et écrivains des Lumières comme Madame Lambert, Mme de Tencin, Mme Geoffrin, Mme du Deffand ou Julie de Lespinasse, pour ne citer que celles-ci. Malgré ce rôle important que ces femmes ont joué dans cette société des lumières, rares sont les philosophes qui ont considéré la femme comme un individu à part entière. Certains ont même exprimé ouvertement leur scepticisme quant à la raison et à la responsabilité de la femme qui feraient d'elle l'égal de l'homme. Dans ce contexte profondément misogyne, quelques voies se démarquent du reste pour dévoiler toutes les injustices que la femme subit depuis des siècles dans un pays qui aspire aux droits humains. L'article « femme » de Condorcet, par exemple, déconstruit toutes les idées fausses et injustes sur la femme. Mais parmi toutes les voix philosophiques masculines, Diderot reste la voix masculine la plus fascinée par le charme et le mystère de la femme. Celui qui lui a consacré un essai important intitulé *Essai sur les femmes*, mais elle occupe une partie de sa correspondance et une grande partie

Kate **Gibson** (University of Manchester) A 'Right Real Bastard': Illegitimacy as Insult in Eighteenth-Century England

Panel / *Session* 172, 'Insults and Gendered Identities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicola Phillips (Royal Holloway, University of London)

This paper examines the impact of insult on the identities and self-esteem of individuals born illegitimate (outside of legal marriage) in eighteenth-century England. Illegitimacy was a category of legal and social exclusion in most European countries in this period, but it is not yet clear how stigma was manifest in society and interpersonal relationships, or how illegitimacy interacted with gender and class identities. Illegitimate identities clashed with the Enlightenment principle of human potential, as individuals had to navigate a world in which their access to selfhood through name, status and property was constrained. This paper looks at the words used to describe illegitimate individuals in defamation cases, letters, diaries and published works, to analyse the impact of insult in policing and demarcating illegitimate identity. Most studies of defamation have examined the role of insult in the policing of gendered sexual behaviour. Laura Gowing, Alexandra Shepard and Robert Shoemaker have all demonstrated the prevalence of insults based on sexual morality in this period. For women and, to a certain extent, for men, transgressions such as extra-marital sex or being the parent of an illegitimate child were publicised and punished through insult, usually performed by neighbours. However, no study has examined whether defamation was used similarly to police the identities of the illegitimate children who resulted from these supposedly transgressive sexual relationships. Historians of illegitimacy have long assumed that synonyms for 'illegitimate' such as 'bastard' were widespread terms of abuse, informed in part by its usage as a pejorative in the twentieth century. There has to date been no systematic study of its meaning or usage in everyday life, and certainly no investigation of the impact of such insults on the identity of illegitimate individuals. Analysis of illegitimate individuals can offer new perspectives on Enlightenment concepts of self-determination and personhood. The extent to which illegitimate individuals were to be associated with and blamed for their status was at the heart of Enlightenment debates about innocence, charity and property.

Eric **Gidal** (University of Iowa) Infrastructural Inversion at Clarens: Saint Preux in the Garden

Panel / *Session 359*, 'Conceptual Rousseau'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Devin Vartija (Utrecht University)

This paper will explore the process of infrastructural inversion, defined by Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star as a strategic foregrounding of the technologies and protocols of knowledge production (Sorting Things Out: Classification and its Consequences [MIT, 1999]), and performed as a rhetorical technique and a principle of environmental reflection in Rousseau's *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*. In both the pastoral utopia of Julie's garden and the agricultural administration of the estate at Clarens, infrastructural inversion provides a critical mechanism for moral education and economic production. In Julie's garden, hydropower technology and bioengineering produce a so-called "artificial wilderness" whose instructional power depends in equal part on illusion and transparency. "I see no human footprints," wonders St. Preux. "Ah!," replies Monsieur de Wolmar, "that is because we have taken great care to erase them." An analogous fusion of deception and revelation informs the paternalistic model of advanced husbandry and resource management guiding the larger estate, a physiocratic model that, as St. Preux explains, "follows the maxim of extracting from the land all it can yield." We can understand such moments of infrastructural inversion as part of Rousseau's wider project in the novel to both solicit and regulate sentiments under the twin standards of freedom and law. We can also practice such inversion ourselves and connect these moments to material systems of global trade, resource extraction, environmental injustice, and agrarian reform. Rousseau's novel and its reception, in particular Schiller's Kantian reading of the novel as the basis for his program of aesthetic education, enable us to apprehend infrastructural connections between ecological transformation and cultural ideology in a globalizing economy.

Linda **Gil** (Université de Montpellier Paul-Valéry) Condorcet et Beaumarchais éditeurs : les Œuvres complètes de Voltaire face à la Révolution française

Panel / *Session 46*, 'Identités de l'éditeur : autour des Œuvres complètes de Voltaire'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

Relayant le projet de Panckoucke d'une édition définitive, autorisée et intégrale des écrits de Voltaire, projet présenté au patriarche à l'automne 1777 et mené, dans un premier temps, avec la collaboration de l'auteur, la Société Littéraire Typographique, fondée et dirigée par Beaumarchais, parvient à réaliser, malgré une série d'obstacles matériels et politiques, ce qui deviendra la première grande édition posthume des Œuvres complètes de Voltaire, imprimée à Kehl entre 1779 et 1789. Condorcet, directeur scientifique de l'édition, ne ménage pas sa peine pendant ces dix années pour établir, préfacier, annoter les écrits de Voltaire. Autour d'eux, des collaborateurs passionnés et dévoués, Jacques Joseph-Marie Decroix et Nicolas Ruault, animent et relaient les décisions des « patrons ». Face aux événements politiques qui marquent cette décennie décisive, les éditeurs réagissent avec des stratégies distinctes, découlant de leur expérience politique. Face à la question des parlements, à la censure, aux événements révolutionnaires, ils réagissent en citoyens, en disciples et en éditeurs. Leur engagement évolue au fil des événements, faisant évoluer la déontologie éditoriale professée dans le Prospectus distribué aux souscripteurs. La très riche archive de cette entreprise éditoriale donne à lire les échos de ces positionnements et les conflits idéologiques qui en découlèrent, ainsi que les interventions et décisions qui modifièrent le projet initial. Cette archive permet de mieux comprendre les traces de l'actualité politique inscrite dans le texte éditorial, en marge des écrits voltairiens. La lecture de ces éléments nous permettra de préciser les portraits de ces figures d'éditeurs qui contribuèrent ainsi à faire de Voltaire le contemporain de la Révolution française.

Steven **Gill** (Malta Study Center, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library) From Field Officer to Civil Authority in Malta: Sir Alexander Ball and his 'Occurrences'

Panel / *Session* 188, 'The French Occupation of Malta, 1798–1800: New Evidence, New Approaches'.
Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Cláudia Garradas (Hill
Museum and Manuscript Library)

The British possession of Malta began with responses to military campaigns waged by the French Republic. Endeavoring to reverse French momentum in Egypt and in the Mediterranean, British naval command viewed Malta as a strategic base of operations that needed to be wrested from French control. Therefore, in 1798 Sir Alexander Ball, a member of Rear-Admiral Horatio Nelson's "band of brothers" (the sobriquet Nelson gave to the circle of captains under his charge during the Egypt campaign), was put in charge of the blockade of Malta and aided in the siege of its major city, La Valletta. In addition to this command, Ball was named civil commissioner and soon gained a persona as liberator of the Maltese from French occupation, which had compounded centuries of unfavorable control by the Knights of St. John.

During his early tenure in Malta, Captain Ball kept a journal from September 1799 to February 1801, in which he logged "occurrences" in the second year of the blockade and siege as well as the months subsequent to the capitulation of the French. Housed in MUŻA-Mużew Nazzjonali tal-Arti (National Museum of Art in Malta) and a recently digitized offering of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (via vHMML) at St. John's University in Minnesota, this journal traces the movement of allied ships, pursuits of French vessels running the blockade, desertions from the besieged city, the construction of defenses, and skirmishes between allied troops and those of the French. Ball's journal also exhibits his interests in tending to the Maltese with regard to food supply, commerce, and law enforcement. It is on these latter interests that this paper will focus. In particular, this presentation will explore Ball's entries in the context of his transition from a primarily military to a largely civic function, with emphases on how and why Ball became popular with the Maltese and why he would be deemed effective in his tenure as civil commissioner.

Arianna **Giorgi** (University of Murcia) Cosmopolitan Identities from Madrid: Fights of Gender and Age in Fashion

Panel / *Session* 78, 'Iberian Material Identities: Clothing Appearances in Contrast'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia)

Abstract not supplied

Simona Zetterberg **Gjerlevsen** (Aarhus University) Eighteenth-Century Danish Nationalism

Panel / *Session* 84, 'Literary Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tine Reeh (University of Copenhagen)

According to political theories like Benedict Anderson's in *Imagined communities* as well as to literary history, national identity emerges at the end of the eighteenth century after the French revolution. Accordingly, nationalism is explained in terms of inward-looking ideas of Romanticism described through Hegel's concept of the national spirit (*Volkgeist*) and Herder's notion of national languages.

In the paper, I wish to take the examination of national identity back to the eighteenth century. I argue that the prefaces to the first novels in Denmark as well as some of the earliest Danish novels as Erik Pontoppidan's *Menoza* (1742-43), Frederik Suhm's *Gyrithe* (1774) bear witness to how ideas of national identity are also present before the romanticism. The consequences of bringing the question of national identity back to the Enlightenment is that the first notions of nationalism are not explainable in terms of the values of Romanticism, but rather through early ideas of globalization, different conceptions of religion and logical reasoning.

Hal **Gladfelder** (University of Manchester) Remembering the (Eighteenth-Century) Castrato

Panel / *Session* 154, 'Songs and Singers'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Annika Windahl Ponten (Uppsala University)

The advent of a new political regime in Italy after the Napoleonic invasions of the 1790s led to decrees banning castrati from the stage and to the closure of the singing academies where they taught. But seventy years later, as an old man, the composer Gioacchino Rossini looked back to the castrati as the last adepts of the art of bel canto. ‘As to the castrati’, Rossini told Richard Wagner in 1860, ‘they vanished, and the usage disappeared in the creation of new customs. That was the cause of the irretrievable decay of the art of singing’. In this paper, I focus on the late eighteenth-century castrato star Gaspare Pacchierotti—friend of the Burneys, and regarded by cognoscenti as the greatest of all the bel canto singers—and on the efforts of the novelist and critic Stendhal to ‘remember’ Pacchierotti’s lost voice. Stendhal never heard Pacchierotti in his prime, but in his 1824 biography of Rossini he declared that the singer’s art reached its apogee in 1778: that is, five years before the writer’s own birth. By analysing Stendhal’s attempt to recreate textually the sensations aroused in those who heard Pacchierotti sing—among them, Rossini, and Charles and Susan Burney—I retrace the origins of that nostalgic yearning for the ‘lost voice’ that has long been a constitutive part of operatic culture: a golden age myth that embodied a more general, uneasy nostalgia for the lost world of the eighteenth-century ancien régime.

Kim Gladu (Université du Québec à Rimouski) *La correspondance d’Octavie Belot ou la parole privée comme engagement citoyen*

Panel / *Session 200*, ‘Écriture de soi et formation des identités féminines 2’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford)

Les écrits d’Octavie Belot (1719-1805) constituent l’un des cas de figure les plus intéressants de l’émergence d’un engagement féminin dans la pensée philosophique et politique de l’époque. De fait, Mme Belot est l’auteure des *Réflexions d’une provinciale sur le discours de monsieur Rousseau, citoyen de Genève* (1756) et des *Observations sur la noblesse et le tiers-état* (1758). Toutefois, c’est sa correspondance, avec Voltaire, Hume, Helvétius, Elizabeth Montagu, François Devaux, Beaumarchais, Benjamin Franklin, Malherbes et d’autres, composée de quelques centaines de lettres dont la plupart demeure inédite, qui nous semble fournir un accès privilégié à la pensée politique et sociale de cette femme de lettres et à la part que prend le geste même d’écrire dans cet engagement, elle qui affirme ainsi « paye[r] du moins [s]on contingent à la société » (*Mélange de littérature anglaise*, 1759, préface du traducteur, p. vi). L’étude que l’on se propose de mener sur cette correspondance mettra par ailleurs en évidence le réseau des correspondants formé autour de Mme Belot et qui témoigne de sa forte participation à la République des Lettres, mais qui peut également être conçu comme une stratégie de légitimation se présentant comme une étape dans le processus de prise de parole publique de Mme Belot et la construction même d’une figure d’auteure engagée.

Corey Goergen (Georgia Institute of Technology) *Excessive Defects / Defective Excesses: Disability and Sexuality in Eliza Haywood’s Fiction*

Panel / *Session 217*, ‘Representing Disability’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Ryan Hanley (University of Bristol)

Disabled author and activist Anne Finger has argued that sexuality remains “the source of [disabled people’s] deepest oppression” (8). Crip theorist Robert McRuer argues that efforts to deny disabled peoples’ sexuality come out of a historical association of disability and sexuality as overlapping sources of “excess.” In this paper, I take seriously McRuer’s unintentional echo of the title of Eliza Haywood’s *Love in Excess* to consider how eighteenth-century notions of sexuality and defect anticipate and frame these modern discourses. When Haywood defends excessive love as, in part, a cure for the physical and mental dangers incurred by “circumscribed passions,” she valorizes the excessive quality of sexuality McRuer suggests becomes denigrated in modernity. But Alexander Pope’s well-known misogynistic satire of Haywood in *The Dunciad* (1728) suggests that other thinkers in the eighteenth century and beyond were happy to associate supposedly excessive sexuality with monstrous bodies. In presenting her as an accumulation of “cow-like udders” and “ox-like eyes,” Pope dismisses her both as the supposed mother of bastards and as a beast. But his stated approbation is as much a response to her seemingly illegitimate literary “works,” which are won along with her hand and her physical offspring in a literal pissing contest. Pope implies that the works, as much as the children, are responsible for disseminating Haywood’s deformed and deforming immorality. In this paper, I consider how Eliza Haywood’s vindication of excessive and even destructive love in two of her novels, *Love in Excess*; or, the *Fatal Enquiry* (1719-1720) and *The Distress’d Orphan*; or *Love in a Madhouse* (1726), and her work of didactic nonfiction,

Reflections on the Various Effects of Love (1726), responds implicitly to the logic undergirding Pope's satire and, in so doing, reveals the long history of both the equation of excessive sexuality and disability and offers fruitful ways of thinking past and challenging such notions.

Sarah Goldsmith (University of Leicester) Weighing Chairs, Exercise Horses, and Cricket Bats: The Apparatus of Eighteenth-Century Physicality

Panel / *Session* 443, 'The Material Body'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Berry (Newcastle University)

Simultaneously understood as a century of gout, excess and luxury and as the period in which the framework for professional sport emerged, the eighteenth century has been perceived to hold an uneasy relationship with physical exertion. Yet a diverse array of sources indicate that men and women exercised their bodies in numerous ways and for numerous reasons. The spectrum of exertion ran the full gamut from hiccupping and laughing to pedestrian footraces and eight-hour hunts. Despite this, very little is known about habits and cultures of physical exercise beyond the brief labels that appeared in eighteenth-century texts and the more abstract discussions that could sometimes accompany them. What these actions actually involved and what demands they did and did not make upon the body remains a rather more vexed question.

This paper investigates the question of eighteenth-century physicality through exploring the material properties and natures of the apparatus and equipment designed, or co-opted, for exercise, sporting pursuits, and for assessing and measuring the body. How heavy was an eighteenth-century fowling piece or fencing foil or tennis racquet? For how long and in what positions were they wielded? What parts of the body did an exercise horse actually exercise? How many cricket bats did an Eton schoolboy go through per term, and what is the significance of this rate of attrition? In examining surviving objects, written references and financial accounts, this paper will seek to map the exertions of the corporeal bodies of eighteenth-century men and women against evidence of wear, tear and destruction of the material environment.

Andreas Golob (University of Graz) Newspapers as Agents of Socio-Political Identity Building in the Habsburg Monarchy at the End of the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 241, 'Publication and Censorship'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ann van Allen-Russell (Trinity Laban, London)

By supplying news, general education, and critical reasoning, the periodical press provided its growing readership with basic and quite easily accessible arguments to rethink individual and corporate identities in society, economy, culture and politics. Especially in dense 'newspaper landscapes', partisan points of view produced a polyphony of possible patterns of socio-political identity formation. Regarding the Habsburg Monarchy, the probably most rewarding situation of this kind occurred in Graz, located 200 kilometres south of Vienna, capital of the duchy of Styria and at the end of the 18th century home to approximately 40,000 inhabitants. In this setting, four newspapers competed for subscribers during a short-lived media boom in the early 1790s. In an era of seemingly general upheaval, each editor tried to come to terms with current socio-political ideas such as human rights, citizenship, or the birth of modern nationalism.

Against this background, the presentation will highlight responses to the heavily disputed legacy of Joseph II.'s reforms as well as to the radicalising revolution in France and their influence on socio-political notions of Styrian as well as Habsburg patriotism, of early German nationalism and of enlightened cosmopolitanism. Besides political, educating and moralistic articles, the changing imagery of the newspapers, especially on their title pages, will be considered. The conservative viewpoints of the official Styrian state printer, displayed in the "Graz Mercury" (Grazer Merkur, 1711–1806) will be confronted with the perspective of "Graz News" (Grätzer Zeitung, since 1785), edited by a convinced Josephinist and suspect in the trials against the Styrian 'Jacobins'. "Graz Citizen News" (Gräzer Bürgerzeitung, 1792–1796), stands for an elitist draft of citizenship, whereas "Graz Peasant News" (Grazer Bauernzeitung, 1786–1796, temporarily banned in 1792) heralds the advent of political participation on a broad basis.

Sandra **Gómez Todó** (University of Iowa) 'O! Charming Coverlid for Vice, in which the Church is always nice': Female Identity, Illicit Sexuality, and 'Fair' Nuns in the Eighteenth-Century Masquerade

Panel / *Session* 367, 'Female Fashioning and Self-Fashioning'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

The erotization of nuns became a widely disseminated theme in eighteenth-century visual culture. The titillating aura surrounding the behavior and liberty of novices, as inexperienced and enclosed young women, led to a torrent of salacious and sardonic depictions, which infiltrated the rising culture of the masquerade. Women disguised as nuns or cross-dressed as friars rapidly populated masked balls, deemed as suitable scenarios for illicit behavior and the subversion of moral boundaries. The overlapping of these cultural discourses resulted in an iconographic model of religious figures as protagonists of voyeuristic and erotic scenes.

Prostitutes and courtesans, regular masquerade-goers, played on the risqué and libidinous connotations of the costume to allure their clients. Within popular culture and pleasure milieus, the figure of the nun stood for that of the prostitute, with bawdy houses characterized as nunneries and brothel mistresses as abbesses. Such a phenomenon was substantially exploited by the print culture surrounding masquerading. Even if associated with harlotry, upper-class female masqueraders appropriated this religious identity as well to satisfy the performative and playful demands of the masquerade. The display of pretended piety and modest fairness acted as inviting enticements that defined the character of the nun, connecting this traditionally chaste female figure with sexual readiness and flirtation. In the case of women in the guise of friars, the act of crossdressing conveyed in itself a higher degree of boldness and unruliness. Masquerade portraiture recorded these self-fashioning strategies, which became the hallmark of renowned female libertines.

This paper will explore the construction of female identity in the eighteenth-century masquerade, along with women's negotiation of their sexuality through image-making within social and moral boundaries. By examining the eroticizing iconography of nuns and friars in visual culture, I will determine the different ways in which this self-fashioning and cross-dressing practices operated for courtesans and elite women, epitomizing the role of the masquerade as a space for female agency.

Caroline **Gonda** (St Catharine's College, Cambridge) Labels, Plaques, and Identity Categories: Finding the Words for Anne Lister

Panel / *Session* 284, 'The Crises of Queer Identities'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 6, Crystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Lisa Freeman (University of Illinois, Chicago)

I would like to discuss the recent unveiling of the York LGBT History plaque celebrating Anne Lister, and the reception of this. The BBC news headline is "Plaque in York honours 'first modern lesbian' Anne Lister"; in contrast, the text of the plaque describes Lister as a "Gender non-conforming entrepreneur" and notes her marital commitment to AnnWalker in the church where the plaque is situated. I want to think about labelling and identity categories in the current political climate, and their implications for teaching stories such as Lister's.

Amanda **Goodrich** (Open University) Hunted Like a Jacobin Fox: The Force of Pitt's 'Terror' in Sheffield, 1793–95

Panel / *Session* 107, 'IHR British History in the Long Eighteenth Century Panel: The Force of the State, 1789–1819'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Steve Poole (University of the West of England)

In 1794 the full force of the state was unleashed on Sheffield radicals suspected of treason and engagement with a revolutionary conspiracy. The government, the Home Office, king's messengers, local lords lieutenant, magistrates, solicitors, constables, publicans, customs officers, militia and the military were all engaged to hunt down the Sheffield men. This involved dawn raids to arrest plebeian cutlers and mechanics in their beds. Interrogations followed by magistrates, solicitors and the Privy Council. Reports were prepared by secret committees of both houses of

parliament and cases were constructed by the Treasury Solicitor and crown prosecutors. The revolutionary leader in Sheffield, Henry Redhead Yorke, fled Sheffield, and was pursued across the country, finally arrested on a boat to Hamburg. All this zealous activity is recorded in a complex web of papers and letters to and from the Home Office. This paper examines the extraordinary power and organisation of the government both central and local in pursuing these 'Jacobins'.

Masahide **Goto** (Saga University) Jacobi's Philosophical Novels and His Unique Writing Style

Panel / *Session* 364, 'Enlightenment Style: Strategic Use of Fiction for Persuasion and Entertainment'.

Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Masaaki Takeda (University of Tokyo)

Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743-1819) is known as the person who encouraged the transformation of philosophical thought from the Enlightenment to German idealism (German classical philosophy) through the Pantheism Controversy with Mendelssohn and the Atheism Dispute with Fichte. Jacobi was a philosopher of dialogue and controversy. Philosophical writing is originally established through the process of dialogue. Nevertheless, if we consider the systematic writing in the published work as the final form of thought, we may overlook the multileveled dialogue that exists in the background of those writings and misunderstand it as a monologue. In this respect, Jacobi's philosophical works were an interesting case where the dialogue and controversy penetrate inside the book. The reason why the text of Jacobi had a unique form incorporating letters, quotes, appendices is related to this point.

The famous "Spinoza Letter" (1785) was a book born from the letters exchanged with Moses Mendelssohn. "Jacobi to Fichte" (1799) was also based on the letters to Fichte that were circulated among intellectuals in Jena. Jacobi's writings were not written for the general public or for university lectures, but rather for a specific person. Jacobi wrote two philosophical novels before "Spinoza Letter", namely, "Alville" (1775-1792) and "Voldemar" (1777-1796). These two writings are epistolary novels and fictional dialogues and formed the prototype of Jacobi's unique writing style. Jacobi's conversational writing style and philosophy are in a deep connection. In this case, the interactive style of narration was chosen to emphasize an individual's own life, not humans in general. In this study, I analyze these two philosophical novels of Jacobi in particular, and I clarify the reason why he chose such a unique style of writing.

Felicia **Gottmann** (Northumbria University) Trans-National Merchant Networks and State Institutions: The 1750s Prussian East India Companies as Nodes

Panel / *Session* 140, 'Marchands sans frontières? Cultures, Networks, and Identities of Early Modern Capitalists 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Filipa Ribeira da Silva (International Institute of Social History)

This paper explores the various networks of Dutch, British, Flemish, Frisian, Prussian and other Germanophone merchants involved in the short-lived Prussian Asiatic Companies trading to China and Bengal in the 1750s that operated out of the Prussian port of Emden located on what is now the German-Dutch border. Employing biography, prosopography, and social network analysis, this paper analyses the mobility of these merchants and their investments across national and monopoly-company boundaries, carefully tracing their activities across local and national archives in Britain, Germany, Belgium, the US, and the Netherlands. The resulting picture strengthens the case of recent scholarship that challenges the persistent image of chartered monopoly companies – and by extension European commercial and imperial expansion – as purely national enterprises. However, it also demonstrates that the pervasive assumption that 'merchants have no country' does not hold, either. Instead a close study of the networks that intersected in the 1750s Emden Companies reveals the complex and mutually beneficial relationship between merchant-networks and local, national, and imperial governments.

Marion **Gouget** (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne) L'identité du sujet et la connaissance des objets extérieurs dans le Traité des sensations de Condillac

Panel / *Session* 371, 'La quête de l'identité après Locke. Ou comment être empiriste au siècle des Lumières'.
Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Brunet-Fontaine
(Université d'Ottawa / Université Paris X, Nanterre)

L'idée d'identité, et plus particulièrement d'un sujet identique à travers les changements et distinct d'une réalité extérieure, est à la fois une notion problématique dans sa constitution et importante dans le cheminement du *Traité des sensations* (1754) de Condillac. L'idée d'identité semble à première vue peu considérée pour elle-même au cours du *Traité*. Néanmoins, la question de la considération qu'a la statue d'elle-même au fur et à mesure de l'ouverture de ses sens et de la génération de ses connaissances revient tout au long de l'ouvrage. Et en effet, on peut se demander comment la statue, adhérant tout d'abord successivement à chacune de ses sensations (elle est odeur de rose), en vient à se considérer elle-même comme un sujet à part entière, comme quelque chose d'identique à travers la succession de ses sensations. Cela manifeste non seulement le statut donné à la notion d'identité mais ce que cela implique concernant le rapport du sujet percevant à ses perceptions. Bien plus, la notion du moi, non seulement comme sujet percevant mais comme homme constitué d'un corps et d'une âme, joue un rôle fondamental dans la constitution de l'idée d'objet extérieur à partir du sens du toucher. Cela invite à se poser deux questions : selon quelle modalité le toucher nous donne-t-il l'idée d'un moi unifiant le corps et l'âme ? ; et quel rôle cette idée va-t-elle jouer dans la constitution de l'extériorité ? Or, s'il s'agit principalement dans le *Traité des sensations* de mettre au jour la génération de nos connaissances à partir de la sensation, cette entreprise s'inscrit dans le projet plus global de Condillac de penser une méthode permettant l'acquisition d'une science objective. On peut ainsi s'interroger sur le rôle de la constitution de l'identité du sujet connaissant et du moi dans la considération du statut de l'objet extérieur et donc de la possibilité de le connaître.

Rachel **Gould** (Vanderbilt University) *By Way of the Genie: Mediating Subjectivity in Frances Sheridan's 'The History of Nourjahad'*

Panel / *Session* 233, 'Mediating Fictions'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (Mansfield College, Oxford)

Few entities thrill like a genie, that unpredictable being of fire and smoke adapted into British literature from Arabic lore. As an intermediary figure that moves between the spiritual and earthly realms, a genie invites wonder at the immediacy and unrestrained possibility with which it acts. However, this emphasis risks reducing the genie to little more than an exotic apparatus that generates spectacles and overlooks how eighteenth century authors use genii as a formal element of narrative in oriental tales. In this paper, I examine how Frances Sheridan deploys a genie in "The History of Nourjahad" (1767) to argue that genii mediate questions of subjectivity and society. In her tale, Sheridan demonstrates a masterful understanding of a genie's ability to grant wishes and of its unlimited power when she hoodwinks both her protagonist and her readers by creating a fake genie whose staged appearance in the beginning of the tale provides the catalyst for much of the plot. Using this fake genie to simulate a migration of her protagonist, and by extension her readers, across time, Sheridan demonstrates that individuals come to know themselves through reflection on how their actions both influence and are in turn thwarted by others. Through the reveal of the ruse at the end of the story, Sheridan invites readers to examine how individual wishes manifest in society by prompting reflection on how the actions emanating from a wish mirror back on and redefine the original actor. I argue, therefore, that by using a genie, Sheridan depicts both an individual's action and inaction as participating in a social exchange that is driven by social and political fictions that determine subjectivity.

Freya **Gowrley** (University of Edinburgh and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)
Collage before Modernism? Periodization, Gender, and Eighteenth-Century Women's Collage

Panel / *Session* 86, 'Making Women: Creative Constructions and Material Knowledge'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennie Batchelor (University of Kent)

In the essay 'Collage: A Brief History', Dawn Ades writes that 'when Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque started gluing bits to their pictures in 1912, this had nothing to do with long-standing popular past-times like pasting cut out images onto fire screens, and everything to do with art'. Ades' statement is typical of existing histories of collage, which tend

to figure the genre as the result of modernist innovation, as opposed to a medium with a long and distinctive history. Crucially, the quotation also reinforces a number of entrenched hierarchies within art history: differences between 'high' and 'low' art forms; divisions of modern and pre-modern; and, most crucially, the gendered separation between artist and amateur. Yet these categorical distinctions pose fundamental questions about the nature of art itself, prompting considerations of how art is defined, of the identities and motivations of those who make it, and of why certain objects have been consistently overlooked by art history.

This paper has two aims, firstly to provide a detailed examination of collage made by women in the long eighteenth-century, arguing for its centrality as a mode of female artistic expression during this period. Secondly, it will identify periodization as a central evaluative and organisational methodology within art history, arguing that the strict distinction drawn between collage made before and after 1912 is central to the explicitly gendered ways in which collage has been conceptualized, and often dismissed. The paper will address and trouble this sharp division by framing it in terms of the gendered disentanglement of art from craft, whilst highlighting the productive possibilities of a transhistorical approach to collage, which fully takes women's production of the genre in the long eighteenth century into account.

Dragana **Grbic** (Slavisches Institut der Universität zu Köln) Identity Markers of the 'Balkan Enlightenment'

Panel / *Session* 196, 'Balkan Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Baramova (St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia)

This paper is part of a broader research project and focuses on one aspect missing in the contemporary debates on whether there was only one "Enlightenment Project", or many different versions of it.

There is a very complex issue about the label such as the "Balkan Enlightenment". Does the term "Balkan Enlightenment" seem to be an oxymoron? Even more so, could it be considered a provocation, as at the beginning of the 19th century, the Enlightenment became an idiom of rebellion in the Balkans? Did the "Balkan Enlightenment" actually exist? If yes, when and where did it take place, and within which geographical area, religious context or linguistic frame? Should it not be more accurate to label it as the "South East European Enlightenment" or even the "South Slavic Enlightenment"?

The terminology issue reflects the multiple strands of conversations that cohered around the poetical questions of the epoch and sheds the light on the complex and often contradictory processes of the Enlightenment that were at work in the Balkans during the 18th and 19th centuries. By acknowledging the linguistic, national and religious differences between the Enlightenment thinkers and their multitudinous, often conflicting intellectual traditions, we have attempted to recognize the identity markers of the Balkan Enlightenment and to define the key words that would sum up the characteristics of the Enlightenment Project arising on the margins of the 18th century Europe.

Having recognized how the multiple and conflicting terms of identity affected the works of the representatives of the Balkan Enlightenment, we argue that they belonged not only to one specific geographical region or one nation but rather that they, with their knowledge and language competence, were the members of the international Republic of Letters and the cosmopolitan society of the Age of Reason.

Ashley **Greathouse** (University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music) Staging Taste and Class: The Cultural Omnivore in the Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Garden

Panel / *Session* 454, 'Enlightenment Spaces'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Fritz (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

In his Review of the State of the British Nation of 25 June 1709, Daniel Defoe divides English people into seven categories, ranging from "the great, who live profusely" to "the miserable, that really pinch and suffer want." The turn of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of Defoe's third social category: "the middle sort," who "live the best, and consume the most . . . and with whom the general wealth of this nation is found." Recognizing the potential to profit from the newfound wealth of the "middle sort," entrepreneurs developed new leisure activities—including visits to pleasure gardens—to appeal to this market.

Defoe's social strata may be interrogated via twentieth-century theories of taste and class. In his study of 1960s France, Pierre Bourdieu finds that people with high economic and cultural capital dominate determinations of what constitutes taste, and they distinguish themselves from those of lower status through the exclusivity of their tastes. Contrastingly, in studies of the U.S. in the 1980s and 90s, Richard Peterson and his colleagues find that, while people with higher economic and cultural capital are more likely to enjoy elite-associated activities and entertainment, they are also more likely to be cultural omnivores—with eclectic tastes—than those of lower status.

The eighteenth-century English pleasure garden was a hotbed for social emulation, where people of high and low status could mix freely. Portraying transgressions of social class, Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* reflected aspects of this new environment, and was one of the most frequently performed works in the gardens. In this newly commercialized atmosphere, the tensions articulated by Defoe were enacted not only in performances of works such as *La serva padrona*, but also in the activities of audiences. The pleasure gardens provide a glimpse at eighteenth-century cultural omnivorism, one that challenges assumptions that taste was determined by elites and delineated by social class.

Edmund Green (Independent Scholar) The Remarkable Frequency of Voting: Electoral Participation across Metropolitan London, 1700–1832

Panel / *Session 377*, 'New Light on Political Participation in Eighteenth-Century England: Voting, Ballads, Speeches, and Emotional Mobilisation'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King's College London)

The paper assesses the scale and frequency of popular electoral participation in the eighteenth-century metropolis. Although before 1832 'greater' London was under-represented in parliament in terms of its overall population size, yet in practice the metropolis saw far more electoral contests than almost anywhere else in the country. Thousands of voters participated in elections, in the era of 'open voting', when voters cast their vote in person and in public.

The capital's four parliamentary constituencies had the largest active electorates in the country. The City of London had an electorate of 8,000; Westminster had up to 12,000 electors; meanwhile Southwark and the county of Middlesex each had about 3,000 electors. Moreover parliamentary elections were not the only opportunities for electoral participation. The City of London's Liverymen, who constituted the parliamentary electorate, voted to elect the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, Chamberlains, and the Bridge Masters. These elections were theoretically annual, but in practice the powerful claims of incumbency restricted active electoral participation to the opportunities afforded by acknowledged vacancies. Meanwhile the freeholders of Middlesex, the very men who returned their MPs, also elected their Coroners on the occasion of a vacancy.

Finally, there was participation in local 'street politics': male householders in the City of London voted in local government elections, in the annual wardmotes to elect the Common Councilmen, and, at times of an acknowledged vacancy, to elect the Alderman of their wards.

Sayre Greenfield (University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg) 'Ackermann's Repository of Arts' and 'Emma' (Co-presented with Dorothea Lint, University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg)

Panel / *Session 342*, 'Old and New: Jane Austen's Engagement with Contemporary Society'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Janet Aikins Yount (University of New Hampshire)

A source for characters, plot points, and themes in Jane Austen's "Emma" is a letter from "Ackermann's Repository of Arts" for 1813. The supposedly autobiographical material in this letter parallels Jane Fairfax's life in particular, and the letter expresses attitudes toward old maids that appear in Emma Woodhouse's debate with Harriett Smith. The letter is interesting in its own right, too, as it discusses sources of income for young women and proposes a dating service that relies on portraits of them, another link to Austen's plotting. The paper also considers Austen's 1813 visits to London art galleries to study portraits of women and to London shops advertised in "Ackermann's."

Flavio **Gregori** (Ca' Foscari University of Venice) Between Stoicism and Skepticism: The Unhappiness of the 'Beautiful Soul' in Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling*

Panel / Session 260, 'Comedy; Morality; Sentiment: Mid-Eighteenth-Century Literature'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leigh-Michil George (Geffen Academy at UCLA)

"Why shrinks the soul, | Back on herself, and startles at destruction?" thus exclaims Addison's Cato, in his monologue before taking his own life. The soul, in his opinion, is "the divinity that stirs within us," that –"secured in her existence"– defies the dagger that will kill the man within whom she dwells. "Indifferent in his choice to sleep or die," Cato expresses his Stoic attitude that declares the ataraxia of the good man and the existence or possibility of higher world of morality. But what is man's true destiny if no Stoic "order of the world" can be found in the actual disorder of the present political/social/cultural environment, nor in anybody else's aspirations? According to G.W.F. Hegel, Stoicism and skepticism are two opposite reactions to the divergence between one's inner aspirations and beliefs on the one hand, and the Quixotic struggle with the prosaic reality of the world, on the other.

The paper will investigate that divergence, and the split between the "beautiful soul" (Hegel's expression to indicate the desire to obtain morality in the absolute immediacy of one's life and the fear to lose such a morality in the actual world) and the "prose of the world", in Henry Mackenzie's "The Man of Feeling". The story of its protagonist, Harley, shows the impossibility of attaining happiness in a world that is impenetrable to the naive man's attempts to influence it with its immediate kindness. Also, Harley's propensity to find confirmation of his own morality in others' opinions is often discouraged, ending up in a resigned version of skepticism. "The world will 'smile, and smile, and be a villain', " the Mackenzie's narrator observes, "and the youth who does not suspect its deceit will be content to smile with it." That quotation from Hamlet serves Mackenzie to expose the resignation of his "beautiful character" who is unable to find beauty in the world, thus losing the world and allowing the soul to shrink back on herself and "startle at destruction."

Denis **Grélé** (University of Memphis) Constructing a Sensual Paradise: The Utopian Stronghold of Félicia ou mes fredaines

Panel / Session 104, "Enlightened' Vagabondage and Nostalgic Chauvinism: Eighteenth-Century Exiles, Derelicts, and Émigrés' Reflections on Regional and National Identity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gabor Gelleri (Aberystwyth University)

France in the 18th century seems to be a prolific ground for libertine novels. In this long list of texts, *Félicia ou mes fredaines* (1776), written by the Chevalier André-Robert Andréa de Nerciat, stands out as a testimony on the life of many "filles du monde" (women of ill repute). This novel, which ends happily for the main character, can be read as a guide for any beautiful woman who wants to prosper in life through prostitution. Félicia presents herself as an emancipated young woman who is able to live freely because, in part, of the liberal world in which she evolves. Far from texts such as *Dom Bougre, Portier des chartreux* (Gervaise de la Touche 1740), famous for its account of the supposed corruption of religious orders, or *La Messaline française* (An., 1789) which describes the fantasized excess of the court of Louis XVI, Nerciat's *Félicia ou mes fredaines* is the cheerful story of a successful libertine woman which Raymond Trousson will call a "utopie sexuelle" (sexual utopia). Rather than trying to convince the reader of those pseudo memoirs to avoid a dissolute life, Félicia constitutes an ideal model to find a form of peace and contentment based on values that are redefining a new aristocracy.

The most striking endeavor to build a joyful community stands in the description of a castle at the end of the text. In this place, created for the pleasures of its occupants, equality between genders and nationalities is constructed on the assumption that, in nature, all human beings are equal. Separated from the rest of the world by walls and, in the inside, structured by a strict partition between masters and servants, the castle constitutes an autonomous enclosure, free from the rules of tradition and the morals of religion. Yet, the isolation in which the community lives and its internal structure negates the free spirited foundation on which it is erected. The goal of this presentation is to explore how the utopian libertine model presented by Nerciat epitomizes the French cultural paradox of a segregated elitist community with the liberal principle of equality.

Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University) 'Ye lovers of freedom, attend to my song': Eighteenth-Century Election Ballads in Newcastle upon Tyne

Panel / *Session 377*, 'New Light on Political Participation in Eighteenth-Century England: Voting, Ballads, Speeches, and Emotional Mobilisation'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King's College London)

Eighteenth-century elections were raucous affairs, bombarding both those who had the vote and those who did not with a surfeit of stimuli for all the senses. There could be banners and cockades, beer and cake, petitions and speeches. Contested elections were when the press was most active, particularly in provincial boroughs and the towns serving larger county constituencies. Local newspapers reported on each twist and turn in the long electoral process, and handbills, pamphlets and pasquinades flew off the presses.

This paper will look at one particular product of the provincial press, the election song or ballad, produced in astonishingly large numbers at the time of contested elections. The focus will be on the three elections that took place in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1774, 1777 and 1780. (It was otherwise a largely uncontested seat.) Looking at these songs first as print artefacts, I will be asking what they reveal about the nature of political debate, and who such debates included. But I will also be considering these documents as the basis for performance. I want to ask whether these songs were designed to be read, or sung, or both. A sample of songs has been carefully researched, matching tunes to text, and singers have been employed to record them. I will be reflecting on what this kind of research can reveal about the songs, and about the relationship between print and politics in the provinces.

Eloise Grey (University of Aberdeen) Scottish Gentry Experience of Race in Colonial Spaces: A History of Emotions Approach

Panel / *Session 101*, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 1: White Masculinity and Colonial Encounters'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Soile Ylivuori (University of Helsinki)

This paper uses History of Emotions methodologies to explore race in the British Empire from the Americas to India between 1760 and 1840. The study is part of a doctoral project on a Scottish gentry archive featuring correspondence between younger sons and their families in Aberdeenshire. Encounters with other peoples: slaves in the Carolinas and relationships with native women in India feature in the sources. In the case of an Indian concubine, first person correspondence remains. The larger project considers the role of emotional disposition as an important marker of status, and even, in the Bourdieuan sense, a form of capital. This intersects with scholarship on politeness and sociability, and also combines with more religiously-inflected performative displays. The social display that enabled inclusion in the social group was a correct performance of emotion, which was informed by contemporary norms of sociability and religion. History of Emotions methodologies are also helpful in analysing emotional language describing racial others.

This paper argues that the emotional state of racial others was frequently remarked upon, in relation to these Scottish sojourners, and therefore was of value. At the same time, there was anxiety about the influence of other races and climates on the emotional disposition of these sojourning sons, as embodied in the figure of the Nabob. In some ways, the 'other' facilitated a discourse of difference of emotional disposition and hence became a means of delineating and reinforcing a correct colonial emotional disposition. Children of Indian women needed to be sent to Scotland before it was 'too late' and thus provide a complicating element. The dangers were expressed both in terms of complexion and in terms of religion and in some ways these could be mitigated by being socialised and educated in Scotland. In this way a correct emotional disposition could be acquired.

Rhianne Grieve (Australian National University) The Intersection of Political and Medical Thought in Early British Socialism

Panel / *Session 143*, 'Medical Thought and Practice'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rose Hilton (Sheffield Hallam University)

Charles Hall (1739 – 1825) is a rarely studied contributor to the intellectual development of British socialist thought. A deeply compassionate man, he was a physician who devoted much of his long life to treating the poorest in the West Counties of England. In 1805, Hall published a work of political philosophy titled 'The Effects of Civilisation on the People in European States'. In its preface, he declared that his many decades treating the ailments of the poor made him most suited to write on political subjects.

Hall, first and foremost, identified as a physician. Despite this, there have been no studies on the influence of medicine on his political thinking. Educated at the University of Edinburgh between 1763 and 1765, Hall studied under Alexander Monro secundus, William Cullen, and Robert Whytt, all of whom helped introduce vitalist approaches to the human body and the processes of disease to the Edinburgh curriculum. This paper will demonstrate that their theories were critical to Hall's contributions to a set of fraught political, economic, and social debates pertaining to population increase, the causes of scarcity, and the division and conditions of labour. In addition, the paper will examine how medicine shaped the dynamics of the model society Hall devised as requisite for human flourishing and happiness; the so-called 'medium state'.

While Hall's conclusions and proposals were dismissed by contemporaries, and indeed derided constituting a fundamental misunderstanding of the doctrines of Adam Smith, socialist and communitarian writers celebrated 'The Effects'. The followers of Robert Owen half a century later lauded the work as a comprehensive examination of the errors deep within commercial societies.

Standing at the meridian of medical and political spheres, Hall possessed a unique lens with which to examine the causes of poverty. By taking Hall at his word, that he wrote from the perspective of a physician, this paper will examine the intersection of medicine and politics in his thinking. More broadly, it will reflect on how this approach adds to our understanding of Hall's contribution to British socialism.

Michael **Griffin** (University of Limerick) Providence and Empire: The Poetries of Oliver Goldsmith and John Ogilvie

Panel / *Session* 116, 'Oliver Goldsmith's Enlightenment Identities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David O'Shaughnessy (Trinity College Dublin)

Oliver Goldsmith studied medicine in Edinburgh in the years 1752–54. In the midst of his studies in that city was published *The Day of Judgement* by John Ogilvie (1732–1813), a young Church of Scotland minister. Ogilvie's other major poem published during Goldsmith's lifetime was *Providence* (1764). Both poems have certain resonances in Goldsmith's first great poem *The Traveller; or, A Prospect of Society*, which was his most politically engaged poem before *The Deserted Village* of 1770. In this paper I will consider the occasionally personal but primarily poetic relationship between these authors.

Goldsmith's career as a writer began in the thick of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the first major global struggle for empire. His critical and poetic writings, while often informed by a somewhat conservative notion of providence, were actually notably anti-imperialist. While Goldsmith recommended in his *Poems for Young Ladies* (1767) parts of Ogilvie's early poetry dealing in matters of providence, he diverged in his own work from Ogilvie's celebrations of Britain's imperial ascendancy. The connections between Goldsmith and Ogilvie, their cultural crossings in Edinburgh and their more personal encounters in the midst of Johnson's circle in the mid-1760s will be explored. Their literary convergences and divergences yield some new insights into intersections of poetry and political identification in the 1760s and the 1770s.

Victoria **Grigorieva** (Science Park Puschino) Edinburgh's Identity Honoured: The City Language in Robert Fergusson's Poems in Scots

Panel / *Session* 49, 'Language and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

In the 18th century Edinburgh was a great center of Enlightened thought and discourse as most distinguished scientists worked here. At the same time this century was a significant period of change after the Union of Parliament,

two Jacobite rebellions and serious discussions about Scottish language and traditions. English language was spoken, English dress was being adopted, a construction of the New Town, different from the Old Town in style, view and motion, was put into life. In the period of massive expansion of new habits was Edinburgh changing its identity, was it speaking a different language?

Robert Fergusson (1750-1774), a famous Scottish poet, wrote his poems in both English and Scots. But for his works about Edinburgh life he chose a traditional Scottish rhythm 'Standard Habbie' and Scots, the language of national poetry. He became a creator of an "Edinburgh text", "Edinburgh poem". Addressing Edinburgh in Scots as "Auld Reekie" in his poems he stressed that he glorified a city of great Scottish history and tradition. At the same time, he wrote about modern Edinburgh life – his poems about major city events appeared in the popular Ruddiman's "The Weekly Magazine". They seemed almost like feature articles: if we look at the date of their publication, we understand that Fergusson's poems appeared quite soon after the described town events, we can see a picture of modern Edinburgh life: "The Daft Days", "The Rising of the Session", "The Election". In the period of coming English traditions Fergusson declared Scots a modern poetic language as part of 18th century Edinburgh's identity.

In his poems Fergusson presented Edinburgh as a great ancient city with images of "Pheb", "Phetida" and "Babylon", also reflecting voices of Scotland (northern Aberdeen speech, Gaelic in the words of the black guard). In his poetic works Fergusson showed Edinburgh as a modern Scottish city where the distinctive rhythm, language and voice become essential parts of its identity.

Claire **Grogan** (Bishop's University) The Challenges of Political Caricature: Identifying the Women in Contrasted Opinions of Paine's Pamphlet (May 26 1791)

Panel / *Session* 133, 'Gothic Horrors, Catholic Undertones, and Political Caricature: Archival Riches of the Lewis Walpole Library'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Clarke (University of Liverpool)

When Thomas Paine's Rights of Man, Part One appeared in print (March 13, 1791) few anticipated the dramatic impact it was going to have on political thought and debate in the Western world. Though hindsight has allowed modern readers to claim it as the basis of modern socialism (E. P. Thomson) or as "One of the Books that Shook the World" (Christopher Hitchens) there was less consensus amongst its very first readers. Political caricatures helped shape public opinion about Paine's revolutionary ideas.

One of the earliest political caricatures in response to Paine, entitled Contrasted Opinions of Paine's Rights of Man, appeared on May 26, 1791. Unlike the government financed caricature by James Gillray, "The Rights of Man: or Tommy Paine, the Little American Taylor ..." published three days earlier, in which Paine's person and former trade as a staymaker is ridiculed, Contrasted Opinions invites the viewer to read and consider the actual words of Paine's work. It suggests that opinion remains divided as how best to respond to his text. "Contrasted Opinions of Paine's Pamphlet" depicts eight paired public figures whose gesticulations and articulations (in speech bubbles) provide a variety of responses, from exultation to disgust. It is a fascinating caricature not only because it offers a glimpse of a more open and varied response to Paine's work, but also because one of the pairings depicts two genteel women. While one of the readers is recognisably Queen Charlotte, I wish to challenge the identification of the other woman as Hannah More. Political positioning, personal friendships, and textual evidence will direct us to Mary Wollstonecraft as the more likely model for the second woman.

Carola **Groppe** (Helmut-Schmidt-University, Hamburg) Enlightenment as a Context of Socialization: The Case of the Prussian Reformers

Panel / *Session* 223, 'Civic Education'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

It is obvious that most of the Prussian reformers, from Karl August von Hardenberg (one of the older Reformers, born 1750) to Barthold Georg Niebuhr (one of the youngest, born 1776), were raised in an environment where the Enlightenment was already part of everyday life. But what does it mean to experience the Enlightenment as a context of socialization? The presentation will explain in three contrasting case studies how learning and teaching at home

and at school, discussion groups with friends at universities and being part of enlightened societies formed a specific identity. In particular, it contained ideas about the predictability of state and society, about the reasonably rational thinking of all people who had access to education, and about the desirability of transboundary life forms and intellectual contacts.

The presentation analyzes the socialization process of Karl August von Hardenberg (1750-1822), of Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831) and of the general of the Prussian army, August Neidhardt von Gneisenau (1760-1831), until they became part of the group of Prussian reformers in 1806/07 (a group of more than 70 men which I am currently investigating for a collective biography of the Prussian reformers). Their personal relationship to Enlightenment was nevertheless ambivalent. They saw themselves as statesmen, bureaucrats and officers who would perfect and overcome the epoch of Enlightenment at the same time.

What is really surprising in the contemporary documents of the reformers is how little there is any talk of Prussian patriotism. Rather, they understood themselves as world citizens whose task it was to turn Prussia into a showpiece laboratory of the modern world. In addition, many of the later reformers had spent at least part of their socialization processes in other German or European countries or were totally raised outside of Prussia. Concentrated on three short case studies and with an outlook on other Prussian reformers, the presentation will argue that their identities remained much closer linked to the European intellectual and social world of the second half of the 18th century than so far perceived.

Frank **Grunert** (Martin-Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) Natural Law vs. 'Reine Rechtslehre'.
The Legacy of Enlightenment in Hans Kelsen's Law Theory

Panel / *Session* 10, 'Enlightened Identities in the Weimar Republic'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Avi Lifschitz (University of Oxford)

Abstract not supplied

Katarzyna **Grzymała** (Polish Academy of Sciences) Republican Identity of the Polish Nobility (szlachta) in Rousseau's *Considerations on the Government of Poland*

Panel / *Session* 404, 'National and Political Identities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

The last political book of Rousseau, an oeuvre that is often found the least 'rousseauian' of all his works, contains numerous passages on the character of the Poles, recommendations for the education of the Polish youth as well as emphatic exhortations to protect the uniqueness of the national character against the outer influences. Rousseau praises 'love of liberty', bravery and many other features that, as he believes, are characteristic to the republican identity of the Polish nobility (szlachta) which enjoys 'golden liberty', a system of extensive personal privileges and political prerogatives of all nobles regardless their financial status. However, by 1770, when Count Michał Wielhorski, an emissary of the confederates of Bar, persuaded Rousseau to draft the reform project, the same political system of Poland had become a ground for anarchy, corruption and progressive decay of the state. Degenerations such as egoistic pursuit of private interest by representatives and notorious misuse of personal freedoms and political prerogatives are popularly believed to be a major reason for the countrywide crisis. In *Considerations* Rousseau demonstrates, however, surprisingly optimistic view of perspective of curing the maladies of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The condition for the success of the reforms is cultivation of strong republican identity within the nation.

The paper will seek to reconstruct knowledge Rousseau could have had on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its citizens. It will contain a short presentation of the materials he received from Count Michał Wielhorski and letters between the two. The paper will also attempt to answer the question of whether the remedies prescribed by Rousseau were relevant to the political and cultural reality of Poland of that time.

Niu Guanjie (Renmin University of China) **The Construction of Dual Frontiers of Qing Empire: Focused on the Chasing Deserters Movement in the Yongzheng Period**

Panel / *Session* 322, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 2 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

From Nanbu County Archives in Yongzheng period (1723-1735), we found a very interesting thing that the local government received many edicts issued by Yongzheng emperor which was continually in pursuit of Han deserter, from the frontier battlefield to inland region. This chasing deserter movement persisted through the whole Yongzheng reign, till his successor, Qianlong emperor. The deserters escaped to their hometown or other inland region. The fugitive was a very serious social problem in the early Qing, in the beginning of Manchu rulers came into inland. Accordingly, the government made a serious plan to control and punish the fugitive. However, almost one hundred years later, the Qing empire already established the identity of the empire inland and expanded her territory to other ethnic groups. Why the court spared no effort to chase Han deserters at this time? This article will answer above question, and analyze the underlying factor, which was a necessary step of establishing dual frontiers.

Niccolò Guasti (University of Foggia) **Between Arabic Letters, History, and Enlightenment: The Emergence of Spanish Literary Nation in Juan Andrés**

Panel / *Session* 162, 'Between Universal History and National Histories: Building the Past in the Age of the Enlightenment 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Patrizia Delpiano (University of Turin)

The Eighteenth century culture played a crucial role in proposing a positive image of Islam. The expelled Spanish Jesuits were protagonists of such a reevaluation of Muslim culture, specifically Arabic. Exiled in Italy from 1767 on, the Spanish jesuits took part in some important European debates, including that on Islam: they tried not only to "normalize" Islam following the seventeenth century erudite tradition, but also to use the Arabian past of Spain in order to stress how much Iberian Arabs contributed to the renaissance of Western culture and civilization. The Valencian jesuit Juan Andrés was he who firmly harped on recognizing that legacy. Open to philosophy, science and culture of the Enlightenment, in his treaty *Dell'origine, progressi e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura* (1782-1799) Andrés committed to outline the specific elements of the Medieval renaissance fostered by Spanish Arabs between IX and XIII centuries. Hybridizing the genre of *historia literaria* (that could be rendered today as "cultural history") with a historical approach inspired by Voltaire's *histoire philosophique*, he placed the intellectual achievements of "Spanish" Arabs at the very origin of the intellectual recovery of European culture: before Italian fifteenth century Humanism and sixteenth century Renaissance, a former rediscovery of Greek and Oriental knowledge (especially in the field of some applied sciences as Medicine or Astronomy) occurred in Spain thanks to the Arab and Mozarabic intellectuals. Andrés' interpretation on Al-Andalus hid a «patriotic» point of view: to glorify the historical role of Spain (instead of Italy and France) in the emergence of a European literary canon. So the history of "Arabic Letters" is considered as an important tool not only in order to define a new idea of Spanish literary nation, but also to refute the Eighteenth century conventional narrative, fostered by the philosophes and the Italian scholars, about the history of European culture.

Louis Guerpillon (Panthéon-Sorbonne) **Les deux héritages de l'identité wolffienne**

Panel / *Session* 203, 'Identité personnelle et identité morale (l'héritage lockien)'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Céline Spector (Paris-Sorbonne)

La théorie wolffienne des facultés est prise dans une ambiguïté que révèle la double réception critique qui en a été faite : nous verrons en effet que Condillac et Kant s'y adossent tous deux, mais que le premier reproche à Wolff d'avoir persisté à structurer son propos selon une distinction artificielle entre facultés inférieures et facultés supérieures (alors qu'il n'y a que de la sensation transformée), tandis que le second lui reproche de n'avoir pas énoncé avec assez de fermeté l'hétérogénéité de nos sources de connaissance. Si l'héritage wolffien a pu se décliner selon ces deux critiques antinomiques, ce n'est pas qu'il soit en lui-même contradictoire : il faut y voir plutôt l'effort lucide de

Wolff pour tenir une tension féconde entre continuisme et discontinuisme des facultés. Nous illustrerons cette tension en examinant la théorie wolffienne de la mémoire, afin de montrer comment Wolff, remaniant la conception lockienne de l'identité personnelle, en vient à élaborer dans la Psychologie rationnelle son concept original de *memoria sui*, « mémoire du soi ». Nous suggérerons enfin que la raison pour laquelle Wolff ne peut renoncer, comme l'y invitera Condillac, à ériger la réflexion sur le soi en ligne de partage des facultés réside en dernière instance dans les implications de cette thèse pour la fondation de l'identité morale et de la voix de la conscience.

Asma Guezmir (Université de Tunis) Salons féminins du Caire, salons des lumières féministes ?

Panel / *Session 304*, 'Lumières, femmes et identités en Orient'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Halima Ouanada (Université de Tunis El Manar)

L'éveil de la conscience féministe dans le monde arabe me semble redevable, entre autres, à la tradition des salons français féminins du XVIIIème siècle, eux-mêmes héritage andalous, selon de nombreux historiens. Ces lieux de sociabilité ont été transposés dans le Caire de la fin du XIXe et début du XXe siècles grâce à des françaises éclairées installées dans la capitale égyptienne et à des orientales privilégiées aussi sensibles à la cause féminine que férues de libertés. Rivés sur l'Europe et sur ses idéaux hérités des Lumières, les salons du Caire seront le foyer intellectuel du combat féministe égyptien. Cependant, la particularité de cette mouvance serait sa facette anticolonialiste et nationaliste. Il s'agit dès lors pour les militantes de se réapproprié un territoire et une patrie, des droits confisqués et des libertés individuelles. Paradoxalement, ou peut-être, bien dans l'ordre des choses, l'affirmation des identités ne peut se concevoir qu'au prisme de l'altérité.

Charlotte Guichard (CNRS/Ecole normale supérieure, Paris) Le nom et le canon. Catherine Lusurier, une carrière artistique féminine à la veille de la Révolution

Panel / *Session 389*, 'Beyond the Amateur: Reintegrating Women Artists into Eighteenth-Century (Art) History 1 (Co-chaired with Paris Spies-Gans, Harvard University)'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Hyde (University of Florida)

Le 8 février 1781, le Journal de Paris publiait l'éloge funéraire de Catherine Lusurier, décédée prématurément. Celui-ci se terminait par un vibrant appel en faveur « des femmes véritablement Artistes, & dont les noms vivront dans la mémoire des hommes ». Sans être membre de l'Académie, Catherine Lusurier avait su se faire un nom, comme portraitiste et comme copiste. En s'appuyant sur son inventaire après décès retrouvé dans les archives, cette communication interrogera les linéaments d'une carrière artistique féminine réussie à la veille de la Révolution, dans un monde de l'art 'libéré' des contraintes corporatives. Quel était l'espace des possibles pour une femme qui voulait faire carrière comme peintre ? Comment expliquer l'effacement du nom de cette artiste dans le canon qui est déjà en train de s'écrire ? Cette communication reviendra sur les opérations d'écriture qui articulent nom et canon, dans l'art.

Charlotte Guichard est directrice de recherches au CNRS et professeure attachée à l'Ecole normale supérieure (Paris). Ancienne pensionnaire de la Villa Médicis, spécialiste de l'art et des cultures visuelles des Lumières, elle a publié *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Champ Vallon, 2008), *Graffitis. Inscrire son nom à Rome, XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Seuil, 2014), *La griffe du peintre. La valeur de l'art (1730-1820)* (Seuil, 2018).

Alexandre Guilbaud (Sorbonne Université, Institut de mathématiques de Jussieu-Paris Rive Gauche, Institut des sciences du calcul et des données) L'ENCCRE, ou la naissance d'un premier laboratoire virtuel de recherches sur l'*Encyclopédie* et les Lumières I

Panel / *Session 16*, 'L'ENCCRE et les recherches sur l'Encyclopédie à l'ère du numérique : résultats et perspectives 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Le Sueur (CNRS, Institut Camille Jordan)

L'édition critique de l'Encyclopédie réalisée dans le cadre de L'ENCCRE repose sur plusieurs partis pris méthodologiques : parmi eux, une ambitieuse politique d'annotation fondée sur plusieurs niveaux d'articulation entre la représentation numérique de l'œuvre et l'apparat critique que nous sommes en mesure de constituer. L'ENCCRE

s'appuie, pour lui donner corps, sur deux interfaces numériques : une interface de consultation, librement accessible sur le Web, complétée, en amont, par une interface collaborative d'édition, réservée à l'équipe, permettant à chaque membre de s'authentifier, de rédiger ses commentaires et annotations, de saisir les dossiers de présentation des articles et dossiers dont il a la charge, puis de soumettre le tout à un processus de relecture et de validation scientifique au terme duquel le travail peut être publié sur la première interface. L'interface collaborative d'édition constitue, ce faisant, un espace numérique de travail déjà muni de nombreux outils à disposition des chercheurs pour décrire, annoter et effectuer des recherches sur l'œuvre, et déjà doté d'une bibliothèque numérique d'œuvres primaires et secondaires ainsi que de diverses bases de données collaborativement enrichies au fur et à mesure de l'avancée des travaux de l'équipe. L'ensemble concourt à l'émergence progressive d'un laboratoire virtuel de recherche, dont nous examinerons à la fois les possibilités et les potentialités, et où l'étude d'une œuvre et de son contexte doit progressivement permettre aux diverses facettes de l'histoire des idées, des sciences et des techniques au siècle des Lumières de se rencontrer, de s'enrichir et d'avancer de concert.

Margrét Gunnarsdóttir (University of Iceland) Trauma of an Island Nation: The Mental Impact of the Volcanic Eruption of Laki in Iceland in 1783–1784

Panel / *Session* 352, 'The Worldview of Icelanders in the Period 1750–1830'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kristín Bragadóttir (University of Iceland)

One of the most significant eruptions of the modern era is the Laki eruption in the southeast of Iceland in 1783–1784. Its massive lava flow and poisonous gases spoiled farmland and destroyed crops all over the country. Half the livestock perished and the population decreased dramatically as people starved in the aftermath. Many people abandoned their farms in order to escape from famine. The Laki eruption also had consequences in other countries. It caused a drop in global temperatures, leading to crop failures in Europe and across the world.

It was a traumatic experience for the people of Iceland. The next few years became a bitter struggle of survival for many. But what about psychological effects? This paper will discuss the Laki eruption from the point of view of personal sources, mainly a selection of letters. How did people express what they were experiencing in the midst of the disaster and its devastation. How did people cope with life? Were the natives hopeful for the future or were their hearts and minds full of pessimism and bleakness after such a difficult experience?

Wendy Gunther-Canada (University of Alabama at Birmingham) Granddaughter of the South Sea: Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay Graham and the Politics of Scandal

Panel / *Session* 415, 'Women Writers and History: Haywood and Macaulay'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicolle Jordan (University of Southern Mississippi)

As the author of the eight-volume History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover published in London between 1763-1783, Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay later Graham was no stranger to political scandal. The narrative arc of her History of England captured the court intrigues of the Stuarts, the regicide of Charles I, and the conspiracies of the Rye House plot. Scholars have mentioned in passing that she was the granddaughter of one of the Directors of the South Sea Company whose publicly-traded shares plummeted in value in 1720 creating a financial crisis that impacted both king and commoner. Catharine reflected on her grandfather Jacob Sawbridge's involvement in the South Sea Bubble in the 1778 History of England in a Series of Letters to a Friend exonerating him as an honest man caught up in speculative commerce and monarchical corruption of the hated Walpole ministry.

This paper will explore the enduring philosophical legacy of the granddaughter of the South Sea. My reading of Catharine Macaulay's Commonwealth republicanism examines her arguments against the backdrop of her family's disgrace. She approached the history of her nation as the story of governing families, and the multi-generational backstory of her grandfather's political disenfranchisement in the wake of the South Sea scandal can best explain why Catharine Sawbridge was originally drawn to republican liberty as a philosophical ideal. Her advocacy of an egalitarian republic promoted in volumes, pamphlets, and correspondence with American colonists, led to an Atlantic audience of readers. Yet her stature as a friend of liberty was confounded by her unorthodox decision to marry a man twenty-six

years her junior as friends and foes sharpened their criticisms of her republican politics. Was Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay Graham's spectacular rise to fame as much of a bubble as the value of South Sea shares?

Weiting **Guo** (Simon Fraser University) Law, Empire, and Judicial Expediency: Punishing 'Wicked People' in Eighteenth-Century China

Panel / *Session 9*, 'Crime, Justice, and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century China and England'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Bricker (University of Ghent)

During the eighteenth century, when the prosperous Qing empire reached its peak with both demographic and economic expansion, the Qing rulers also invested heavily in the operation of expedient death penalties. Using a new procedure called "summary execution," the Qing court had bestowed on regional officials its ultimate power of taking life. Power conflicts emerged over the regulation of authority for punishment between various levels, those of the emperor, governors, and local officials. While the new and assertive program revitalized the crumbling empire amidst social and political instability, it also evaded central authority over capital punishment and enhanced political intervention in the judicial process. In the end, the extensive use of this exceptional punishment gave rise to a culture of rough justice and shifted the practice of Chinese death penalty toward a system where routinized and exceptional procedures, centralized and decentralized institutions, and formal and informal forces consistently negotiated judicial expediency and mutually shaped one another. This article chronicles this unique history of Qing empire's experiments into judicial cruelty by investigating the development of summary execution during the eighteenth century. By studying a series of pivotal phases of the formation of this punishment, this study traces how the Qing state and regional governments, together with various actors in local society, sought to facilitate the procedure of summary execution and alter the operation of criminal justice. As this article reveals, the continued expansion of the Qing empire, the increased social unrest and popular protest, and the extremely overwhelmed judicial system compelled the Qing state to utilize institutional resources to develop an efficient procedure, reducing its administrative expenditures and furthering the regional death sentencing process. Through a case study of the punishment of "wicked people," this article demonstrates how the Qing developed this distinctive legal instrument during a significant historical moment.

Onni **Gust** (University of Nottingham) Homely Highlanders? Whiteness and Belonging in the Debate over Highland Emigration, c. 1770–1815

Panel / *Session 269*, 'Highland Identities 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Georgia Vullingshs (University of Edinburgh / National Museums Scotland)

Between 1760 and 1815, over 20 000 Highland Scots emigrated, usually as members of extended families connected through bonds of clanship, to North America. The exodus of small tenants from the Highlands of Scotland generated a debate amongst elite writers who were concerned about the implications of population loss on national prosperity. At the core of this debate was the question of whether Highlanders, widely understood to be an 'ancient' but 'idle' people, really had a place in Britain's future. 'Home', as a material entity, a socio-economic structure, and an emotional state, played a fundamental role in determining the nature of Highland belonging.

This paper explores the discourse of 'home' and 'homeliness' in the debate over Highland emigration, which took place across a range of genres, including travel writing, poetry, newspaper articles, and political pamphlets. It shows how 'homeliness', previously a synonym for 'vulgarity', became a virtue that elites used to reconfigure 'the Highlander's' relationship to Britishness and whiteness. Constructed alongside the better-known image of the 'manly' and martial Highlander, the 'homely' Highlander enabled British imperial elites to claim Highlanders for the imperial project.

Onni **Gust** (University of Nottingham) White Supremacy and Anti-Slavery in Dugald Stewart's *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*

Panel / *Session* 101, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 1: White Masculinity and Colonial Encounters'.

Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Soile Ylivuori (University of Helsinki)

A significant majority of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers were vocal critics of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and of slavery as a socio-economic system. At the same time, they were instrumental in configuring theories of human difference that consolidated the idea that white Europeans, and particularly white European men, were more intellectually and socio-economically advanced than other 'races'. Focusing on Dugald Stewart's lectures on Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, this paper examines the tensions and contradictions between Scottish Enlightenment conceptions of racial difference and their critiques of slavery and the slave trade.

Although less well-known than earlier scholars such as Adam Smith or Adam Ferguson, Dugald Stewart provided a bridgehead between the Scottish Enlightenment thought of the eighteenth century, and the liberal imperialism of the nineteenth century. As Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh between 1785 and 1820, Stewart introduced a generation of young, male students to Scottish Enlightenment theories of human development and difference. Many of these men would go on to rule and administer the British Empire. He also had a profound influence on a number of literary women, including the didactic novelist, Maria Edgeworth, and the travel writer, Maria Graham.

In this paper, I read the lecture notes of Stewart's students alongside his published work, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792) and *Outlines of Moral Philosophy* (1793). Stewart published very little about slavery, race and imperialism, yet he dedicated considerable portions of his lectures to discussion of racial difference and to condemning the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Exploring the apparent contradiction between his critique of slavery and his ideas of white supremacy, I argue that like many Enlightenment thinkers, Stewart's critique of slavery and the slave trade, reinforced and enabled, rather than undermined, notions of 'white' superiority.

Daniela **Haarmann** (University of Vienna) *Hermann against Varus in Waterloo: Reporting on the Napoleonic Wars in Austrian Newspapers*

Panel / *Session* 65, 'Writing Time: Temporalities of the Periodical in the Eighteenth Century 2'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nora Ramtke (Ruhr University Bochum)

The Napoleonic Wars were a traumatic time for European civilisation. Napoleon was the bogeyman to the old order of the continent, to the old dynasties and the old empires. Newspapers had different practices to report about the newest developments or to describe the continuing thread scenario. One way was to create analogies to the past, to transfer historical events to the present. In Austria, which was several times the setting of various battles between the French and the Habsburgian army, newspapers chose the subject of the Battle of Teutoburg Forest between the Roman army under the command of Varus and several Germanic Tribes under the chieftain Hermann 9 AD. Until today, the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest and its hero Hermann plays a crucial part for the German – not Austrian – identity.

In the newspapers' reports, the French become the Romans and the "Austrians" the ancient Germans. And even when the outcome of this time was still uncertain, the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest was staged as the struggle for national liberation against the Roman suppressors like the "Austrians" and Germans fought it against the French during the early 19th century. The presentation discusses how Austrian newspapers used this historical event to report about the current events of this period. It asks for the narratives, their particular intention as the manner of representation: What words used the author for describing the present and the historical time? What idea did he pursue? What were the immediate effects for this period and after this period?

Ingrid **Haberl-Scherk** (University of Graz) *Wife, Mother, Enlightened Reader, Amazon: Facets of Female Identity in the Central European 'Newspaper for Ladies and Other Women', 1792–1797*

Panel / *Session* 255, 'Women and Periodicals'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Williams (Northumbria University)

Whereas earlier examples of women's magazines in the Habsburg Monarchy heavily relied on periodicals from Germany, which were sometimes merely reprinted, the weekly "Newspaper for Ladies and Other Women" (Zeitung für Damen und andere Frauenzimmer) was written and compiled in and specifically for the Habsburg Monarchy. Published in Graz, it ranges among the late results of a 'media boom', caused by the so called 'extended freedom of the press' which lasted from 1780 to 1795 approximately. The periodical's content not only covered fashion, household and child rearing, but also encompassed a section with contemporary news in the first four years. This way, noblewomen (id est "ladies") and the bourgeois elite (id est "other women") would be thoroughly informed and educated on the one hand, and entertained on the other by the (male) editors.

On the basis of this broad scope, I will sketch which socioeconomic, sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of female identities were represented in the journal and which textual and pictorial means were used as arguments. First, an overview of domestic roles, such as the loving wife, the economical householder and the caring mother will circumscribe functions in the private sphere. In a second part, the presentation will focus on women as enlightened readers, as participants in the republic of letters and as educated companions of their husbands. In this respect in particular, the examples will provide insights in the description of female as well as male characteristics and in the subtle confrontation of these opposites. Furthermore, the journal also allows a short look at 'exotic' female roles in different cultures. Finally, exempla, biographies or anecdotes featuring active participation in political as well as military action, especially in the War of the First Coalition and in the French Revolution, will depict powerful role models who transcended the mentioned approved roles towards revolutionary thinking and early feminism.

Yasemin **Hacioglu** (University of Oslo) Emotions and Control: Problematized Agency in Charlotte Smith and Amelia Opie's Novels

Panel / *Session* 362, 'Emotions and Control'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Percival (University of Exeter)

This talk examines how heroines' literary compositions are used to explore gendered agency in Smith and Opie's novels. The heroines of Smith's *Emmeline*, 1788, and Opie's *Madeline*, 1822, use literary devices from romance novels and poetry in order to alter their own and other characters' feelings. They use this to manipulate the behaviour of plainly flawed male characters, to the ends of imposing a generic romance plot marriage of their own choosing. Whilst literature enables the heroines to influence these relationships, their agency is deliberately problematized as they use literary writing to create sympathy and love for the tyrannical male characters. Recent criticism has looked at the importance of the heroines' reading practices to their thinking and development in Opie's novels (Lupton 2018; Weiss 2017). My paper shifts the focus from the heroines' reading to their literary compositions. I argue that the heroines' compositional practices use literary narratives and forms familiar to the novels' contemporary readers, allowing readers to trace how the heroines make decisions. I use cognitive approaches to extended mind and writing composition to explore how the heroines' fictions enable them test and apply emotional influences.

Contemporary reviews show there was awareness at the time that the novels' relationships represent problematic – what we would now term abusive – behaviour. The reviews frame this in terms of the novels' moral deficiency, in promoting heroines with irrational attachments to immoral male characters. My focus enables the novels' literary references to be analysed not just as criticisms of the influence of some popular literary genres on female readers. Instead, the focus on composition considers how readers could scrutinize the extent to which heroines' literary experiments gave them the influence they claim to have, in orchestrating their own and others' thoughts.

Malou **Haine** (Université Libre de Bruxelles) Un exemple de redécouverte des liens entre volumes de textes et volumes de planches

Panel / *Session* 48, 'L'ENCCRE et les recherches sur l'Encyclopédie à l'ère du numérique : résultats et perspectives 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Le Sueur (CNRS, Institut Camille Jordan)

Par un exemple concret d'un domaine spécifique, à savoir celui de la lutherie et des instruments de musique, les liens entre les volumes de textes et les volumes de planches font découvrir divers aspects de la manière dont s'est élaborée l'Encyclopédie.

Les planches de lutherie forment deux suites distinctes. La première, consacrée à l'orgue, forme une entité relativement homogène qui a été réalisée en étroites relations avec la centaine d'articles consacrés à ce sujet. En revanche, la seconde suite est formée de diverses entités (instruments à cordes, instruments à vent, clavecins et épinettes, cloches, etc.) qui n'ont pas été élaborées sur un même modèle.

Les articles pointent tantôt vers des renvois très vagues de planches ou de figures, tantôt vers des figures précises, tantôt vers des planches dont la numérotation et/ou l'intitulé ont été modifiés lors de la publication du Recueil de planches. Certains articles ont même été rédigés sur base de planches ou de dessins qui ont été soit purement et simplement supprimés, soit remplacés in fine par un ou plusieurs autres.

La planche XXII de la seconde suite offre un bel exemple d'une source datée 1705 et citée dans le texte même de l'explication, mais qui, après un examen attentif, montre qu'elle a subi des modifications significatives lors de sa publication : à l'instar des articles eux-mêmes qui offrent souvent une juxtaposition des connaissances, cette planche-ci montre également un jumelage des données sur les instruments en usage en 1705 et ceux de 1765.

Guðný Hallgrímsdóttir (University of Iceland) Attitudes Towards Icelandic Women in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: A Methodological Attempt

Panel / *Session* 352, 'The Worldview of Icelanders in the Period 1750–1830'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kristín Bragadóttir (University of Iceland)

Most writings from Iceland in the second half of the 18th century are written by men, about men and primarily embody the attitudes and interests of a small, privileged class. In these publications, women are often described as unwilling creatures who do not actually gain a position within society until they marry. Women should first and foremost be submissive to their husband or master, and their role was to care for housework. The myth about women and division of labor – where woman only do certain tasks – was created by prosperous farmers and spokesmen of the middle class, while it may have seemed outlandish to peasant women, who did all the tasks that arose in daily life.

The question should be asked: Did such (male) assumptions necessarily reflect Icelandic women's self-image in the 18th and 19th centuries? It is far from certain that such attitudes had penetrated rural Icelandic society at that time. On the contrary, it is equally likely that other attitudes prevailed, as the agrarian society operated on entirely different principles from modernizing, urbanizing societies. That was especially true of women and their status in society: the boundaries between male and female were in fact very different from those which predominated in urban societies.

Adela Halo (Queen Mary, University of London) The Moral Identity of Republican France: Women and Religion in the Thought of Germaine de Staël

Panel / *Session* 252, 'The Uses of History in Revolutionary Europe: Nation, Civilisation, and Society in British and French Historiography'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Céline Spector (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

Despite growing recognition of Germaine de Staël as one of the earliest liberal interpreters of the French Revolution to take a long view, her framing of the Revolution within a historical vision that stretches from antiquity to her time remains poorly understood. This is partially due to the limited focus of historians of the Revolution and those of political thought on Staël's explicitly political treatises, and particularly her posthumous *Considerations on the French Revolution* (1818), neglecting those works that are of a more literary or hybrid nature. Turning to these works carries significant and multiple implications much beyond the completion of the truncated historical account found in *Considerations*. In particular, I will turn in this paper to Staël's groundbreaking *On Literature Considered in Its Relations to Social Institutions* (1800) to elucidate her uses of history to project a moral identity for republican France that subjected reason to Christian morality.

The central concern of *On Literature* was to demonstrate that the human mind had progressed incessantly, though unevenly, throughout the ages and even in spite, or at times because of war; that the vectors and scope of this progress had been determined by social institutions – that is, the form of government, laws, religion and mores; that this incremental progress was perceptible and traceable in the writings – imaginative or philosophical – of different epochs and nations. Therefore, in the first part of *On Literature* Staël undertook a survey of writings from Homer to

her own times in order to discern both the historical laws of the progress of the human mind and its nature. The account she developed placed religion and women in an interlocked role as prime engines of the progress of the human mind and the perfectibility of the species. In this paper, I will examine how, through this pairing of religion and women, Staël countered Condorcet's history of the progress of the human mind, and carved a different defence of the Revolution by imagining how this pairing could improve the future moral character of Republican France and close its violent chapter.

Julia **Hamilton** (Columbia University) Composing 'African' Identities in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Three Musical Strategies

Panel / *Session* 31, 'Writing Black Atlantic Lives'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Rowland (University of Sussex)

With the rise of popular abolitionism at the end of the eighteenth century, British artists produced a variety of cultural products—including poems, plays, and prints—that commented on the identity of Africans. British composers likewise contributed to this trend, publishing at least sixty musical scores with titles and/or lyrics about Africans from 1787 to 1807. The vast majority of these newly discovered scores contained songs for domestic consumption that utilized first-person narration from the perspective of enslaved Africans. Thus, while abolitionist Members of Parliament cited accounts of African lamentations on board slave ships as evidence of the immorality of the slave trade, amateur musicians performed songs that they imagined Africans would be singing. This paper tackles these problematic scores from the vantage point of their musical content, interrogating the techniques that white British composers, arrangers, and publishers used to construct ideas of African musical identity. Beyond the selection of well-known political ballad tunes, as Ivan Ortiz has recently discussed in reference to ballads by William Cowper and Hannah More, I show that three techniques were common to the genre of what I am calling "African" songs from this period: British simplicity, racialized tunes, and "African" origin stories. First, and perhaps most surprisingly to our ears, composers felt that the major keys, lyrical melodies and simple accompaniments prized in British music from this period were completely appropriate for setting "African" songs—even those with tragic, abolitionist content. Second, composers and arrangers selected and re-set racialized tunes with names like "Negro Song" or "Indian Death Song" in order to lend an air of authenticity to their songs. Finally, publishers included origin stories such as "sung by a Negro, in Bedlam" to give a still greater sense of specificity and legitimacy to their songs. Since the songs do not contain racialized rhythmic or textural musical markers that later white composers used to signify blackness, this paper uses a new repertory to provide a historically-specific look at constructions of African musical identity.

Lydia **Hamlett** (University of Cambridge) Mural Painting and the Construction of British Identity

Panel / *Session* 227, 'Establishing Historical Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : James Raven (University of Cambridge / University of Essex)

This paper examines the development and functions of history painting in the British Isles in the long eighteenth century with reference to murals. Murals represented broadly defined 'histories' that often blended the mythological, religious, allegorical and historical (ancient and modern). They were at the height of fashion in royal palaces and elite houses from the Restoration until the 1720s. The reasons for their decline will be charted in the context of an emerging national style and a new understanding of history painting, where Baroque murals were tainted due to their formal associations with the Counter Reformation and monarchical absolutism. The shape of history painting was changing, quite literally, to presenting a single moral or intellectual idea unequivocally to the viewer, usually on a moveable canvas.

Mural painting was always a semi-public form of painting, designed to be seen by influential visitors in the reception spaces of royal palaces and elite houses, and so the paper will naturally involve an investigation into how murals were viewed and received, from offering various viewing points within a planned architectural route, to animating an ancient text, to presenting patriotic subject matter in a triumphal style. A few commissions will be explored in detail, beginning with courtly cycles, notably Antonio Verrio's Windsor Castle and the aristocratic houses it influenced, where mythological narrative was linked with the virtues of specific dynasties, to subjects and styles more aligned with emerging national values. Louis Laguerre's Marlborough House, which represented contemporary British histories, and two major public commissions by James Thornhill, the Painted Hall at Greenwich Hospital and St Paul's, offered a

new visual language for imaging the nation. Both were more important to the development of British history painting than is usually acknowledged.

Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University) Mothers of Invention: Enlightenment
Vocabularies and Reformed Identities in Mary Wollstonecraft's *Short Residence*

Panel / *Session 222*, 'Women Writers and Identities of Reform (Western Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies)'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Regulus Allen (Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo)

In her *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796), Mary Wollstonecraft gave her social criticism – and herself – a new identity and a new vocabulary. In her earlier writing, she had tried to use one set of Enlightenment vocabularies for social analysis and reform – those of social theory and political economy – in a straightforward manner and had been censored for it. Wollstonecraft's assertiveness in debating Edmund Burke et al. aligned her in the British political imagination with the likes of Olympe de Gouges and other – monstrous – women of the French Revolution, and it gave conservative commentators and socially conservative reformers alike a ready vocabulary to challenge, confuse, or compromise her agency. One of the reasons, then, that Wollstonecraft filters everything in the *Short Residence* – her personal story, her authorship and authority, and her political and socio-economic critique – through the figures of mothers is that she intends to blend the progressive vocabularies of social and political reform with the conservative vocabularies of the nation-family-motherhood complex in a bid to regain a measure of public, political agency. For such a project, the stadial histories of human development and social structure advanced by a number of Scottish Enlightenment writers offered particularly promising materials because of the central role that mothers assumed in the "improvement" of generations and, therefore, in the construction and evolution of social forms. In other words, a version of progress, if not of reform in the democratic and egalitarian sense, was all but baked into the vocabularies to which Wollstonecraft gained access in this way. The positive change in attitude towards the writer and her new work visible in reviews by conservative and progressive reviewers alike indicates that her strategy of blending radical ideas for social reform with established, mainstream notions of social structure through a carefully crafted maternal persona was at least partially successful.

Nahema Hanafi (Université d'Angers) « Des troncs desséchés » : Castration, masculinité et stérilité
chez les castrats italiens du siècle des Lumières (co-présentée avec Sophie Vasset, Université
Paris-Diderot)

Panel / *Session 96*, 'Violence(s) et constructions identitaires de sexe et de genre 2 : Identités violentes,
identités violentées'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Florence
Lotterie (Université Paris-Diderot)

Au cœur des Lumières, la castration, assimilée à une véritable « barbarie » si elle n'a pas de fondement thérapeutique, questionne les normes hétéro-patriarcales comme les processus de construction identitaire qui en découlent. Aussi fustigée soit-elle par nombre de médecins, juristes ou philosophes, cette opération demeure courante en Italie, tandis que les castrats sont sollicités au sein même de la Chapelle Sixtine et de nombreuses cours européennes. Ils incarnent pourtant, dans les discours normatifs français et anglais notamment, la stérilité masculine, en tant que dévoiement de la nature, éloignement des commandements divins ou encore injure faite à l'État. Symboles de l'infécondité, ils sont sans cesse rappelés à cette incapacité. Charles Ancillon, dans son *Traité des eunuques*, justifie leur exclusion du droit au mariage en ces termes : « Ce ne sont que des demi-hommes. Mais c'est trop dire en leur faveur, ce ne sont que des arbres stériles, des troncs desséchés ». Cette condamnation sans appel renvoie aux discours qui les font sortir du champ de la masculinité. Ni hommes, ni pères, ils subissent les foudres d'une société populationniste qui n'hésite pas à réaffirmer ses règles et à faire d'eux de véritables figures repoussoir. La dépréciation des castrats s'inscrit effectivement dans une nouvelle logique de gestion des populations fondée sur leur prolifération et leur normalisation. Ils deviennent le symbole d'une mauvaise gestion des corps, de leur rentabilité productive. Si les discours se multiplient pour dire ce populationnisme doublé d'une revendication philosophique d'un droit à l'intégrité physique, certains se sont penchés sur leurs répercussions sur les castrats, se faisant toutefois davantage le relais de leurs propres perceptions que de celles des personnes concernées.

Ryan Hanley (University of Bristol) **A Fractured Firebrand? Robert Wedderburn, the Freeborn Formerly-Enslaved Jamaican-British Revolutionary Gradualist Emancipationist**

Panel / *Session* 31, 'Writing Black Atlantic Lives'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Rowland (University of Sussex)

Robert Wedderburn is usually seen as a leading figure in early nineteenth-century London's 'radical underworld', yoking the struggle for political representation in the imperial metropolis to the fight to overthrow slavery throughout the revolutionary Atlantic world. A charismatic political firebrand who drew the attention of aspiring revolutionaries and Home Office spies alike, Wedderburn is rightly remembered as a distinctive and uncompromising voice for freedom. In this paper, I will explore the reciprocal relationship between Wedderburn's transatlantic radicalism and the multiple and protean identitive categories and political movements to which he ascribed during his life, helping to make sense of a messy and sometimes contradictory life story. What were his motivations for claiming to be free at birth, when he had in fact been emancipated as a child? How did he respond to the increasing popularity of racial thought in the radical networks that made his political career? And why, after decades of advocating for violent slave rebellion, did he suddenly adopt an anti-abolitionist stance in 1831, just as immediate emancipation became a realistic prospect? Introducing a wealth of new biographical evidence, this paper will trace the career and changing political connections of a central figure in the nineteenth-century radical Atlantic.

Natalie Hanley-Smith (University of Warwick) **Disapproval, Rivalry, and Compassion: Illicit Sex and Romantic Intrigue in Elite Expatriate Society in the 1790s**

Panel / *Session* 475, 'Virtue and Vice'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

'Most of the young men who travel had better remain in their own Country; they learn follies and contract Vices in Foreign countries... they hold the government of passions in contempt, connect themselves with married women, and return what the World calls a fine Gentleman', wrote Lady Stafford to her son, Granville Leveson Gower, in February 1792. Countries on the continent, like France and Italy, were thought to provide an escape from the customs and codes of conduct in England; both countries were a popular destination for elite women exiled due to an illegitimate pregnancy, or adulterous behaviour and the expatriate communities on the continent became renowned for their lax sexual mores. Parents, like Lady Stafford, feared their impressionable young sons would be led astray on their Grand Tour.

This paper will explore the experiences of four young men and the married women with whom they began romantic intrigues on their travels; some of these relationships blossomed into illicit affairs, whilst others remained flirtatious friendships. I use correspondence and diaries to explore their interactions within and across gender boundaries, against the backdrop of the continually changing elite expatriate society in Italy in the 1790s. Each member of this particular group had some interaction with the others, making it an ideal case study to examine both gender relations and the complex social gradations in elite circles. I explore their reactions to each other's relationships; the emotions they expressed and the boundaries they evoked; what sorts of behaviours they believed to be permissible, and what shocked them. Rather than viewing the continent as 'a refuge from gossip', gossip thrived, and individuals had to negotiate living in a much more intimate society than they had in England – one which operated on different – but nonetheless constraining – codes of sexual and social conduct.

Aaron Hanlon (Colby College) **Scaling Lives in Joseph Priestley's Description of a Chart of Biography**

Panel / *Session* 150, 'Scaling Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rivka Swenson (Virginia Commonwealth University)

'At a single glance' was the phrase Joseph Priestley used to describe the intended pedagogical intervention of his Chart of Biography (1764). Frequently credited with the invention of the timeline as a form of knowledge visualization, Priestley created a timeline to show the lifespans of important historical figures, when they lived relative to other important figures, and when their lifespans overlapped. The idea was that students acquainting themselves with

history could learn, 'at a single glance,' who lived between Homer and Hooke, for example. But as Priestley narrates in his attendant Description of a Chart of Biography, it turned out that 'a single glance' was in practice not sufficient for pupils to understand the historical data Priestley's chart presented, hence the Description. This paper takes this moment of reckoning in Priestley's writing as a starting point for an examination of what it meant for Priestley to scale lives instead of, as Samuel Johnson did, writing them. Description offers a rich, if incomplete, reflection on the epistemology of this choice. This paper will follow Priestley's concerns through to their logical conclusions, from questions of how to choose which historical figures to depict (Priestley worried critics would think his list too Anglo-centric) to how to package and present the 'raw' historical data (Priestley included a compendium of names in the back of his Description). In so doing this paper will demonstrate how Priestley's choice to conceive of and represent lives in spatial scale—as data points on a timeline—constitutes a radical rethinking of identity in the mid-eighteenth-century.

Mascha Hansen (University of Greifswald) 'A zig-zag path of communication': Sociable Conversation and the Unruly Self in Burney's Life Writing

Panel / *Session* 450, 'DIGIT.EN.S: Unruly Sociability? Gender and Constructions of Identity'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Emrys Jones (King's College London)

In *Conversable Worlds*, Jon Mee claims that debates about the definition of conversation were "central to the uneven and long drawn out transition from a culture of tradition, where identities and values were taken to be intrinsic or bestowed by external authorities, to one where they were taken to be constructed by exchanges between participants" (6). In this paper, I argue along similar lines that the diaries, journals, letters and memoirs of Frances Burney d'Arblay (here considered together as life writing) offer a unique insight into the process of constructing identity in conversation, and debating the nature of sociable exchanges during the later eighteenth century. Burney not only recorded a mass of conversations, she also attempted to outline strategies of successful communication, treating spaces of eighteenth-century sociability as sites for the presentation of conversable selves which she then re-constructed in writing. Especially in her last published work, the *Memoirs of Doctor Burney* (1832), the nature of conversation itself fascinates her, and she revisits her father's role as host of the Sunday Evening Musical Parties in an attempt to assess why, when and how he succeeded in this role: what had to be done for the most brilliant members of their polite company to display their talents to advantage, and high-minded conversations to ensue? She contrasted successful occasions with gatherings that turned out to be complete failures, polite men and women behaving badly, silence creeping in or the wrong people ending up dominating the conversation. Ultimately, she considers the strategy employed by Bluestocking hostess Mrs Vesey to have worked best: "a zig-zag path of communication."

Moira Hansen (University of Glasgow) 'Finding expression adequate to one's feelings': Using the Words of Others to Perform Identity in Robert Burns's 'Clarinda' Letters

Panel / *Session* 149, 'Robert Burns and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Prescott (University of Glasgow)

In the winter of 1787/88, Robert Burns used the pen name 'Sylvander' to sign off the passionate letters addressed to Agnes McLehose, his 'Clarinda'. Carol McGuirk described these letters as 'deadened by excessive literary allusion'. Current research exploring Burns's mental health suggests that Burns used allusion and quotation as a means of performing a particular role when his melancholic mood state impaired his cognitive processes. This includes the Clarinda letters, written during a period he described as 'six horrible weeks [where] anguish and low spirits made me unfit to read, write or think.' This paper will explore Burns's use of allusion and quotation in these letters to demonstrate how the poet performed the identity of romantic suitor, and how this strategy acts a mechanism of self-protection during this and other episodes of disordered mood.

Søren Peter Hansen (Technical University of Denmark) Fake Identity

Panel / *Session* 84, 'Literary Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tine Reeh (University of Copenhagen)

In 18th century Scandinavian literature the word "I" gradually changed meaning.

In the late 17th and early 18th century "I" meant 'all of us', 'any member of mankind' – but gradually it turned into meaning something else: 'a unique, specific individual'. This change can be traced in literature – especially in the use of the first person narrator.

The paper primarily discusses the use of a first person narrator in a Danish poem from 1722 called "Zille Hans Dotters Gynaicologia – eller Forsvars-Skrift for Quinde-Kiønnet" [Eng: Zille Hans Dotters Gynaicologia – or Defense of the Female Gender].

Kathleen **Hardesty Doig** (Georgia State University) *L'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon repense les articles de Morellet*

Panel / *Session* 456, 'F.-B. De Felice : l'encyclopédiste, le journaliste, le médiateur culturel'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rolando Minuti (Università degli Studi di Firenze)

Quand Edme Mallet, l'un des principaux collaborateurs en théologie dans l'Encyclopédie, mourut en 1755, Diderot le remplaça par un jeune ami, l'abbé André Morellet. Ce dernier avait d'excellents titres professionnels, étant licencié en théologie de la Sorbonne et membre de la Maison et Société de la Sorbonne. Diderot devait aussi apprécier l'esprit mordant de Morellet qu'on allait remarquer tout au long de sa carrière, et surtout sa sympathie pour les idées philosophiques. Les six articles qu'on peut attribuer à Morellet sont donc érudits et orthodoxes mais le lecteur avisé relève facilement certaines insinuations ironiques.

Dans sa refonte de l'Encyclopédie, c'était surtout la théologie que De Felice tenait à réviser ou refaire en vue d'attirer un public protestant. Deux théologiens suisses, César-Alexandre Chavannes et Gabriel Mingard, sont responsables de la plupart des articles comportant ce désignant et ils en refont trois que Morellet avait traités : Mingard signe « Foi », un essai de 40 pages, et « Fondamentaux (Articles) » ; Chavannes pour sa part est l'auteur de « Fils de Dieu ». Je propose d'examiner ces articles importants, plus les trois autres termes contribués par Morellet et qui ne sont pas signés dans l'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon, « Fatalité », « Figure », et « Gomaristes ». Plusieurs questions s'imposent d'emblée. Comment la transversalité peut-elle fonctionner entre deux encyclopédies si différentes dans leur biais sur la foi ? La nouvelle encyclopédie reprend-elle, entièrement ou partiellement, les textes de Morellet, ou bien les a-t-on complètement balayés pour faire terrain neuf ? Si les articles de l'Encyclopédie d'Yverdon sont nouveaux, ce qui semble être le cas, font-ils aucunement écho aux textes de base ? Dans quelle mesure essaie-t-on de répondre à notre théologien philosophe de l'Encyclopédie ?

Si possible, j'espère aussi analyser brièvement quelques autres corpus d'articles, celui de Mallet par exemple, pour pouvoir comparer les emprunts (ou rejets) faits par les théologiens suisses.

Alexander **Hardie-Forsyth** (Wolfson College, Oxford) 'a critick (by occupation) at table': Criticism as Consumption in Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*

Panel / *Session* 26, 'Taste, Criticism, and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

In the second volume of Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentlemen*, Tristram invites both 'critick[s] (by occupation)' and 'gentry of refined taste' to imagine his books as a table around which to 'sit down without any ceremony, and fall on heartily'. An example of what Christina Lupton terms Tristram's 'flat style of reflexivity', Sterne's fiction here presents itself to its reader as a socially fabricated surface. In doing so, it stages an exemplary instance of its own consumption that, in the figure of the novelistic 'entertainment', also literalises an aspect of 'taste' as the immediate affective response to literary works. Taste in this scene provides both the 'critick (by occupation)' and the polite 'gentry' each with a share in Tristram's Life but it also, in insisting on the parity of those shares, collapses any distinction between them. In claiming to host 'Sir Critick' and the critic 'by occupation' side-by-

side and without ‘ceremony’, my paper argues, Sterne courts the favour of an increasingly professionalised type of ‘critick’: the largely anonymous writers for Ralph Griffiths and Tobias Smollett’s *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*. Justified as a necessary publishing ‘expenditure’ to ensure that its first readers do not ‘run it down’, Tristram’s ‘entertainment’ demonstrates an acute understanding of the role that reviewers are beginning to assume as, in the *Monthly*’s terms, ‘tasters to the public’. The *Monthly* here outlines its main duty as sifting the textual marketplace to present texts fit for wider consumption. In this sense, criticism as public ‘tasting’ equates to judicious selection in an ever-expanding marketplace prior to any ensuing cultural consecration. The image of criticism as consumption that Tristram Shandy depicts becomes, therefore, ‘conceiv[able] metonymically’, in James Noggle’s terms, as one particular scene of sociable ‘tasting’ that evinces Tristram’s entrance into a developing canon of mid-century fictions.

Julie Hardwick (University of Texas at Austin) ‘Remedies’: Negotiating Fertility and Young Couples’ Management of Untimely Pregnancies in Old Regime France

Panel / *Session* 429, ‘Gendering Bodily and Medical Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century France’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennifer Germann (Ithaca College)

In Old Regime France, specific conventions framed young women’s intimate relationships with men. This paper examines fertility as a site of negotiation and contention. It explores practices of licit, age, and stage appropriate intimacy during the decade long phase of emerging adulthood when women were single workers. It examines young couples’ efforts to manage intimacy and fertility through a range of “remedies” in the context of official and local attitudes and with their intimate partners. Young women’s fertility provided a marker, a milestone, and a malleable process integral to the ambiguous and complex transition in youthful intimate relations between walking out and matrimony. The paper centers an issue – the predictable ubiquity of fertility – that has been evident to us in terms of demography but elusive in terms of lived experience, gendered dynamics and the larger frames of social and biological reproduction.

My project draws on the narratives about consensual relationships that young women gave in paternity suits in Lyon between 1660 and 1760. Although this evidence survives for us in the form of legal actions, such endings were highly unusual. Young women’s narratives of their sexual histories established the development of their relationships in perfectly conventional ways. They reveal the ways in which young couples and their communities sometimes sought to deal with untimely pregnancies through a variety of “remedies” from taking potions to blood-letting. A variety of actors – including male intimate partners and surgeons as well as neighbors – were involved in a far more complex process of negotiation and management than historiography has traditionally posited.

Katharine Hargrave (Pennsylvania State University) Phantoms of the Opera: The Absent Audience in Lyric Tragedy Criticism

Panel / *Session* 117, ‘Opera’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

In 2009, “Mozart, l’opéra rock” premiered in Paris to a packed audience. Two years later, more than a million people had seen the production and a Broadway adaptation was in the works. Despite this success, critics painted a completely different picture with reviews in “Le Figaro” reporting that the sound was mediocre, the casting inconsistent, and the libretto without substance. There is a comparable divide between opera critics and audience members in eighteenth-century France. Critiques published about Enlightenment operas give the impression that performances were, more often than not, complete and utter failures. Ticket sale registers, however, tell a different story. This contradiction is captured by eighteenth-century French writer, Abbé Raynal. During a 1756 performance of Rameau’s “Zoroastre,” he found himself seated next to an Englishman who was perplexed at having had such difficulty in finding a seat given that he had heard nothing but bad reviews of the opera. “The French are the only ones in the world,” he purportedly exclaimed, “capable of such contradictions.” Raynal cites this example with the explicit intention of underscoring the paradoxical manner in which the French treated opera: despite all evidence to the contrary, members of the nobility were bent on spreading rumors that an opera was on the verge of certain failure and ruin. Promulgating the idea that lyric tragedy was unpopular encouraged a diminution of the genre and its impact on society. In this paper, I illustrate that the literature that has survived from the eighteenth century critiquing the

quality of lyrics or the popular success of an opera was written by members of a small, elite intellectual circle whose objectivity and objectives raise questions. Such criticism diminishes, even cancels out, the voice of the greater public and trivializes their perception of or appreciation for opera. I conclude that an inclusion of audience identity and an appreciation for its diversity in the analysis of the reception of French Enlightenment opera highlights political biases that continue to negatively impact our understanding of lyric tragedy and its influence on contemporary audiences.

Maureen **Harkin** (Reed College) Affect Theory and the Eighteenth-Century Novel

Panel / *Session* 329, 'Emotions and Affect'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

How does the turn to the history of emotion and affect theory in the humanities change our sense of enlightenment identities?

The 18th-C sentimental novel has been, since its inception, a genre where literary criticism has acknowledged the defining role of emotion. Yet its representation of intense emotion has also typically been characterized more as a problem – that of evading intervention or action – rather than a beginning for exploration. A longstanding critique is that the focus on feeling rather than action effectively cut the sentimentalist off from actually doing anything about the deplorable situations that feature so prominently in its narratives. I would like to approach affect theory as a way of getting us out of this critical dead end: reading critiques of sentimental literature as simply bad faith laments about social suffering or the failures of sympathy.

I propose to draw on the work of Brian Massumi and Sianne Ngai for a reading of two mid-century novels from Scotland and Ireland striking for their representation of the social ineffectiveness of sympathy: Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* and Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*. I argue that an affect theory reading points our attention away from the failure of the sympathetic protagonists to put an end to the suffering and abuses they document, and instead directs it, more productively, towards the deep unease which the "man of feeling" represents, and stirred in his early readers. As Ngai has suggested in her readings in *Ugly Feelings*, criticism must not limit itself to commentary on the consequences of the actions of a given text, but examine the meditation on feeling, the disconnect between feeling and action, that (certain) texts offer: such "situations of passivity ... can also be thought of as allegories for bourgeois art's ... resigned and pessimistic understanding of its own relationship to political action." Goldsmith's flawed fable of rural community and Mackenzie's representations of obstructed agency offer two compelling sites to begin working through how affect theory in 18th-C literature might change our reading practices and mode of characterizing inchoate political critique.

Marion **Harney** (University of Bath) The English Landscape Style: The Spirit of an Enlightened Nationalism

Panel / *Session* 67, 'British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (University of Lille / Magdalen College, Oxford)

The English Landscape Style has been described as the UK's greatest contribution to the Arts and they are widely recognised as the emblematic cultural achievement of England and as a symbol of liberal philosophy and enlightened ways of thinking. Known as "le jardin anglais", "der englische Garten" or "il giardino inglese", their influence spread across Europe and beyond.

Their development during the Enlightenment is key to their understanding as the cultural revolution in garden art that 'reached its perfection in England' started with authors such as Joseph Addison whose contribution is of central importance. He, with others, intellectually pioneering the rise of the landscape garden movement, Addison making clear the association between liberty in politics and liberty in landscape.

The Enlightenment, like the English Landscape Movement, placed nature in the foreground, respecting the genius of the place and natural topography, English Landscape style aesthetics epitomise the concepts of liberty, culture, prosperity, taste and national character. Their emergence in the early eighteenth-century is associated with an evolving democratic society; viewed as reflecting the English Constitution, visually representing freedom of expression

through their naturalistic qualities. Through pictorial form and scenic design, they illustrate an approach to landscape that emphasised the poetic and philosophical associations evoked by nature and natural scenery, central to Enlightenment thought.

The historic and cultural importance of these landscapes as exceptional testimony to an English cultural tradition is made through exemplary representatives of the English Landscape style to better understand their value as expression in the development of English landscape design and as a reflection of socio-political ideas, cultural associations and notions of national and personal identity.

Corrinne **Harol** (University of Alberta) Thomas Bayes and the Problem of God as Author

Panel / *Session* 43, 'Enlightenment Religious Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura M. Stevens (University of Tulsa)

Thomas Bayes (1702-1761) was a Presbyterian minister, an author, and the inventor of a method for calculating probability—the Bayes theorem—that is the foundation of a dominant branch of statistics today (Bayesian statistics). This paper will be an initial and speculative foray into how the three strands of Bayes' identity—theologian, author, and statistician—are related. To do so, I analyze Bayes's first published work *Divine Benevolence, Or, An Attempt To Prove That The Principal End Of The Divine Providence And Government Is The Happiness Of His Creatures* (1731), which argues for the benevolence of God via the evidence of things within human experience. Bayes' theodicy, I argue, hinges on deploying the common early modern trope of God as the author of the world and by contrasting this with human authorship. By using the metaphor of God as author, whose nature is benevolent, Bayes approaches the problem of God as a question of inverse probability in which prior belief can be tested against empirical evidence: given the nature of the world, what can we say about the benevolence of its author? I analyze this metaphor in order to explore Bayes' concept of authorship (human and divine) and his epistemology, and to speculate about the theological foundations of Bayesian statistics (called "faith based" by its antagonists).

James **Harriman-Smith** (Newcastle University) Zara's Enthusiastic Passions

Panel / *Session* 365, 'Enlightenment Tragedy: Ancient Forms, Modern Affects'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatiana Korneeva (Freie Universität Berlin)

Aaron Hill's translation of Voltaire's *Zaïre* (1732) was first performed in 1735. Writing a preface to the English play in 1817, Richard Cumberland enumerated the work's numerous faults: the verse was 'not sufficiently diversified', the plot 'cannot boast of that intricacy which perplexes, and that denouement which surprises', and, worst of all, the two lead parts of Osman and Zara 'are by no means preserved with the consistency required by tragedy'. This paper answers these criticisms. The key to this play's success in the 1700s was neither its plot nor its consistency of character, but its enthusiastic passions. John Dennis, at the turn of the eighteenth century, had defined such passions as central to the revitalisation of English poetry (including drama), and, in Voltaire's *Zaïre*, Hill found an abundance of them for him to import. Voltaire's play tells the story of a Christian captive who must choose between her religion and her love, and, as Hill himself wrote in a paraphrase of Dennis, the 'most spirited Enthusiasm, is imprinted by Religious Sentiments'. To study the ebb and flow of this play's passions is to follow the advice that Hill gave to aspiring actors (including his own nephew, the first English Osman), and it is with reference to Hill's own theories of acting that this chapter will offer a close reading of Hill's translation, revealing both Hill's debts to Dennis and Voltaire and his own ability to create a distinctively eighteenth-century spectacle of stage emotion.

Scott **Harshbarger** (Hofstra University) The Lucifer Effect: Hubris in *Frankenstein* and the Stanford Prison Experiment

Panel / *Session* 18, 'Men Appear to Me as Monsters': Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* at 201'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvia Marks (New York University Tandon School of Engineering)

This paper explores the nature of hubris by focusing on the attempts of two scientists – one fictional, one real – to account for experiments which, in one way or another, got away from them. In devising their experiments, both scientists are motivated by profound problems. For Victor, the problem is death, “that most irreparable evil” (61), which the young man solves by immersing himself in corruption and decay, “until from the midst of this darkness a sudden light broke in upon me” (76). While the proximate problem for Zimbardo was the U.S. prison system, the deeper problem was the apparent susceptibility of human beings to lose their humanity in toxic situations.

I argue that the repulsive aspects of the human condition which the scientists are exploring prime implicit self-disgust which, in turn, helps generate hubris, a form of pride resulting from a dissociation between implicit and explicit self-representations, the grandiosity of the latter compensating for the shame infecting the former (Tracy & Robins 2007). “No one can conceive the variety of feelings which bore me onwards, like a hurricane, in the first enthusiasm of success,” recounts Victor, while Zimbardo, in turn, confesses that he lost himself in the role of prison superintendent, succumbing to the very pathologies the experiment was exploring (78; *The Lucifer Effect*, 235).

Both scientists tell stories intended to explain but not excuse the havoc caused by their endeavors. Victor, racked with guilt, warns his interlocutor that some pursuits are not “befitting the human mind,” while Zimbardo apologizes “for contributing to this inhumanity” (235). The title of Zimbardo’s book applies not only to the scientists, but to their monsters, the experience of all demonstrating the importance of situation, disposition, and the dynamic interplay between the two to understanding the human capacity for evil—including hubris.

Karen Harvey (University of Birmingham) ‘Me and Self goes to Bed good friends’: Personal Identity and the Material Body in English Letters

Panel / *Session* 443, ‘The Material Body’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Berry (Newcastle University)

This paper responds to a ‘new materialism’ within the academy that is affecting the way scholars in several disciplines are studying the historical body, encouraging a view of the body itself as a form of material culture. In eighteenth-century studies, this has tended towards a focus on ‘embodiment’. Embodiment refers to a person’s perception or experience of the body and their understanding of how the body relates to other aspects of their being or consciousness. Embodiment is entwined with identity. This paper explores the nature of this connection in the eighteenth century. Whilst a substantial body of intellectual history has examined the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophical debates about materialism arising from Cartesian dualism, this paper examines lay or everyday notions of embodiment using a large corpus of eighteenth-century English letters by (mainly middling-sort) men and women.

The paper uses these letters to examine individuals’ views and apparently interior and intimate experiences of embodiment, what we might describe as the person’s ‘inside eye’. Yet in fact these sources raise questions about the shared nature of eighteenth-century material bodies and the limits of personal identity. As a material object to be clothed, observed and reported upon, the individual body became communal; the individual body was a social body. The paper thus critically engages with some well-established chronologies of change concerning the body and identity, and through the lens of embodiment interrogates current scholarship on Enlightened identities.

Chikako Hashimoto (Shiga Prefectural University) Simplicité, santé, saveur : réconciliation de la gourmandise et de la médecine au XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session* 355, ‘Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 3 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

Depuis des siècles en France la gourmandise était sévèrement condamnée au moins dans les discours médicaux, ce qui a changé subitement au cours du XVIIIe siècle. Les médecins, qui préconisent le maintien et l’amélioration de la santé au moyen de l’alimentation, atténuent leur attitude critique envers le plaisir de manger, à condition qu’on prenne un repas plus « simple ». Correspondant à cette tendance dans le domaine médical, se développe une recherche pour une cuisine plus « simple », même dans les discours culinaires. A cette époque, où les livres de cuisine

sont publiés à une échelle inouïe, il y en a même certains dans lesquels des hommes de lettres ont pris la plume pour faire des préfaces savantes, sous l'influence évidente des pensées des Lumières, pour disserter sur la nouvelle cuisine idéale. Pour leur part également, les cuisiniers qui s'occupent des recettes, afin de quitter la cuisine « aveugle » de leurs prédécesseurs où plusieurs ingrédients dont la nature ne s'accorde pas forcément sont souvent mélangés, essaient de comprendre les traits de chaque aliment pour les combiner avec raison. En faisant une cuisine plus « simple », ils veulent que les mangeurs jouissent du plaisir de manger aussi bien que, de la santé. Ici, la réconciliation de la médecine et de la cuisine est réalisée, dans l'identification de la simplicité et de la santé, au profit de la recherche du « mieux » manger. Dans la communication, après l'esquisse de cette histoire du cas de la France, j'aimerais faire une comparaison avec la situation contemporaine du Japon.

Kasumi **Hashizume-Yamada** (Hitotsubashi University) Rousseau dans la Révolution genevoise

Panel / *Session* 312, 'Rousseau et les conflits'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Maiwenn Roudaut (Université de Nantes)

Le sujet de ma communication traite de la réception des idées de Jean-Jacques Rousseau dans les discours politiques à Genève autour de la Révolution genevoise (en décembre 1792). Ces recherches ici se fondent sur la conception d'« appropriation » telle que définie par Roger Chartier. A savoir, cela ne signifie pas comment les Genevois ont été influencés par des œuvres de Rousseau, mais comment ils les ont citées et commémoré son auteur pour se justifier.

Pour les activistes de la Révolution genevoise de la fin de l'Ancien Régime, la pensée de Rousseau a joué un rôle capital dans la justification de leurs arguments, notamment en citant son nom et ses œuvres dans leurs brochures. De même que des fêtes en l'honneur de Rousseau sont instituées pour lui rendre hommage. De plus, le gouvernement révolutionnaire a annulé la condamnation de 1762 contre Rousseau à propos du Contrat Social et de l'Émile.

Afin de mettre en lumière les changements des discours à propos de Rousseau, nous analysons ce que les Genevois disaient sur Rousseau et ses œuvres, en comparant les situations de la Révolution genevoise avec les troubles concernant la condamnation de 1762 contre Rousseau, l'« affaire Rousseau », et avec la Révolution française qui a nettement influencé Genève. Par cette considération, le courant des idées des Lumières, l'influence de la France et l'identité de Genève de la fin du 18^e siècle se révèlent.

Moyra **Haslett** (Queen's University Belfast) Irish Melodies before Moore

Panel / *Session* 253, 'Traditions of Song'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Roberts (Queen's University Belfast)

Thomas Moore's famous Irish Melodies consisted of 124 songs published in 10 volumes between 1808 and 1834 and his popular reception was to extend well beyond Ireland: 'The last rose of summer' was reputed to have sold at least 1 and a half million copies in the USA alone. In composing his airs, Moore was able to draw upon a number of song collections published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly Edward Bunting's collections of 'Ancient Irish Music' (the first two of three volumes were published in 1796, 1809) and Smollet Holden's collections of tunes and songs (c.1805, c.1807). However, a number of these tunes – and other purportedly 'Irish' tunes – had circulated as melodies for Anglophone song throughout the eighteenth century, evidenced by their recurrence in ballad operas, and in the printed forms of tune books and popular song collections and garlands. This paper will trace the performance and printing of several Irish melodies ('Sín síos suas lion', 'Ceann dubh dilish', 'Sheila na Guire' and 'Eibhlin Aruin', for example) so as to explore the ways in which the oral culture of Irish-language song became a source in the Anglophone traditions of theatrical performance and print culture in eighteenth-century Ireland. Although these borrowings are not extensive, the paper will argue that they are significant in preceding the more sustained interest in Irish song evident in Anglophone culture from the 1780s onwards.

Nikitas **Hatzimihail** (University of Cyprus) Enlightenment, Identity, and the Questiones Mixtes in Mid-Eighteenth-Century French Legal Literature

Panel / *Session* 210, 'Law and Literature'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

The principal connection usually made between legal history and the Enlightenment tends to concern philosophical works, especially in the natural-law tradition, and reform proposals. The relation between Enlightenment ideas and more “technical” doctrinal works has on the contrary remained less explored. My paper uses the idea of “identities” as a starting point for considering a variety of connections and influences into legal work: ideas but also networks and practical considerations. Even when no marked change in theoretical paradigms is immediately apparent, could there be significance in subtle changes such as the re-organization of the subject matter in legal treatises, the types of literature used, or in the constitution of discursive communities?

To illustrate this, I examine a minor episode in the intellectual history of law in the Eighteenth Century: the literature produced by a small group of French lawyers in apparent communication with each other, on the treatment of the so-called Questions Mixtes, once a legacy of books by a Parisian advocate prompted a series of meetings “to examine those questions that are judged differently in our Parliaments and also those that the different provisions of Customs render equivocal and difficult to decide”. Jean Bouhier, a senior judge and member of the Academie Française; Louis Froland and Louis Boullenois, two otherwise obscure practitioners, who were the first to publish entire books on a subject that had until that moment been examined within general works of jurisprudence. The real influence of these authors in French law, especially following the Revolution, is at best disputed, but their story has led some to consider them as pioneers in the legal field.

Is there significance in the subtle shifts in solutions advocated and, their possible divergence with claimed doctrinal foundations? Why were entire books suddenly produced in a short period of time, in a subject that had not merited such prolonged treatments, especially in France? What significance is there, if any, in the communication between these authors and the meeting series?

Marius Warholm Haugen (NTNU, Norwegian University of Science and Technology) Literary Lotteries in the Works of Carlo Goldoni, Pietro Chiari, and Giacomo Casanova

Panel / *Session* 475, 'Virtue and Vice'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

This paper will analyse literary representations of the lottery in three eighteenth-century texts: Giacomo Casanova's comedy *La donna di garbo* (1743), Pietro Chiari's novel *La Giuocatrice di lotto* (1757), and Giacomo Casanova's memoirs *Histoire de ma vie* (1789-1798). In eighteenth-century Europe, the lottery was not only a popular pastime, but also a catalyst for dreams of social and financial improvement, particularly for people of the lower classes. By extension, it provided authors with an interesting literary motif that revealed their characters' hopes and desires of obtaining a better condition, in terms of social status, marriage, and love. Goldoni's *La donna di garbo* places itself in a long tradition of plays, stretching back to the mid-seventeenth century, which mockingly criticize the lottery craze: the comedy's lottery player is primarily a ridiculous figure. Chiari's novelistic representation, although clearly influenced by Goldoni, takes on a very different form. By framing the motif within the confessional pseudo-memoir novel, Chiari gives the lottery a significantly more positive turn, inviting the reader to empathize with the heroine's desire for social ascension, as well as presenting her lottery passion as the result of a bourgeois sense of entrepreneurial initiative. As for Casanova's take on the lottery, it is determined by the autobiographical form of his text, the author recounting his own role in the establishment of the lottery of the *École militaire* in Paris in 1757. This episode plays a key role in Casanova's literary self-representation as a gambler and social climber, and it establishes a dichotomy between the foolish masses venturing in the lottery and the real gambler profiting from their illusionary dreams of social ascension. I will explore the different functions that the lottery motif serves in the three texts in question and analyse the general as well as the authorial differences in how the lottery was represented in literary form.

Eugene Heath (State University of New York at New Paltz) At the Lodge of Kilwinning: Adam Smith's Moral Thought in the Words of Rev. Gillies

Panel / *Session* 28, 'The Scottish Enlightenment and Freemasonry'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gerry Carruthers (University of Glasgow)

In 1766, a speech was given at the “mother lodge” of Scottish Freemasonry in Kilwinning. The contents of the first half of this speech bear resemblance to concepts and ideas in Adam Smith’s *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). In fact, the talk was delivered by Rev. Alexander Gillies who received his M.A. from the University of Glasgow in 1760. This presentation will note briefly, some connections between philosophy and freemasonry in eighteenth-century Scotland and then proceed to detail how Rev. Gillies’s speech appears to draw elements from the moral theory of Adam Smith. The presentation will conclude with a consideration of how these or other elements of Smith’s moral thought might have consonance with salient principles of freemasonry.

Elizabeth Hedrick (University of Texas at Austin) *Tortured and Twisted: Jonathan Swift’s Classical Identity in ‘A Modest Proposal’*

Panel / *Session 184*, ‘Swift and Satire’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Cook (University of Dundee)

A Modest Proposal is, by virtually universal agreement, Jonathan Swift’s most potent short satire. In it Swift takes aim at a host of targets: the cruelty of modern economic thinking; the smug self-interestedness of modern social “projectors”; the political cowardice and stupidity of the contemporary Irish government; and a number of other issues pertaining to Ireland in the 1720’s and to Anglo-Irish politics. One of the chief methods through which Swift makes his attack involves the rigorous use of a classical format developed by Cicero and still regarded in Swift’s day as *pro forma* for argumentative writing. Rhetorical analysts of Swift’s essay have presented his use of this structure as a touchstone against which the Proposer’s barbarism can be measured, and as a reminder of classical virtues that Swift himself, as author, endorsed. In the paper I hope to present at the 2019 ISECS meeting, however, I argue that Swift’s use of Cicero, and his enthusiasm for the ancients generally, was far more complicated than the received portrayals of his work suggest. While the form of the “Proposal” heightens its vitriol and sharpens its irony, the Ciceronian structure also serves as in some sense the object of Swift’s animus, a rhetorical tactic fully separate from Swift as author. A brief look at two of Swift’s non-ironic essays—“A Proposal for the universal use of Irish Manufacture” (1720) and “A Proposal for giving Badges to the Beggars” (1737)—suggests that Swift never employed the Ciceronian model as tautly in his non-ironic essays as he did in the “Modest Proposal.” The Ciceronian structure of his famous short satire represents a kind of self-restraint that Swift found both compositionally and personally confining; and the structure of Swift’s essay is at least partly a repudiation rather than an embrace of the classical world.

Timothy Heimlich (University of California, Berkeley) *Psychology and Literary Form in Joanna Baillie’s Plays on the Passions*

Panel / *Session 127*, ‘Women Writers and the Scottish Enlightenment’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30.
Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Martha McGill (University of Warwick)

This paper examines Joanna Baillie’s understudied *Plays on the Passions* (1798), a series of works in which Baillie investigated what we would now call psychological disorders or abnormal states of mind. In dialogue with earlier eighteenth-century Scottish theorists of the mind, especially David Hume and Adam Smith, Baillie uses literature as a tool for helping readers and audiences sympathize with—and, to a certain extent, enter into—disordered states of mind. While some recent scholars have assumed that Hume attempted to establish a normative human psychology, writers like Miranda Burgess have persuasively argued that Hume recognizes the fragility of the psyche, and portrays self-making as a process always on the cusp of going awry. Baillie’s *Plays* recognize this fragility, and suggest that understanding and potentially curing madness is a matter of refining one’s own sensibility, a process in turn facilitated by the peculiar effects exercised by literary form.

Drawing on recent scholarship that recognizes eighteenth-century literature as deeply interested in contemporary work in the sciences and in medicine, this paper seeks to recuperate the degree to which imaginative works like the *Plays* influenced public conceptions of madness and of psychology more generally. Critics like Kevis Goodman have shown that works like William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) consciously positioned themselves as medico-poetic experiments; this paper would be among the first attempts to recuperate the medical and psychological dimensions of Baillie’s thought. The paper ends by calling for a more thorough accounting of how

eighteenth-century writers associated specific formal devices with particular psychological or affective states, and wonders whether eighteenth-century writers understood particular formal devices to correspond to specific ways of thinking.

Ralf Hemmingsen (University of Copenhagen) Nomenclature and Clinical ‘Gestalt’

Panel / *Session* 369, ‘In Pursuit of Salvation, Subjectivity, and Sanity: Ideas and Practices Regarding Mental Illness in the Legal System of Denmark-Norway’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Søren Peter Hansen (Technical University of Denmark)

The time of Enlightenment is the time of early tentative efforts to create a psychiatric nomenclature and forensic psychiatry. Parallel to the pietistic interests in introspection and examination of the condition of the so-called inner person, material from court cases reveal a surprisingly rich vocabulary describing the mental conditions of the delinquents. Witnesses, judges and advocates often show a genuine interest to obtain a nuanced albeit not yet scientific understanding of the mental state of the accused.

The point of departure of this paper will be court records from the 18th century cases concerning pacts with the Devil as well as cases of so-called melancholic or suicide murderers. This source material allows us to encircle the use of vocabulary regarding mental illness and its plausible relation to religion – not least if there is any change or alternation to be identified.

Alex Hernandez (University of Toronto) Medea in Petticoats: She-Tragedy and the Domestication of Passion

Panel / *Session* 365, ‘Enlightenment Tragedy: Ancient Forms, Modern Affects’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatiana Korneeva (Freie Universität Berlin)

Writing in the 1770s, Samuel Johnson summed up the enduring appeal of she-tragedies by noting that plays such as Thomas Otway’s *The Orphan* (1680) move the spectator because they are “domestic,” “drawn from middle life...[so that their] whole power is upon the affections.” At first blush then, the genre would seem to be a strange outlier to the story of tragedy’s Enlightenment, because it valorizes homely “affections” and powerful embodied passions at the expense of the more rational pleasures of say, high heroic or neoclassical tragedy. If heroic tragedy elevated the mind, she-tragedy brought about passive feeling; if heroic tragedy refined one’s powers of discrimination, she-tragedies showed us terrors that struck close to home.

Yet in some respects, I argue, she-tragedy appears to announce tragedy’s modernization through that very same process of domestication. By exploring forms of intimacy and attachment in the home during a period in which that space was under intense negotiation for many average European citizens, she-tragedy evoked what many confessed to be “something Familiar” in its depiction of suffering. Which is to say, she-tragedy imagined a form of ordinary suffering more easily absorbed by its viewer. This paper takes up this line of argument and by attending to its affective work, attempts to situate the genre into our account of tragedy and Enlightenment.

Christoph Heyl (Universität Duisburg-Essen) The Pastoral Bagpipe: A Newly Invented Musical Instrument between Neo-Classicism and Highland Revival (With practical demonstrations on a period instrument)

Panel / *Session* 319, ‘Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland – Exploring a Major Exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vicky Coltman (University of Edinburgh)

During the 1740s, musical instrument makers in London tempted young, affluent middle-class men with a new product: a quiet, sophisticated and expensive type of bagpipe suitable for chamber music. Its name – “the Pastoral

Bagpipe” – was part of a successful marketing strategy which associated the instrument with neo-classicism as well as the social and cultural aspirations of the polite metropolitan middle classes.

The instrument became popular among wealthy amateurs, and soon it was also made and further developed in Edinburgh and Dublin. The presentation of the pastoral pipes as neo-classical was followed by new and substantially different modes of self-fashioning. In the late eighteenth century, they featured in a theatrical representation of Scottishness in *Oscar and Malvina*, a very successful Ossianic ballet-pantomime performed at Covent Garden from 1791. Here they were used as an ingredient in a kind of unionist stage Scottishness concocted for a London audience, with music composed by an Englishman. Meanwhile, in Scotland the instrument was used to play an evolving Scottish repertoire of tunes.

The pastoral pipes fell from favour during the first half of the nineteenth century. In Scotland, they were elbowed aside by a powerful rival. The dominant aesthetic trends of romanticism and primitivism led to a rapidly increasing appreciation of the Highland bagpipes and their music. As the Highlander was romanticised as a noble savage, the gale-force music of the Highland bagpipes came to be regarded as an embodiment of the musical sublime and even the musical gothic. Although the Highland bagpipes had also gone through a very recent process of modernisation, their perceived archaic nature was seen as an asset.

The initial appeal of the pastoral pipes had been founded on technical innovation and musical sophistication as well as their origins in the urban world of the middle classes. In a changing climate of aesthetics and opinion, it was these very characteristics that eventually made them unfashionable.

J. Patrick **Higgins** (University of Łódź) Tolerant as Attribute of Enlightened Identity? Samuel Przytkowski’s Defense of the Radical Reformation

Panel / *Session 122*, ‘Relative Liberties’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Joyce Irwin (Princeton Research Forum)

Social theorists and historians have long-noted the connections between religious thought, social practice, and the Enlightenment. Perhaps the most notable of these was Max Weber and his work on his Protestant Work Ethic, though this was challenged by British Historian Hugh Trevor-Roper’s work on the Scottish Enlightenment. While Weber focused on Calvinism and Trevor-Roper on Erasmianism, Polish scholar Zbigniew Ognowski’s work on the Socinian Diaspora revives Samuel Przytkowski’s 17th century defense of toleration, where religious institutions and sociopolitical situation co-developed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This paper follows these insights to explore Przytkowski and other members of the Polish Brethren’s defense and supportive of toleration as part of the identity of an “Enlightened” person or institution, and seeks to explore the Diaspora of the Radical Reformation as precursor to the Enlightenment.

Mark J. **Hill** (University of Helsinki) Identifying Enlightenment Authorship: A Quantitative Analysis of the ESTC

Panel / *Session 448*, ‘Booksellers and Authorship’. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alessia Castagnino (Fondazione 1563 per l’Arte e la Cultura)

Historians of the booktrade have noted the importance of personal relationships when studying the history of print. Beyond the pragmatic necessity of networking, these relationships represent intellectual, religious, and social groups who were connected by shared endeavours. As part of Helsinki Computational History Research Group’s (COMHIS: <http://comhis.github.io/>) efforts to harmonize and analyse different bibliographic records, this paper reconstructs historical authorship networks. To do this, the English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC) is transformed into a representation of the interconnections between actors engaged in the English booktrade. That is to say, it is treated as material history itself. To demonstrate the validity of this approach, the paper aims to present a set of novel, yet accurate, historical claims.

Building upon previous claims that conceptions of early modern authorship were more collaborative, the paper first maps the relationships between authors and other booktrade actors, measuring changes over time. This allows for a historical record of the act of authorship to be developed which can be used to identify actors who were historically

central, but which basic analyses of publication records fail to note. Beyond the individual, we are also able to recognize different and changing intellectual communities within the larger booktrade. By identifying these individuals and subnetworks, researchers are able to both identify and track broader historical changes and examine specific authorship communities in more detail.

Overall, the paper demonstrates how the structural frameworks of the booktrade are directly linked to the complex act of authorship during the enlightenment. That is to say, the transformation from the “hack” to the “professional”, or the shift of women as an underrepresented group to exemplars of the 19th century novel, are changes tied as much to the historical structures of authorship as they are to conceptual changes.

Rose **Hilton** (Sheffield Hallam University) Elizabeth Griffith’s *The Times*: The Unseen Masquerade and the Disguised Character

Panel / *Session* 164, ‘Collections, Costumes, and Representations: London and the Country House’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Serena Dyer (University of Hertfordshire)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in *A Discourse on Inequality* (1755), tells the reader that as civilised selves we are ‘ever inquiring of others what we are, and never daring to question ourselves on so delicate a Point’ (p. 181). This search for external identification is a discernible theme in Elizabeth Griffith’s *The Times* (1780). This play explores the relationships between class, spending, and virtue in eighteenth-century London. Griffith’s protagonists, the Woodleys, are a married couple guilty of excessive spending. Morally corrupted by their ‘friends’, the Bromleys, who encourage these excesses; the Woodleys seek recognition of their social standing and identities. The Woodleys’ willingness to, as Rousseau describes, ‘purchase at any Rate the Respect of others’ (p.213) blinds them to the true identity of the Bromleys. The disguised characters of the Bromleys are structurally hinted at through Griffith’s thematic employment of an upcoming masquerade. This unseen, unreached event infuses the play with dramatic irony and centralises the critical exploration of identity and social behaviour in *The Times*. The play concludes with the Woodleys choosing to live in their country-house, away from what Mr Woodley’s uncle, Sir William, calls ‘this scene of folly and extravagance’ (p.18). This paper examines Griffith’s presentation of ‘luxury culture’ and class by applying Rousseau’s criticism of the effects of luxury on the ‘civilised self’, concluding that Griffith’s playwriting tapped into the cultural concerns about the social construction of identity, through action and place, in ‘the times’.

Amanda **Hiner** (Winthrop University) Constructing the Identity of the Female Satirist: Social Commentary and Class Critique in the Satires of Jane Collier and Mary Leapor

Panel / *Session* 423, ‘British Women’s Enlightenment Identities: Improvements and Appropriations’. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Troy Davis (Stephen F. Austin State University)

Despite a long-standing and prevailing assumption among many scholars that satire was a largely masculine enterprise and genre during the long eighteenth century, recent studies reveal that women writers were prolific, engaged, and energetic participants in the practice of satire during the period. Though self-conscious and cautious about their intrusion into a literary mode often deemed both masculine and aggressive, female writers understood satire’s potency as a form of social critique and as a vehicle for participation in important cultural debates. Female satirists wrote both mild and gentle Horatian satires and sharp, Juvenalian attacks, and they often imitated, influenced, and requited the works of leading male satirists such as Pope and Swift. This paper analyzes select satires written by Jane Collier (1714–1755) and Mary Leapor (1722–1746), emphasizing their appropriation and modification of satiric strategies by Pope and Swift in order to reverse and challenge cultural assumptions about both class and gender.

Tim **Hitchcock** (University of Sussex) Vagrants and Paupers under the Old Poor Law.

Panel / *Session* 50, ‘Law and the Politics of Poverty’. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Peter Denney (Griffith University)

To be a vagrant in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England was to be a criminal – arrested, charged and punished with hard labour in a house of correction. But when the punishment was complete, vagrants were passed to their parish of settlement, which then became responsible for their ongoing support and relief. The receiving parish could not appeal against a vagrant removal order, and removals of this variety became a fast track to settled status. This paper uses a series of recently created datasets to explore the relationship between the parishes of England, and its population of migratory and vagrant poor. This paper will compare and contrast the vagrant lives recorded in Parliamentary returns of vagrants punished in England between 1820 and 1824, with the listings generated by the vagrant contractor for Middlesex, the St Martin in the Fields workhouse registers, and finally, with the newly developed data on poor law expenditure at parish level collected by the ‘Small bills and petty finance’ project. In the process, it will explore the relationship between vagrancy and poor relief; between the settled poor and England’s travelling sub-culture; to argue that our current understanding of the Old Poor Law underplays the importance of vagrancy in the lives of English working people, and misrepresents the role of internal and seasonal migration in English and British communities.

Elisabeth **Hobisch** (University of Graz) Identities in Crisis: Spanish and French Identity Discourses in the ‘Spectators’

Panel / *Session 279*, ‘Real and Fictitious Identities in Relation to Political, Social, and Cultural Spaces in the European ‘Spectators’ 1’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Angela Fabris (University of Klagenfurt)

The 18th century in Spain is marked by the sensation of a profound national crisis, which is based on the feeling of a loss of influence and the shift of power in Europe towards France and England. The literary discourse of the country is dominated by the discussion of the Spanish nation and identity, of the country’s value in comparison to the artistically influential neighbour France, and of its future development in order to put an end to the perceived “Spanish backwardness”. This manifold identity discourse shows some characteristics that Von Tschilschke (2009) has outlined as specific for the Spanish nation’s self-conception.

Whereas the French Spectators published before the French Revolution do not seem to ask for any definition of the French identity, the Spectators published by Jacques-Vincent Delacroix in the 1790s begin to deal with the question of a French identity and the future development of the nation. Interestingly, Delacroix’ identity discourse shows similarities with the identity discourse in the Spanish Spectators. As a consequence, this contribution will compare the topics and the narrative strategies used by the Spanish Spectators and Dealcroix’ Spectateurs to discuss their national identity.

Britta **Hochkirchen** (Universität Bielefeld) Me, Myself, I, and the Image: Pictorial Modes of Performing (Self-)Reflexivity in the Age of Enlightenment

Panel / *Session 283*, ‘The Contribution of Images to the Enlightenment Agenda / L’apport des images au programme des Lumières 1’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Fulda (Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

In the eighteenth century, French genre painting creates a new relation between image and beholder, a relation that mainly relies on an interplay between body and mind. The sensuous (often female) body plays a dual or even multiplied role within these genre paintings: It is represented as motif, it presents itself in the materiality of the picture, and is materialized in the corporeality of the beholder. The paper will present a perspective on the different ways of (self-)reflexivity – of the body of the painting and the beholder – provoked by pictorial strategies which can be read as a contribution to the materialist and empiricist strands of enlightenment. Based on the multi-layered pictorial practices of (self-)reflection, the paper advocates an understanding of a “schizophrenic conception” of the image and beholder in the Enlightenment – known as the age of the invention of individuality.

Courtney **Hoffman** (Georgia Institute of Technology) Lady of Letters: Literary Critique in Anne MacVicar Grant’s Letters from the Mountains

Panel / *Session* 298, 'Highland Identities 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew McCormack (University of Northampton)

The majority of scholarship engaged with Anne Grant's poetry and prose has either focused on her portrayal of Highlands culture, her interesting position as something of a Scottish expatriate of the American colonies, skeptical of the revolutionary cause yet friendly with Elizabeth Schuyler Hamilton, or place her prose works within the genre of travel writing. Both Pam Perkins and Kenneth MacNeil have argued that Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* as critiquing life in America, connecting, on occasion, Highland culture with that of the Native Americans Grant had observed in New York, and identifying her fellow Scots as "other" while simultaneously exploring her own connections to them. Juliet Shields and Evan Gottlieb suggest that Grant's poetry intertwines with Scott's portrayals of a nostalgic Highland identity that is disappearing – or has already. But Grant's *Letters from the Mountains* have been mostly ignored, or, as when Perkins discusses Grant's 1806/7 editions of published correspondence, justifiably categorize the letters as furthering Grant's positioning of herself as a member and observer of Highland cultural identity.

And while Grant's *Letters* do in fact engage with a nostalgic preservation of a distinct sense of specifically Highland identity, they also contain references to eighteenth-century luminaries like Pope, Swift, Sterne, Thomson, and Smollett, as well as frequent quotations from several of Shakespeare's plays. Writing to her husband's relation, Charlotte Grant, she urges her ward to consider that the portrayals of the characters in *Clarissa* are meant by Richardson to fully examine the depth of human nature. Repeated inclusion of unattributed lines of poetry in her letters are connected to aspects of her own and her friends' lives, highlighting not only Grant's familiarity with a wide range of literature, but her friends' as well – since she would know her audience and expect her correspondents to possess the same breadth of knowledge as she did. My paper will explore how Grant's *Letters from the Mountains* identifies a network of ladies of letters, enlightened women who move beyond traditional feminine identities in 18th-century Scotland.

Elwin Hofman (KU Leuven / New York University) *Corporeal Truth: Reading the Body in French and Belgian Interrogations, 1750–1830*

Panel / *Session* 41, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

The body of the criminal was an important object of eighteenth-century criminal justice. Inflicting pain on the body was a way of achieving legal truth through the confession of the suspect and spectacular corporal punishments displayed the supremacy of the law. As the century progressed, such practices were increasingly criticized and eventually discontinued. But contrary to what has often been suggested following Michel Foucault's analysis in *Discipline and Punish*, the criminal body remained important to criminal justice, and in particular to the criminal procedure. Focusing on practices of criminal interrogation, this paper explores how French and Belgian magistrates continued to "read" suspects' bodies for signs of their guilt, how they used these readings to incite them to confess their crimes, and how suspects confirmed or contested them.

Using manuals for interrogators, legal commentaries, visual sources and interrogation transcripts, I attend to the ways interrogators and suspects interpreted practices such as trembling, weeping, laughing or sweating, but also to more general assessments of dress and facial and physical features, often inspired by popular physiognomic knowledge. While interrogators had already attended to such signs during the early modern period, their attention for the human body in the interrogation intensified rather than diminished after the French Revolution and the abolition of torture. It was precisely because they could no longer put the body through pain, I argue, that they needed to analyze it much more closely in order to reach the truth. Through this analysis of the interrogation, changing attitudes to the body can be revealed.

Jared Holley (European University Institute) *Bringing the Pulchrum Back: Beauty, Amour-Propre, and Natural Culture in Rousseau*

Panel / *Session* 250, 'The Arts of Politics and the Politics of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century French Thought'.
Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* :
Ann Thomson (European University Institute)

In recent decades, our understanding of Rousseau's political thought has been fundamentally revised. Gone is the once dominant image of an ancient utopian thinker, an austere republican, or a back-to-the-land fantasist. Instead, historians of political thought increasingly see Rousseau as a 'modern' thinker, one for whom individual recognition, regulated luxury, and market exchange were necessary, structural features of political life. The emphasis in this revisionist historiography on the economic limits of modern politics has been remarkably fruitful. However, despite much commentary—and indeed partly because of it—this story seems to have missed something absolutely central.

The general aim of this paper will be to supplement the revisionist account by emphasizing the importantly aesthetic dimensions of Rousseau's political thought. My particular focus will fall on (i) first, his description of 'taste' as 'the microscope of judgment'; and (ii) second, what he called 'the general taste'. The metaphors appear together in his *Dictionary of Music*; he repurposed the former in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, and the latter in the *Letter to d'Alembert*. The ideas behind the metaphors, and to a lesser extent the texts in which they appear, tend to be overlooked in the literature. By bringing them together, this paper will clarify Rousseau's view of the relationship between goodness, utility, and beauty—or, on classical terms, how his concern with the 'honestum et utilitas' was twinned with his concern with the 'pulchrum et honestum'. Bringing the pulchrum back in, as it were, helpfully shifts our attention from material or economic limits to imaginative or aesthetic possibilities in Rousseau, and in Enlightenment political thought more broadly.

Sally Holloway (Oxford Brookes University) Teaching Histories of Gender and the Emotions using Eighteenth-Century Material Culture

Panel / *Session* 206, 'Innovations in Teaching the Long Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00.
Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

The changing histories of emotions and gender identities can sometimes prove difficult for students to grasp. Textual sources such as conduct books are useful up to a point, in revealing societal expectations. But their normative prescriptions were often evaded or completely ignored in practice. Using material culture provides a different and much more immediate approach to studying these issues.

Through looking at artefacts and buildings from the long eighteenth century, students are encouraged to reflect upon the diversity of meanings that are attached to objects and places. But it is also vital not to project today's attitudes onto the past or to sentimentalize it. This paper assesses the benefits and pitfalls of teaching complex matters of personal identity using both experiential and object-based learning.

Julia Holzmann (University of Bremen) Self-Image and External Perception of Two Enslaved Women in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic

Panel / *Session* 394, 'German Slavery 1: Legal Problems, Legal Cases, and the Struggle for Identity'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Diana Paton (University of Edinburgh)

In 1771 two enslaved women from Suriname claimed their freedom from the States General at The Hague. My presentation will focus on this case and the conflicting perceptions and self-representations that can be found in the court documents: The women depicted themselves as members of a family of maroons, who officially got their freedom by the Dutch colonial government and argued their case on the basis of the free soil principle of the Dutch Republic. The master of the women, a former counselor of justice in Suriname, claimed the women as his property as he would have done in the colony. The advocates of the country (*landesavocaaten*) perceived the women as victims and considered slavery as violating the free soil principle. The presence of these two Surinamese women in the Dutch Republic and the dispute they brought to the attention of the States General transferred the fierce conflict between freedom and slavery, which was fought in the colonies, right into the heart of the Dutch Republic, an imagined space

of freedom. Their narratives were at the same time deeply embedded in enlightenment thinking with all its ambiguities.

Victoria Höög (Lund University) Histories Before History: Condorcet's Temporal Dimensions in Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain Reconsidered

Panel / *Session 242*, 'Questions of History'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Kevin Berland (Pennsylvania State University)

How many overarching histories can we have that are regarded as reliable professional accounts of the past? Until historicism's academic triumph in middle decades of the nineteenth century history writing was a flexible genre close to literature. History was considered in plural, not a singular universal progressive process. In German language history was originally in the plural form of *Das Geschichte*, but changed during the eighteenth century to be used as a collective singular (Bouton, 2016; Koselleck, 1985; Stalnaker, 2010).

A claim of mine is that general academic history has neglected temporality and viewed it as a problem for philosophies or theories of history; hence not of interest for the practicing historian. The international historiographical discussion of temporality has so far mainly been historiographical and not applied on certain cases. My suggested case is a re-reading of Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1794) with temporality as the guiding framework. A helpful concept for a re-interpretation of Condorcet is "regimes of time" a concept from Reinhart Koselleck and further developed by (Jordheim, 2014). Another similar concept with explorative resources is François Hartog's "regimes of historicity" (Hartog 2015).

Instead of viewing a historical period as constituted by one temporal dimension, multiple temporal regimes make sense for a re-interpretation of the *Esquisse*. That can open for an historical understanding of the Enlightenment not as a one-way argument towards a dangerous Utopia, but more in line with a profound historicity. The interpretations of Condorcet's last work has kept to the linear time model held together by an idea of progress, so also Rothschild's masterly monograph (Rothschild, 2001). A re-reading of Condorcet's main work makes one aware of that he – as well as Turgot – describes different areas of human activity unevenly and with different time dynamics.

Hilde Hoogenboom (Arizona State University) English, French, and German Bestsellers in Russia: Duty and Service in Translation

Panel / *Session 64*, 'Writing Noblewomen in Eighteenth-Century Russia'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Séverine Genieys-Kirk (University of Edinburgh)

In the late eighteenth century, Russian translators and novelists not only followed the latest European literature, but labored to introduce words and concepts that were sometimes unfamiliar and even irrelevant to Russian experience. In particular, they adapted the sentimental notion of selfless duty to that of service to the Emperor (or Empress) and the state, the *raison d'être* of the nobility, the social group to which most translators and writers belonged. In a so-called war of duties, sentimentalism also posited a new duty to one's own happiness. Building on Margaret Cohen's *The Sentimental Education of the Novel* (1999), this paper argues that especially in Russia, sentimentalism was primarily moral, about the cultivation not of feeling, but of duties to others and society, to restrain passions. Although only noblemen usually served to obtain rank, noblewomen also enjoyed the fruits and responsibilities of service: rank and property with serfs. As writers and translators, women as well as men, russified ideals of virtue, duty, and love for the service nobility. This paper brings together the eminent historian, biographer, and compiler Dmitry Bantysh-Kamensky's translation of Sophie Cottin's bestseller *Mathilde, or Memoirs from the History of the Crusades* (1805), which had four editions (1806-7, 1811, 1813, 1821) and was the first Russian translation of Cottin's five novels, and his own sentimental historical novel, *Princess Menshikova* (1833), with three sentimental novels, *Emiliia, or the Sad Consequences of Reckless Love* (1806), *Milena, or a Rare Example of Magnanimity* (1809), and *Virtue Triumphant over Perfidy and Evil* (1809) by Maria Izvekova (1789-1830), who enjoyed the patronage of Dowager Empress Mariia Fedorovna.

David **Hope** (Institute of Historical Research/Newcastle University) 'Our great buyer has sunk half his fortune': London Merchants, Trans-Imperial Networks, and the Global Fur Trade, c. 1780–1820

Panel / *Session* 140, 'Marchands sans frontières? Cultures, Networks, and Identities of Early Modern Capitalists 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Filipa Ribeira da Silva (International Institute of Social History)

From the zenith of the British fur trade at the close of the eighteenth century through to its protracted decline in the early nineteenth century, millions of animal pelts were trapped and traded in North America and thence shipped across the Atlantic for sale in the global port of London. As a major entrepôt, the British metropolis had a diverse merchant community that facilitated the worldwide distribution of this luxury commodity. The chartered Hudson's Bay Company and 'Canada merchants' — the oligopolistic London firms associated with Montreal's fur traders — dominated the import of peltry into the capital. While beaver furs were eagerly purchased by British hat manufacturers, the copious quantities of bear, fox, marten, mink, otter, raccoon, wolf, and other pelts were destined for overseas markets. German merchants largely controlled this re-export trade: they alone accounted for one-third of the furs purchased at the Hudson's Bay Company's auctions. From London, these merchants organised the trans-imperial trade of furs to Continental Europe and Qing China.

This paper explores the transoceanic networks that circulated furs across and between Atlantic, Baltic, and Pacific markets. It illuminates the crucial role that German merchants, many of whom were naturalised as British citizens, played in facilitating trans-imperial trade and their connections to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Scottish-Canadian merchants who managed the Montreal fur trade. Whereas the Hudson's Bay Company did not venture beyond the use of public auctions, the Canada merchants attempted to increase profits by making private deals with specific German merchants, whether through lawful or illicit means. The paper critically assesses London merchants' trading relationships, emphasising the risks and rewards these 'citizens of the world' embraced as they distributed furs across the globe, permeated imperial borders, and grappled with (and evaded) legal frameworks.

Nicole **Horejsi** (California State University, Los Angeles) Reforming Literary History in Clara Reeve's *The Progress of Romance* and *The History of Charoba, Queen of Ægypt*

Panel / *Session* 222, 'Women Writers and Identities of Reform (Western Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies)'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Regulus Allen (Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo)

In 1785, the prolific novelist, Clara Reeve, published her remarkable literary dialogue, *The Progress of Romance*—the first such critical history ever written by a woman—which challenged the existing literary landscape by claiming that all literature, from epic to the novel, owes a debt to romance and its origins to the East. Throughout the dialogue, Reeve rewrites the history of the romance/novel divide that first emerges at mid-century and subverts contemporary processes of canonization, offering a new literary-historiographic model. Later, in *The History of Charoba, Queen of Ægypt*, which she appends to the dialogue, she reinforces this model by relating the story of a queen who resists narrative and imperial domination. In commemorating Charoba's story alongside the history of the would-be conqueror, Gebirus, Reeve rewrites the triumph of Aeneas over Dido, and Octavian over Cleopatra; subverting the seeming inevitability of Dido's defeat, she emphasizes the stakes of representation by offering the histories of Charoba and Gebirus side-by-side. In this way, Charoba parallels debates about canon formation earlier in *The Progress*, suggesting the fallacy of presenting a single, unified narrative as undisputed fact. In this way, Reeve demonstrates how critical attempts to regulate generic categories threaten to marginalize female writers just as Augustan epic and history had marginalized female characters. Embracing the varied possibilities represented by Dido's myth and Cleopatra's history, novelists return to English cultural origins in order to posit alternative narratives based in the same epic tradition that had shaped Western civilization and legitimated England's own fabled history. In thus recovering the ancient pedigree of the novel, Reeve situates eighteenth-century women writers at the heart of a long tradition of rereading Vergilian epic and, at the same time, foregrounds their participation—at the intersections of "novel," "romance," "epic," and "history"—in neoclassical culture.

Henrik **Horstbøll** (Lund University) A Perfect Pamphlet-Storm: The Philopatreias Debate in Copenhagen in 1770–72

Panel / *Session* 249, 'The Abolition of Censorship and the Pamphlet Period in Denmark 1770–73'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tine Damsholt (University of Copenhagen)

One of the first consequences of the unlimited freedom of the press declared in Denmark in 1770 was the pamphleteering caused by Jakob Christian Bie's Three Remarks on the Decay of Trade, the Courts of Justice and the Revenues of The Clergy. As Philopatreias (the lover of his fatherland) Jakob Christian Bie pseudonymously criticized both the economy of the state and the order of the church: Greed, injustice and vanity became topics of public discussion.

An intense debate of Philopatreias' views spread from the printing shops in Copenhagen, and an English translation of Philopatreias even appeared in St. Croix in the West Indies. The immediate reaction in Copenhagen consisted of 62 pamphlets: Students, professors, clergy, civil servants and other citizens of Copenhagen anonymously created a completely new public.

In disguise Bie participated in the pamphleteering: He continued as Philopatreias and as Anti-Philopatreias. But in the beginning of the year 1771 he tried to withdraw Philopatreias from further debate: The original pamphlet had been written as a satire and a joke. The attempt to recall the storm was not a success. The Philopatreias-debate remained and continued without Jacob Christian Bie. The pamphlet-storm presents a laboratory for the study of communication and the establishment of a public sphere as a result of the abolition of censorship.

Yue Chen **Hou** (McMaster University) 'No creed but the compass': Character Development in *Roderick Random*

Panel / *Session* 93, 'Smollett and Enlightenment Identity'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Phineas Dowling (Auburn University)

Tobias Smollett's *The Adventures of Roderick Random* offers a nautical perspective on the picaresque novel. The appendage of the ocean-faring ship as a narrative device seems a naturally fitting addition to a genre marked by episodic adventures and frequent travel. Yet the insertion of naval culture into this narrative complicates the resulting story with a nuance no doubt at least partially influenced by the complexities of Smollett's own experience in the Royal Navy. I will argue that this tint of realism produces real character development, a rare feature of this genre. Furthermore, I suggest that this development is not only intimately tied to the interactions between the sailor and the ship, but is also mediated by the intricate geography of the eighteenth-century seascape, particularly the littoral zone. Surprisingly, while being on the seas and sailing in ships can change characters, that motion is towards a kind of calcification – a habituation of characters into nautical roles. And indeed, by contrasting Random with his seabound uncle, Tom Bowling, I argue that Smollett offers an intensely ambivalent exploration and critique of this aspect of maritime life. Bowling's inability to function on land, evinced not only by his compulsive return to naval service but also his diction, is cast as a kind of innocence from the corruption of terrestrial society. But it is one borne from ignorance, and different from the path Random ultimately chooses for himself, despite his admiration for his uncle. Instead, what Roderick Random demonstrates in his adventures is the importance of the littoral zone in both reflecting and producing genuine character development. I trace two parallel lines of progression which denote his growth – one of Random's emotional and moral character, and the other his pecuniary disposition – both of which are rooted in the contact zone between the ocean and the land.

Christoph **Houswitschka** (Otto-Friedrich-Universität, Bamberg) 'We must divide it into small parts before we can diffuse it': Thelwall's Identities as *Vita Activa*

Panel / *Session* 208, 'John Thelwall 2: Thelwallian Identities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Judith Thompson (Dalhousie University, Halifax)

Does the heterogeneity of Thelwall's identities, occupations and professions reflect an unfortunate lack of ability or desire to construct a more coherent life script or was this a deliberate attitude? As a citizen, Thelwall unifies various and contrasting aspects of political thinking into social activities and a specific understanding of their value for society and state. While Edmund Burke argues that the state and its institutions guarantee political stability, Thelwall links liberty and political actions. In contrast to a republican view on liberty that sees the citizen merely as "a participant in civil authority" (John Case), Thelwall re-conceptualises freedom; like Weber, he does not defend human rights as limits to politics, but understands them as "power shares in political action" (Kari Palonen). While Godwin believed that he would reach out to ordinary readers rather in novels than in philosophical treatises, and rather in convivial than written forms of discourse, Thelwall is distinctively more radical. Contradicting Cicero's definition of the *vita activa*, Thelwall personifies the active citizen who escapes institutionalized control by diversifying activities and fostering intellectual heterogeneity, seeing freedom as a political activity comparable to Hannah Arendt's concept of the *vita activa*. He neither privileges theoretical knowledge and contemplation over an active life, nor follows a tradition that "values labour and work over political action" (Paul Voice). Through his various identities and professions he performs a heterogenous life script that connects freedom to political activity in a programmatic way. The mixture and variety of theoretical and practical activities also deliberately force Thelwall to live and work for concrete and small goals. As he reminds his readers, "with knowledge, as with coin, we must divide it into small parts before we can diffuse it through the general circle of society, and fit it for the accommodations and uses of life."

Stephanie **Howard-Smith** (Queen Mary University of London) *Bad Touch: The Threat of Rabies in Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1700–1815*

Panel / *Session* 100, 'Collecting and Curiosity in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Richard Coulton (Queen Mary University of London)

Current scholarship on human-animal relationships in the eighteenth-century rightly emphasises the seemingly improved status of animals in British culture, which manifested in the spread of pet keeping and in the growth in discourse on animal welfare both in moral philosophy and in popular culture. My paper explores how this new order might be threatened by animal-borne diseases (or 'zoonoses') like rabies (known at the time as madness or 'hydrophobia'), potentially spread through increasingly close contact between man (or woman) and animal. Both eighteenth-century physicians and the reading public understood that rabies could not only be transmitted through bites, but also through affectionate acts between pet and owner, such as licking. While nineteenth-century rabies outbreaks in Britain and internationally have been the subject of several studies, almost no attention has been paid to their eighteenth-century equivalents. Informed by a range of sources, including medical texts, newspaper reports and poetry, this paper seeks to examine how eighteenth-century pet lovers (and haters) sought to reconcile the improved status of animals in British society with the hidden threat posed by the fatal disease.

Bo-Yuan **Huang** (National Chung Hsing University) 'We are never too old to be instructed': Age and Identity in Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* (1762)

Panel / *Session* 466, 'Orientalisation'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tina Janssen (University of Warwick)

Eighteenth-century scholarship sees old age not as a monotonous image but a series of images ranging from wise, contemplative to selfish and pitiful. However, as the common beliefs advocated by medical and social writers alike in the eighteenth-century might have agreed, "old age" is predominantly associated with wisdom, politeness, and sociability. An ideal older gentleman in the eighteenth century can be portrayed as a polite and cheerful individual who has friendly interactions with others, mainly via the medium of conversation.

With this understanding, it is particularly interesting to read Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World* (1762) in this light. The work has long been renowned for its deep satirical comments on the contemporary English manners and life through the eyes of a fictional Chinese philosopher, Lien Chi Altangi. It follows a literary trend to utilise the fictional Chinese informants as an opportunity for genuine mutual enlightenment. Yet, little attention has been paid to how the Chinese philosopher is portrayed in the image of an elderly gentleman in the eighteenth century. This paper sets to explore how the shaping of the Chinese informant came into place, and how his image may correspond to the

contemporary English idea and ideal of an older gentleman. And, if the image did indicate a source of cheerfulness and wisdom, how did it effectively function in this satire? This paper hopes to reposition Goldsmith's Chinese philosopher as an ideal older gentleman in the discussions of reasons and rationalists in the Enlightenment culture.

Ji-young **Huh** (Université nationale de Séoul) Fontenelle et l'infini

Panel / *Session 74*, 'Entre physique et métaphysique : quête de l'identité de la pensée des Lumières'.

Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Young Mock Lee (Université nationale de Séoul)

L'idée de l'infini connut une évolution importante au cours des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, à laquelle Fontenelle, « précurseur des Lumières », a également contribué. Cependant, l'attention fut rarement portée jusqu'à présent à la relation entre l'infini et les Lumières, à quelques exceptions près telles que les recherches de Michel Blay. A travers l'infini, exprimé chez Fontenelle sous diverses formes d'écrits (littéraire ou autres), nous pourrions constater les caractéristiques qui constitueront ce qu'on appellera plus tard « l'esprit des Lumières », surtout la manière dont l'infini est présenté dans son œuvre, entraînant un changement irréversible vers ce nouvel esprit.

Tom **Huhn** (School of Visual Arts) Taste and Identity in Burke and Kant

Panel / *Session 258*, 'Aesthetics and Taste 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Wing Sze Leung (National University of Singapore)

I shall discuss how Burke and Kant formulated taste and aesthetic judgment as primary means of constructing and maintaining the identity of individual subjects who were to be at once both social and singular. I will argue that a number of Enlightenment figures, including Hume, Smith, Diderot, and others, saw the capacity to form judgments of taste as central to the constitution of subjectivity and intersubjectivity. The construction of this argument will proceed from a discussion of the difference between natural and acquired taste, which is a foundational distinction for Hume as well as Burke. The goal of the talk is to show a continuity between the capacity to fashion one's own taste and the ability to integrate with others on the basis of the identity forged by means of this self-fashioning.

Yuet Ka **Hui** (King's College London / Hong Kong University) Haydn's Keyboard Sonata: An Agent of Sensibility

Panel / *Session 213*, 'Musical Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Anne Desler (University of Edinburgh)

Due to the misconception that sentiments and feelings oppose reason, many wrestle with the idea of sensibility being a component of the Enlightenment. Sentiments and feelings, however, formed the basis of many Enlightenment moralistic values — in particular the idea of sympathy. Adam Smith specifically argued "the virtuous" sympathise with others with the "most exquisite sensibility". Meanwhile, the topic of sensibility has been increasingly popular in recent research of Haydn, who had studied Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Most studies, however, focus on the composer's operas, English canzonettas, and chamber music. In light of this, this research aims to shed light on the relationship between sensibility and Haydn's keyboard sonatas. The research examines the nature of the sonata genre, the mechanics of the keyboard, and the expressive contents of Haydn's Keyboard Sonatas Hob. XVI: 46 and 40. Hob. XVI: 46 in A-flat major reveals how Haydn utilises the sonata genre and the clavichord to display his own sensibility musically while establishing his identity as "a man of feeling". Hob. XVI: 40 in G major, dedicated to the 15-year-old Princess Maria Esterházy, demonstrates how Haydn uses the keyboard sonata to appeal to the sensibility of aristocratic women and learned ladies. In this sonata, Haydn portrays the princess as a combination of several sentimental female character types — a daughter, a virgin, and a young girl entering into marriage. In other words, the sonata created an opportunity for 18th-century female listeners, including the princess herself, to perform visible polite responses and secure what Paul Goring calls "polite identities" when the sonata was performed. In sum, the keyboard sonata becomes an agent of sensibility in Haydn's hands which confirms not only his identity as a man of deep sensibility but also the "polite identities" of educated women.

Eileen Hunt Botting (University of Notre Dame) *A Vindication of the Rights and Duties of Artificial Creatures*

Panel / *Session* 305, 'Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Modernity'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Antonio Ballesteros-González (Spanish University of Distance Education)

This aspirational international legal document uses a hybridized set of the humanistic and post/humanistic ideas, imagery, and metaphors of the visionary writings of Mary Wollstonecraft and her daughter Mary Shelley, alongside Romantic-era poets such as Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Keats, and Percy Shelley, to advance a futuristic poetic and philosophical invocation of the correlative rights and duties that ought to apply to the love, care, and education of all young creatures, regardless of how, by whom, or of what they are made, or from which reproductive and familial circumstances or artifices they are formed. In the spirit of Wollstonecraft, Shelley, and their poetic bond with their "fellow creatures," disabled children, migrant children, AI, GMOs, clones, animals bred for the dissection room and slaughter-house, and other young beings and things—currently invisible to the law—may find refuge under this universal political hospital tent.

Desmond Huthwaite (University of Cambridge) *Through the Eighteenth-Century Peephole: Queer Identity and Epistemology*

Panel / *Session* 299, 'Homo- and Heterosocial Identities'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Wells (University of Greifswald)

Much queer theorising of the eighteenth century since Foucault's *History of Sexuality* has tended to fall into one of two camps: social constructivism versus essentialism. Though various scholars have done much to problematise this awkward opposition, a recent dearth of contributions to the 'not [but almost] moribund' (Haggerty) field of queer eighteenth-century studies suggests that new approaches are needed to reinvigorate this line of investigation. I believe that relooking at the eighteenth century through its peepholes is one way to achieve this.

Drawing on Freccaro's notion of spectrality as an 'alternative model for how queer history might proceed,' my paper mediates between queerness as an embodied and a discursive experience, picking up the traces of queerness in writing, with a mind to considering how texts themselves function as queer bodies (of work). My focus will be on the figure of the peephole, and the strange – queer – temporality it seems so often to engender. I will read into the epistemological connotations of the peephole as a variant of the camera obscura that allows affect to play a structuring role in the kinds of knowledge produced by the peepshow being witnessed. The peephole demands a peeper: a subjectivity who first must actively seek knowledge before knowledge can inscribe itself onto the observer. This search opens the peeper up to sorts of affective experience which cannot be codified in language but must nonetheless be registered by the body, and by extension the 'body' of work (the text).

The superficial desire for containment of the queer is underwritten by an uneasy and excessive contentment which takes the witness beyond empirical experience via the suspension of the senses: the peeper falls unconscious. By reading a theory of queer drag into the states of unconsciousness that so often accompany peephole encounters, I will point to a queasy ambivalence regarding queer acts and behaviour which is formative for heterosexual identity in the eighteenth century, demonstrating that queerness is both the unspeakable thing that must be contained, but also the overpowering *jouissance* which cannot be adequately related in language.

Giovanni Iamartino (Università degli Studi di Milano) *Baretti's Revision of Giral Delpino's Spanish-English Dictionary (1763): Lexicography as a Sociopolitical Act*

Panel / *Session* 457, 'Giuseppe Baretti (1719–1789) Turns 300'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Fabio Forner (University of Verona)

Very well known for his *Dictionary of the English and Italian Languages* (1760) – actually, a revised edition of Ferdinando Altieri's bilingual dictionary, first published in 1726-27 – Giuseppe Baretti also "corrected and improved"

Joseph Giral Delpino's A Dictionary Spanish and English, and English and Spanish (London, 1763) for its second edition of 1778.

Baretti's 'Advertisement' claims that the revision was "performed chiefly by the help of Johnson's Dictionary with regard to the English part, and of the Spanish Academicians with regard to the Spanish". Also, the Italian lexicographer "can with truth declare, that he has added little less than ten thousand words, and made many necessary erasures".

According to Steiner (1970: 85-91), Baretti did not add so many entries as he declared, possibly half of them, and deleted almost twice as many word as he added.

My paper will analyse Baretti's revision of Giral Delpino's dictionary from a qualitative rather than a quantitative viewpoint, by zooming in on those additions, deletions and modifications that concern words mirroring social problems, political ideas, and religious differences. This kind of analysis will duplicate my previous research on Baretti's revision of Altieri's dictionary (Iamartino 1990), thus making comparisons possible. My paper, therefore, will contribute to a fine-grained analysis of Giuseppe Baretti's personality, temperament and opinions, and to a clearer view of the ideological commitment of eighteenth-century lexicography.

Hélène I бата (University of Strasbourg) The Sublime and British Landscape Painting

Panel / *Session* 67, 'British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (University of Lille / Magdalen College, Oxford)

This paper will argue that some specificities of British landscape painting as it developed from the second part of the eighteenth century may partly be understood as responses to British (and Irish) aesthetic theories, not only because of the latter's emphasis on the natural sublime but also because of their reflection about mimesis and the transcription of nature. The paper will explore some ways in which these theories contributed to making British landscape painting an experimental field in which artists sought to convey the unlimitedness of nature as well as its dynamic processes.

Guzel Ibneyeva (Kazan Federal University) The Imperial Identity of the Enlightened Sovereign in the Ceremonial of Highest Journeys

Panel / *Session* 453, 'Enlightenment Rulers'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jonathan Singerton (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

The paper investigates designing of imperial identity of Catherine II in the ceremonial of journeys around the country. The author shows her image as the empress of a polyethnic empire, which includes many nations. Special attention is paid to the monarchical interest shown during the journey to ethnic diversity. The second half of the 18th century in the history of Russia is an epoch of the extending multiethnic empire. In these new conditions an important direction of Catherine II's imperial policy remained the search for the optimal mode of integration of included alien societies into a general imperial organism. The central task for the government was to organize its interaction with local elites. The object of attention is the meetings of the empress with the gentiles, secular local and non-Orthodox spiritual elites of the conquered lands. At the same time, Catherine II's travels contributed to the formation of a policy of the ethnic-cultural toleration. Studying of ceremonial of Catherine II's trips allows to consider a problem of the relation of the empress to a Jewish problem and to designate the tolerant policy of the power. In the paper rituals of meetings of the empress with the Jews (1780, 1787), who allowed to hand to the empress the gifts, petitions and their results are analyzed. Realizing the importance of the Crimean elites in establishing stability in the region, Catherine II, traveling around the Crimea, actively meets with representatives of the house of Girey, Tatar autocracy, Muslim spiritual elite (1787). The author shows the importance of communication of Catherine II and local elites of the Crimea and also the fate of the applications submitted to the empress.

In the paper also the issue of a perception by the population of an imperial image of Catherine II is considered. The author reveals an important feature of the delivered sermons – the practice of justifying imperial power in the epoch of the rule of an enlightened monarch.

Johanna Ilmakunnas (Åbo Akademi University) *Patterns of Everyday Life: Shopping Practices and Experiences of Countess Eleonora Wachtmeister in Stockholm, 1749–1750*

Panel / *Session 123*, 'Shopping Practices and Experiences in Eighteenth-Century Scandinavia'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : My Hellsing (Uppsala University)

In order to understand practices and experiences of shopping, this paper takes a case study approach and explores consuming patterns of an aristocratic family in mid-eighteenth-century Stockholm. Lifestyle that was built and shaped through consumption and display of luxury goods, acquired both in Sweden and from abroad, was a central feature of identity within the cosmopolitan Swedish aristocracy. The experiences of shopping included also purchases of everyday goods for a household. The proposed paper explores the purchases of the household of Countess Eleonora Wachtmeister (1684–1748) in mid-eighteenth century and maps what goods were bought, who made the actual purchases and shopping, as well as where the goods were acquired from.

In Sweden, trade, shop keeping and luxury consumption were strictly regulated, which restricted also opportunities for shopping, even in the biggest towns. Aristocracy shopped in Stockholm, while travelling in European towns such as Paris and London or smaller towns in Germany and Italy, but also by commissioning goods across the world. Thus, a detailed analysis of a wealthy landed family will concretise the individual and familial experiences and identities expressed through shopping, purchasing and the style of life.

Through a close reading of private accounts and hundreds of receipts, the paper explores shopping experiences and practices of two generations of an aristocratic family, but also the experiences of servants and suppliers of the family. The account books and receipts give us a deeper understanding on the multiple meanings of shopping and consumption for the family members (dowager countess and three adult children of which two married in 1748), who made the actual shopping and purchases (family members and servants), the impact of age and civil status on shopping experiences, identities and consuming patterns. The receipts give an opportunity to chart suppliers, shopkeepers and the spatiality of shopping.

Andrea Immel (Princeton University) *King Lear for Children Before the Lambs' 'Tales from Shakespeare'*

Panel / *Session 38*, 'Children's Literature of the Enlightenment: Purposes, Canons, Legacies'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

The recycling of content across print genres was a well-established phenomenon by 1800s: this paper will trace the publishing history of a prose retelling of *King Lear* which predates the *Lambs* by decades which literary historians have missed in surveys of Shakespeare adaptations for children. Chasing down its source and subsequent appearances offers a corrective to the assumption that the play has always been considered unsuitable for young readers unless bowdlerized. I will also argue for the importance of anthologies in establishing the parameters of the literary horizons of eighteenth-century children, which cannot be easily characterized as a battle between high and low or popular and classic.

Catherine Ingrassia (Virginia Commonwealth University) 'Indentured Slaves': Colonial Captivity and British Masculine Identity

Panel / *Session 383*, 'Slavery and Identity 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

Eliza Haywood's *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman* (1743) and Edward Kimber's *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Anderson* (1754) depict the enslavement of male British subjects within colonial America. Both texts detail the childhood abduction of young boys in England, transportation to the colonies, and sale and subsequent captivity until adulthood. Haywood's *Memoirs* recounts the experience of James Annesley, the Irish heir to the Barony of Altham, kidnapped as a child and sent to Delaware. Kimber's *Mr. Anderson* tells of the allegedly true kidnapping and enslavement of young Tom Anderson. While indentured servitude, like the risk of kidnapping or

abduction, disproportionately affected the poor, the young, or the unskilled, these narratives tell of young boys of the gentry or aristocracy who are kidnapped on British soil and relegated to a life as an “indentured slave” in an American colony. The colonial captivity of males who would lead a life of privilege in England consolidates the dominant construction of British masculinity. Despite their colonial displacement, the male children of the elite still manifest the idealized attributes of a rational, benevolent ruling class. The captive male subjects contrast sharply with the less cerebral, physically violent American planters who own them; geographically and ideologically separated from England, they embody an acquisitive, debased version of masculinity that represents illegitimate power. While the texts reveal the abhorrent conditions for “indentured slaves” they ultimately reinforce the classist and racist ideologies that underpin the British colonial efforts. The male subjects’ captivity does not result in a condemnation of unfree labor; rather it reinforces the superiority of the British as “natural” and appropriate masters. It also reinforces the gender hierarchy. The young boys, desirous of education, turn to educated but similarly displaced women to supply them with the cultural touchstones of England. These women also exist in a state of domestic captivity either as ‘indentured slaves’ or as victims of a confinement enabled by the legal and economic inequities of a patriarchal system.

Barbara Innocenti (Università degli Studi di Firenze) *The Habit Makes the Monk: The Clothing Reform and the Construction of the New Identity in the Aftermath of the Fall of the Bastille*

Panel / *Session 99*, ‘Clothes and Identity’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sohini Chakravarty (Delhi Public School R. K. Puram)

At the height of the revolutionary debate on the creation of the New World and the attempt to understand the mechanisms that had allowed the Ancien Régime to subsist for centuries, Faust, “docteur en médecine” proposed reforming the clothing, in this case, of the noble “class”. In Faust’s opinion, wigs and culottes were to be considered the origin of aristocratism, a pernicious disease that the Revolution wished to cure. Excessive self-love, indifference, idleness, carelessness, badness, libertinism as well as sexual impotence were the main symptoms that could generally be observed in every member of the aristocracy, indifferently affecting women and men, the elderly and children. Taking note of the various failed attempts that were put into action to integrate the nobility into the new revolutionary society in the months following the Fall of the Bastille, Faust proposed a medical analysis from which he derived that the noble “class”’s way of dressing was the root cause of their obvious “illness”: “C’est donc aux culottes qu’on doit leur malheureuse manie de s’énervier de corps et d’esprit; de là vient qu’ils ne sont point dans le rapport dans lequel ils devraient être avec eux-mêmes, avec les autres, ni avec l’état, ni avec la divinité, et qu’enfin ils se fannent et se flétrissent comme la vigne à laquelle on fait porter du fruit au printemps, languit et meurt avant l’automne”.

Placed at the centre of legislative debates, pamphlets, plays, newspaper articles, the clothing debate acquired a fundamental importance in the first years of the revolution, in as much as it was ingrained into the construction of a new identity, that of free men and women in a world that wished itself free and egalitarian.

Stephanie Insley Hershinow (Baruch College, CUNY) *Personhood and Impersonality*

Panel / *Session 237*, ‘Personhood and Its Limits’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jason Farr (Marquette University)

This paper brings together two ways of thinking about personhood that have tended to be held apart in literary studies: one, a focus on “impersonality” as an aesthetic achievement, a transcendence of particularity that amounts to what DA Miller calls “style” or what Sharon Cameron sees as the promise of a radical ethics; on the other, a focus on “non-personhood” as a marker of injustice, the withholding of moral status that motivates and subtends a politics of recognition. Volitional impersonality, I argue, can be understood only in relation to varieties of stipulated impersonality or non-personhood. I demonstrate this claim through a reading of Clarissa Harlowe’s memoranda, her tracking of each hour of her day and computation of her moral debits and credits at the end of each week. Clarissa’s practice of self-quantification not only partakes in a tradition of Puritan record-keeping (as scholars have long noted); it likewise resembles the oppressive technologies of chattel slavery that similarly tracked the behaviors and bodies of enslaved men and women. Rather than draw this comparison in order to call into question formalist appeals to

impersonality, I instead aim to draw out the ambivalence toward abstraction behind even the most celebratory accounts of self-effacement.

Christina Ionescu (Mount Allison University) Book Illustration and the Fictional Travelogue: Maps, Travellers' Portraits, and Distant or Exotic Settings

Panel / *Session* 354, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 3'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Teri Doerksen (Mansfield University of Pennsylvania)

My talk will also include a case study demonstrating how the approach can be applied to the study of eighteenth-century book illustration. In 1722, the writer Penelope Aubin translated for the English market a novel that had run to several editions over a long period of time in its original French: Mme Gillot de Beaucour's *Les Mémoires de la vie de Madame de Ravezan*, which had first been published in 1677/78. I will use the two engraved illustrations from Aubin's translation, *The Adventures of the Prince of Clermont*, and *Madam de Ravezan*, as the source material for a case study. These engravings suggest how viewpoint and perspective can operate to influence the viewer/reader's interpretation of the illustrated scene, the novel in which the engravings appear and, more broadly, fiction as a genre.

Gianni Iotti (Università di Pisa) Tendresse et violence du père dans *La Nouvelle Héloïse*

Panel / *Session* 235, 'Passions et autorité chez Rousseau'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Johanna Lenne-Cornuez (Paris-Sorbonne)

La Nouvelle Héloïse met en scène un grand nombre de contradictions : entre les hommes et les femmes, les plébéiens et les aristocrates, l'érotisme et la sublimation. Or, il serait oiseux de figer les termes de ces contradictions pour les opposer les uns aux autres selon une logique (psychanalytique, idéologique, philosophique, etc.) qui, par cela même, serait étrangère au sens du roman. En effet, le sens du roman réside précisément dans la tentative de médiation laborieuse entre corps et sublimation, entre soumission et autorité.. À l'intérieur du système de contradictions sémantiques du texte, la communication se concentre notamment sur la figure paternelle : une figure partagée entre la violence et la tendresse à travers laquelle, en utilisant les moyens de la forme romanesque, Rousseau s'efforce de délimiter une nouvelle notion d'autorité.

Dario Ippolito (Università di Roma 3) Liberté et sécurité dans la philosophie pénale de Montesquieu

Panel / *Session* 400, 'Liberté et sécurité dans la pensée pénale des Lumières 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Luigi Delia (Université de Genève)

Il y a une doctrine pénale dans *L'Esprit des lois*. Sa dimension axiologique se manifeste avec la plus grande netteté dans le livre XII, intitulé « Des lois qui forment la liberté politique dans son rapport avec le citoyen ». Au cœur de ce livre se trouve la notion de « liberté politique », que Montesquieu prend soin de distinguer d'autres concepts de liberté. En premier lieu de la liberté démocratique, c'est-à-dire du droit des peuples à l'autodétermination politique : ce droit est en effet un pouvoir et, en tant que tel, il ne saurait être confondu avec la liberté. En deuxième lieu, la liberté politique se distingue de l'indépendance, qui est une situation existentielle totalement différente du genre de liberté auquel peuvent aspirer les individus qui vivent dans « un État, c'est-à-dire dans une société où il y a des lois ». Enfin, elle se distingue également de la « liberté philosophique », autrement dit de l'autonomie morale, qui « consiste dans l'exercice de sa volonté ». Dans le lexique personnel de Montesquieu, l'expression de liberté politique désigne l'immunité subjective à l'égard des contraintes et des interférences arbitraires : c'est une immunité de nature juridique qui conditionne la possibilité d'agir sans rencontrer d'obstacles dans la sphère de ce qui n'est pas prohibé ni restreint et qui consiste dans la « tranquillité d'esprit qui provient de l'opinion que chacun a de sa sûreté ». La liberté étant liée à la sécurité, qui à son tour est liée à la loi, la discipline pénale des prohibitions, des sanctions et des jugements devient ainsi une dimension centrale de la politique : « C'est donc de la bonté des lois criminelles – affirme Montesquieu – que dépend principalement la liberté du citoyen. »

Emily Ireland (University of Adelaide) Examining the Connected Legal Identities of Married Women Litigants, ‘Next Friends’, and Trustees in the Eighteenth-Century Court of Chancery

Panel / *Session 339*, ‘Marital Subjects’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sijie Wang (Justus Liebig University Giessen)

Blackstone famously described husband and wife, under the common law doctrine of coverture, as ‘one person at law’. However, much recent scholarship demonstrates that eighteenth-century wives were able to assert their own separate legal personhood in both equity and ecclesiastical courts. They could and did possess separate property (held in trust) and used that property to trade and deal in stocks and other financial instruments.

At common law, a wife could not sue without the attachment of her husband to the suit. However, the unified identity of husband and wife, and indeed the patriarchal order of the household, was interrupted and sometimes obliterated by inter-spousal suits brought to the Court of Chancery by married female plaintiffs against their husbands. Here, the emphasis was not on the unity of husband and wife, but the unity of married female litigant and her ‘next friend’, by whom she was obliged to sue according to Chancery’s rule. In theory, the next friend, often also the married female litigant’s trustee, facilitated a wife’s exercise of legal autonomy. In reality, the next friend could act as either help or hindrance to a wife, who was often separated from or abandoned by her husband. To an extent, married women were dependent on the cooperation of next friends and trustees to ensure they could maintain their own distinct identity from their husbands, whether separated or not. Therefore, within these suits, the identity of married women was that of quasi-feme sole status: they were not entirely inhibited by the strictures of coverture and patriarchy, but not entirely free of them either.

The relationships, both social and legal, of a married female plaintiff and her next friend and trustees demonstrate the practical complexities of negotiating exceptions to coverture. Furthermore, Chancery suits exemplifying these relationships could set important precedent, thus affecting the substantive law and invoking legal change.

Robert Irvine (University of Edinburgh) Enlightenment and National Identity in Defoe’s *The True-Born Englishman* (1701)

Panel / *Session 130*, ‘Daniel Defoe 2’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

As J.G.A. Pocock long ago observed, Daniel Defoe’s satire on English identity in his poem *The True-Born Englishman* constituted a ‘delegitimation of the past’, demolishing the assumption of national continuity on which the theory of ‘ancient’ parliamentary supremacy depended, to the end of defending King William against his enemies in the House of Commons. But since just this theory of the ‘Ancient Constitution’ had legitimated William’s taking the throne in the first place, Defoe had to provide an alternative legitimation, which his poem provides in an account of the Revolution as the breaking and restoration of a social contract. This paper will examine the curious semantic instability in the language of the poem that is produced by this shift from Juvenalian satire to Natural Jurisprudence: as the English nation shifts from being the object of satire to the heroic agent of its own historical destiny, the poem maintains the nation’s identity by using the same terms to characterise it, but their moral signification slips from under them in the process. This explains (I will argue) the curious claims made in the voice of Britannia in the poem’s third type of language, its panegyric on William: the problem in the poem’s own rhetoric is displaced into its fictional representation of rhetoric. The poem’s double demystification of the nation (in its satire) and the monarchy (in its natural jurisprudence) in effect requires Britannia to mystify the relation of both to language in her song. My discussion of Defoe’s poem explores a revealing instance of Enlightenment discourse’s encounter with a much older language of moral critique and the complexities that it produced.

Joyce Irwin (Princeton Research Forum) What Really Matters? Differences on Indifference among Eighteenth-Century Lutherans

Panel / *Session* 403, 'Lutheran Communities'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Philipp Reisner (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)

To orthodox Lutherans, the beliefs outlined in the Formula of Concord defined what it was to be a Lutheran, but by the 18th century, orthodox Lutherans were feeling threatened from several sides. Pietists saw more value in right behavior than in right belief, and philosophers looked to metaphysics and reason more than to doctrine and revelation. The meaning of "indifference" could be understood as related to either ethics or to doctrine. Consequently, pietists could be accused of indifference in matters of belief, but they in turn charged the orthodox with indifference in moral teachings.

For Pietist Joachim Lange, professor at the university of Halle, the idea that there could be neutral, or indifferent, human actions was a fundamental error that perverted the whole order of salvation. He also objected to the kind of indifferentism that regarded different theological beliefs as more or less interchangeable. He insisted that right belief must combine with right action.

Valentin Ernst Löscher, Lange's main opponent from the Orthodox party, was not convinced that Lange correctly identified core Lutheran beliefs. Lange's distinction between primary and secondary doctrines opened the door, as Löscher saw it, to Papist, Calvinist, or sectarian errors, in other words to pious indifferentism. On the other hand, Löscher found Lange far too strict in his identification of sinful activities and defended the orthodox recognition of moral adiaphora, i.e. indifferent actions.

Another prime adversary for Lange was philosopher Christian Wolff, whose lecture on Confucianism evoked charges of religious indifferentism or even atheism. What mattered to Wolff was the rational order of the universe; what mattered to Lange was personal responsibility in relation to God. The dispute between the theologian and the philosopher demonstrates the unbridgeable gap between their worldviews.

Takashi Ito (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) The Legacy of Enlightenment Science? The Identification and Identity of Animal Species in the Age of Empires

Panel / *Session* 139, 'Man and Beast'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephanie Howard-Smith (Queen Mary University of London)

In the history of natural history, the age of Enlightenment was a triumphant moment. The Linnaean system established a purportedly universal principle of classifying plants and animals by which botanical and zoological findings were hierarchically organized to expand the knowledge of the natural world. Finding, naming and collecting a new species laid a basis for the future development of biological sciences. By the late-nineteenth century, however, the study of taxonomy as well as collecting activities began to be marginalized, when a new form of the 'life sciences' were established by laboratory-based research. In the history of biology, post-Enlightenment taxonomy and the endeavors for species discovery have been downplayed, despite the fact that the discovery and identification of new species continued to provide field naturalists with important scientific inquiries and cultural assets.

To re-evaluate the trajectory of Enlightenment taxonomy through the age of empires, this paper highlights the collecting activities of European bird collectors in Taiwan. While the island formerly called Formosa by Europeans was ceded to Japan at the conclusion of the first Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, it attracted the attention of European naturalists and collectors as one of the world's remaining frontiers in ornithology and entomology. They sought after birds and butterflies, and many specimens were transported to the West, sometimes through the hands of Japanese brokers. For these naturalists, collectors and brokers, the identification of species was essential to their communications and operations.

By taking the example of one particular pheasant species, the Mikado Pheasant, this paper discusses how it was initially identified by a British collector with reference to the Japanese emperor, and then how this identity of the new avian species came to convey the symbolic meanings for British and Japanese zoologists. It concludes by reminding that the idea of the universal classification of organism, originated in Enlightenment, have facilitated in constructing the ways in which we see and approach Nature and use its image to create the national symbolism and identity.

Dragoş **Ivana** (University of Bucharest) Of Paradoxical Standards: Hume's and Gerard's *Discourses on Taste*

Panel / *Session* 26, 'Taste, Criticism, and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

A subject of philosophical enquiry rooted in eighteenth-century Britain, and in particular Scotland, taste was deemed as a producer of aesthetic experience – translated from ancient Greek as “sense perception” – accompanied by qualities like beauty, sublimity the imagination, the genius and wit generally associated with particular emotions triggered by the experience of objects containing them. By focusing on the similarity between David Hume's pithy theory of taste and Alexander Gerard's less debated account of taste which, in both cases, is understood as a “standard” of aesthetic judgement, the present paper explores the multi-faceted meanings of sensitive and refined taste in terms of moral criticism of art, personal natural dispositions, education and experience. I argue that far from acquiring a normative dimension, Hume's and Gerard's concepts of taste give birth to questions which, at the time, were as legitimate as today, in an age of unreflective relativism: How can there be a standard of taste if taste is a subjective matter? How can taste become universal when used only by a minority and on what grounds can we claim that taste is intrinsic to human nature, rather than steeped in cultural and social conventions or education? To what extent can the “test of time” ensure artistic longevity? Why are ideal critics the only ones that judge the worth of works of art? In the light of these questions, I shall consider the paradoxical nature of taste deemed either as mitigator between subjectivism and a proper yardstick for assessment (Hume) or as a faculty built on an associationist model whereby Gerard meant to reconcile the reflexive quality of aesthetic experience with the psychological implications of delicacy present in Hume's essay. Unlike Hume, Gerard's standard of taste exercised by a cultivated subject that acts in accordance with it creates a problematic inner standard of excellence which cannot be publicly tested.

Alexander **Ivinskiy** (Lomonosov Moscow State University) Unpublished Letters of Mikhail Muravyev: On the Problem of Cultural Identity of An Eighteenth-Century Russian Writer

Panel / *Session* 455, 'Epistles and Epistolarity'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

The collection of letters by M. N. Muravyev to his relatives is stored in the Department of Written Sources of the State historical Museum: it includes letters to N.A. Muravyev (his father) and F. N. Muravyeva (his sister) during the 1776-1779 and 1781-1787 (appr. 270 sheets) years, as well as letters of a later period to F.N. Muravyeva and her husband S.M. Lunin, 1781-1790 (appr. 300 sheets). Though these materials have never been published, they have been a matter of interest to many researchers.

These letters are regarded as a crucial source for the reconstruction of Muravyev's biography. They are so detailed and informative that in some cases Muravyev's daily routine can be described minutely.

Muravyov's letters are complex texts featuring several themes.

Firstly, family matters should be mentioned.

Secondly, Muravyev dwelled in a detailed way on the news of St Petersburg life, including the court as well as social and academic circles.

Thirdly, reading and literature issues were of great importance— Muravyev 's literary position, his acquaintance with poets and his participation in literary life of his time. It is a well-known fact that he had very few published works during his lifetime, which makes his scattered letters describing his social life, reading routine and artistic plans even more important.

Fourthly, Muravyev described in a detailed way his interaction with contemporary poets. He was familiar with almost all the significant writers of his time: N.I. Novikov, V.I. Maikov, V.V. Kapnist, Ia.B. Knyazhnin, N.A. Lvov, D.I. Khvostov and many others.

Thus, it seems deficient to reduce Muravyev's social and cultural behaviour to only one single role. We assume that he developed a complex social polyidentity. He was the honnête homme, the writer, the officer and the official. This

polyidentity corresponds to linguistic diversity of his epistolary heritage: the letters were based on a complex interplay of Russian, French, English, Italian, Latin languages

Liudmila Ivonina (Smolensk State University) Stanislav Leszczynski: Duke of Lorraine and Polish King-Patriot

Panel / *Session* 453, 'Enlightenment Rulers'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jonathan Singerton (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

The literary image of the twice Polish King and Duke of Lorraine, Stanislas Leszczynski, is contradictory and appears more in line with the political or regional conjuncture. But the contemporaries of the Polish king in France characterized him as a positive and multifaceted figure, which was connected both with the political line of Versailles and with Leshchinsky's political and educational activities in Europe. The Lorraine image of Stanislas is exceptionally rich and multifaceted – as an architect, art critic, writer, scientist, manager and ruler. His social and literary activities are seen as an attempt to create a representative state, he is the symbol of the intellectual heyday of Lorraine of the 18th century. In Lorraine, twice the King of the Rzeczpospolita not only devoted himself to science, art and charity, but also created a special art of enjoying life, similar to life in Versailles with its elegance and good taste. Stanislas Leszczynski was never a dreamer: the man of action, he wanted to return to the Polish throne several times, wanted to make the world happy with eternal peace and ended his life as an active virtuous philosopher and enlightened ruler. In the history of Lorraine, twice the King of Poland became one of the most famous heroes and was nicknamed Stanislaus the Benefactor. He was one of the first Polish enlighteners, and simultaneously 'citizen of the world'.

Benjamin (Ben) Jackson (Queen Mary, University of London) Hunting Enlightened Masculinities: Field Sports, Guns, and Enlightened Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England

Panel / *Session* 228, 'Gentlemanly Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Montana Davies-Shuck (Northumbria University)

Country sports have been characterised as the favoured pastime of the country squire; a stout, boorish man uninterested in metropolitan fashions, the realm of polite, urban sociability, taste and manners, and wholly separate from the sphere of enlightenment culture.

The relationship between masculinity and country sports has received little attention from historians and the modest work that has been done in this area has characterised huntsmen in binary terms of "the boorish country squire" and the polite, refined, metropolitan gentleman – a dichotomy most obvious in satirical print culture. However, this characterisation requires further research. This paper examines the domestic display, location, and storage of hunting, shooting and fishing equipment in household and probate inventories across the long eighteenth century to demonstrate that country men saw little difference in the material culture of polite science, geography and field sports. Furthermore, through an analysis of the materiality of guns and scientific instruments this paper showcases the material and well as associational similarities between hunting and scientific objects.

Equally, the paper contextualises the relationship between field sports and natural philosophy by examining the interplay between scientific knowledge and hunting expertise. To do this it uses didactic literature, such as Nicholas Cox's *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1708), which contained the important knowledge of the physiology of deer, foxes, fowl, and fish necessary for a successful hunter.

Rindert Jagersma (Radboud University) Dutch Book Sales Catalogues: Analysing Cultural Identity through Bibliometric Overviews

Panel / *Session* 348, 'The Bibliometrics of Enlightenment'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Juliette Reboul (Radboud University)

Dutch eighteenth century private book inventories collected by MEDiate are not only an important and rich source to study the book and readership, but can also be used to study cultural identity. The taste of readers reflects their

identity. By creating typologies of readers based on their libraries, we can provide insight which patterns occur in the ownership based on different groups, classes, and regions.

This paper aims to provide an typology of readers based on Dutch sale catalogues in the long eighteenth century. This bibliometric overview will be based on the surviving copies of the (auction) sale catalogues as collected by the Book Sales Catalogues project. Started in the 1980s by the late Bert van Selm, this database currently holds almost 5000 identified titles of book sales catalogues of which 3.300 are auction catalogues of private libraries. The metadata provides information about the catalogues, collectors and auctions, which can give insight in book collecting, readership and cultural identity. What can the database tell us about the size of the catalogues, the professions, social class, and age of the former collectors? This information can be used to provide insight in book collecting and identity in the eighteenth century. Special attention will be paid to eighteenth century auction catalogues from the Dutch city Leiden. Content of catalogues will be compared by the client books of the Leiden-based booksellers Luchtmans (1702-1842). In this paper the bibliometric approach, by drawing on a large corpus of catalogues of private libraries published between 1665 and 1830, allows us to study readership and cultural identity in the long eighteenth century Dutch Republic on a large scale.

Tina Janssen (University of Warwick) *Sir William Jones's Poems (1772) as an Introduction to Oriental Poetry*

Panel / *Session* 118, 'Oriental Literature: Identification, Translation, and Canon-Formation'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Dhrubajyoti Sarkar (University of Kalyani)

William Jones's collection of oriental imitations, based on translated poetry and published under the title 'Poems, consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick Languages' (Oxford, 1772), is his first attempt to make oriental poetry available for a larger audience. In this work he presents translated poetry in an adapted form, picking and choosing passages to create new poems that will present an intelligible product for an English reader. To the work two essays are added, in which Jones describes the importance of oriental poetry for the rejuvenation of European literature. In further works he will persist in promoting this goal, but his approach to translation changes; later works do consist of translations in the literal sense of the word.

The 'Poems' appear in a time when using oriental motifs in literature is becoming popular, but often has no basis in actual translations or knowledge of oriental literature. This paper will argue that with the publication of the 'Poems', Jones acknowledges and uses these circumstances to promote the study of oriental languages. By examining reactions to the work, in the shape of for example reviews and letters, this paper will aim to answer the question whether Jones's practice of simplifying the originals is auxiliary to promoting language study and to increasing public understanding of oriental literature.

Jaroslav Jasenowski (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg / University of Erlangen-Nuremberg) *Negotiating Factuality in the Late-Restoration/Early-Augustan Periodical*

Panel / *Session* 310, 'Real and Fictitious Identities in Relation to Political, Social, and Cultural Spaces in the European 'Spectators' 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Völkl (University of Graz)

Almost two decades before the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* rang in the Great Age of Periodicals, John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury* (1691-1697) paved the way for its widely influential successors, already sporting key features of the Augustan periodical such as the prominence of the reader's letter, paper wars with competitors and the blue print for the fiction of the eidolon. Often credited with the invention of the participatory question-and-answer format, Dunton's publication combined the informative content and (proto-)scientific aspirations of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society with the accessibility and familiarity of its 18th-century offspring, lodging itself firmly at the intersection of discourses such as natural science, virtuosity, piety, sociability, femininity and masculinity. Dedicated to the spirit of rationality, the *Mercury* exhibited a careful and sensible approach in answering the queries of its readers (arriving via letter) by presenting the opinions of multiple authorities, performing diligent fact-checking and adhering to contemporary (proto-)scientific standards for producing and securing truthful knowledge. Drawing on the authority of models like that of the natural historian Robert Boyle and the Royal Society, the *Athenian Mercury* constantly

worked on fashioning itself as an example of veracity and reliability by exploiting various mechanisms aimed at the production of factuality. Despite deliberately cultivating this air of trustworthiness, almost from its inception, the Athenian Mercury was plagued by recurring doubts about the truthfulness of its content and its editorial board, the Athenian Society, which turned out to be an elaborate fiction created by its editor-in-chief, John Dunton. The accompanying controversy not only spawned various parodies making use and fun of the Mercury's main features, laying bare its techniques of truth-making, but also questioned its very basis: the existence of its readers and their contributions.

Mikkel Munthe **Jensen** (University of Erfurt) From a Learned Estate to a Learned State: The Patriotic Transformation of Academic Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Nordic Region

Panel / *Session 223*, 'Civic Education'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

During the long eighteenth century, substantial political, legal and cultural changes took place within academia in the Nordic region. For centuries, the Nordic academic citizens had understood themselves as a (semi)autonomous learned estate, grounded in ideas of belonging to one learned world; upheld by similar legal structures, and through common rituals, symbolism and academic representation. However, with the rise of patriotism in the eighteenth century, and its new ideas of 'corpus fatherland', fellow patriotic citizens and 'utility for the fatherland', this so-called *civitas academica* consolidated unprecedentedly with State and society. At the universities, new patriotic purposes in science and education were formulated, institutional expansions were commissioned, and unprecedented bureaucratisation and governmental control were introduced; all of which eventually also changed the idea of the learned estate.

This paper examines how the identity of the academic citizens changed as patriotism rose in the course of the eighteenth century. Through controversies between academics and the political elite, I will demonstrate that although the academics were caught between affiliations to the patriotic state (*patria*) and centuries-old learned notions of a pan-European academic community (*civitas academica*), they managed to redefine their role in the new social order in the North. I will argue that the political as well as the learned elite both understood the learned estate and its members as a completely integrated part of the so-called 'corpus fatherland'. For the academics, it was not so much a matter of 'why serve the fatherland', that was the matter for debate, but rather 'how scholars should serve the fatherland'; and it was often this latter question, which set the central State administrations and the learned institutions on a collision course over several contentious points regarding institutional obligations, patriotic rootedness and academic freedom.

Wen **Jin** (East China Normal University) Emotion and Female Authority: A Comparison of Eighteenth-Century English and Chinese Fiction

Panel / *Session 39*, 'China and the English Enlightenment: Cultural Traffic and Beyond'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sayaka Oki (Nagoya University)

The publication of *Hau Kiou Choan* in 1761 as the first English translation of a vernacular Chinese novel has long been discussed. One pattern of mistranslations, however, has been paid scant attention. The Chinese novel figures a male protagonist who looks like an elegant lady and a lady protagonist with intelligence that exceeds those of all male characters. The English translation struggles to convey these details, with the editor Thomas Percy parsing them to mean that there is a lack of "gallantry" in the Chinese novel (2: 127, 128n).

Ironically, however, "gallantry" is a masculine ideal that steadily lost appeal in the 18th century in England. Despite the late-century exaltation of Gothic heritage, such cultural stereotypes as "gallant men" and weak damsels are continually reformed in English novels of the 18th century, culminating in Anne Radcliffe's resourceful ladies and sensible embodiment of female self-possession in Burney and Austen.

This essay first discusses Percy's famous comment (and other related mistranslations in 18th century England) and then traces how "strong women" who make gallantry seem outmoded function differently in 18th century novels from China and England and how the differences illustrate a set of diverging cultural dynamics. Novels discussed include *The Female Quixote* and Chinese author Chen Duansheng's fiction in poetic prose *Zai Sheng Yuan* (再生缘).

Dragos **Jipa** (Université de Bucarest) « Le secret de toute civilisation » La femme et la société roumaines du XVIIIe siècle dans un doctorat à la Sorbonne, en 1899

Panel / *Session* 350, 'The Influence of the Long Eighteenth Century upon Balkan Identities in the Feminine 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University)

En 1899, un jeune roumain, Pompiliu Eliade, défend à la Sorbonne une thèse de doctorat qui fera date dans l'histoire des relations entre la France et la Roumanie. Son ouvrage, publié à Paris, s'intitule *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie*. Les origines et propose une histoire des Pays Roumains au XVIIIe siècle vue comme une rapide transformation de la société, à tous les niveaux, sous l'influence française. Dans sa perspective, il s'agit de l'apparition même de la civilisation roumaine : « un peuple civilisé aidant un peuple arriéré à arriver à la vie historique et à se former une civilisation originale ». D'abord par des intermédiaires grecs et russes, ensuite par les consuls français pendant la Révolution, l'influence française serait à l'origine de la nation roumaine moderne.

Un témoin de cette transformation est « la femme roumaine ». C'est à cette époque que se produit sa première émancipation, elle « sort de son harem et de sa condition d'esclave ».

Dans le contexte historiographique actuel, l'ouvrage écrit par Eliade peut facilement être critiqué pour sa vision ambiguë et normative de « la civilisation », qui simplifie certaines idées du XVIIIe siècle. Cette présentation se propose pourtant de resituer cette pensée dans le contexte socio-historique de sa production, entre la Roumanie et la France, à la fin du XIXe siècle. Il s'agira ainsi de voir quel sens pouvait avoir dans ce contexte l'évocation des sujets comme les Phanariotes grecs, les officiers russes, la femme roumaine et l'influence civilisatrice de la France, en d'autres mots, quel a été l'usage du XVIIIe siècle chez Pompiliu Eliade. Il s'agira également de comparer sa perspective sur ces sujets avec des visions concurrentes (celles de Titu Maiorescu ou de Nicolae Iorga) qui s'imposaient parmi les membres des élites roumaines de l'époque.

Christopher M. S. **Johns** (Vanderbilt University) Enlightenment Naples Imagines Imperial China: Queen Maria Amalia's Chinoiserie Boudoir at the Palace at Portici

Panel / *Session* 229, 'Identity and the Interior'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christina Lindeman (University of South Alabama)

In 1743, King Charles VII of Naples and Queen Maria Amalia of Saxony established the Capodimonte Porcelain Factory outside Naples. As a princess of the Saxon Wettin dynasty, Maria Amalia was intimately familiar with the making of porcelain; the Electoral manufactory at Meissen, near the Saxon capital at Dresden, was the first place in Europe where hard paste porcelain was successfully produced. Scholars have long appreciated her leading role in the Capodimonte factory, but the Queen's intense piety has largely camouflaged her enlightened ideas that were the ideological underpinning of the project. Her political role at the Bourbon court often favored reform and administrative efficiency.

Wishing to compete with the Meissen porcelain produced in her native Saxony (in Italy designated porcellana di Sassonia) and to manufacture a luxury product for export to ease the flow of metallic currency from the kingdom of Naples, a characteristic physiocratic notion, Maria Amalia was keenly interested in both the efficient production of high-quality porcelain and in its economic and diplomatic value. This paper will focus on the Queen's boudoir at the palace at Portici outside Naples and its celebrated chinoiserie decorations. I shall argue that Maria Amalia, like many other eighteenth-century rulers, viewed chinoiserie not only as a fashionable fantasy but also as a visualization of modernity that doubtless appealed to Portici's elite visitors and served as a marker of progressive ideas.

Amanda **Johnson** (Rice University) 'Enlightened' Patriarchy and Maternal Erasure in Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787)

Panel / *Session* 12, 'Enlightenment Motherhood and Transatlantic Maternal Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ula Lukszo Klein (Texas A&M International University)

This paper argues that Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787), an early American comedy, erases motherhood from the "enlightened" patriarchy of the New Republic. It does so following the Lockean thesis that the private household is the only legitimate patriarchy, the father being entitled to "govern" his family as an extension of his property and of himself. A wife's intellectual autonomy, then, would always threaten the "rule" of her husband's opinion, and when *The Contrast*'s heroine resists her engagement to a boor, her father insists upon the marriage, mentions his "henpecking" wife, and gloats that now that she's dead, he can finally have his way. This symbolic erasure of the heroine's mother thus facilitates that father's ascendancy over his daughter as his property, and it is only after the father learns of the fiancé's debt that he cancels the engagement to protect his own estate. Ultimately, then, the behavior of the young people in this "comedy of manners" matters little, as *The Contrast* uses the "marriage plot" to reify the rights of the white male patriarch as the only properly enfranchised citizen in the early Republic. Anxious about the limits of "republican motherhood" and the possibility that women might disrupt the patriarchal control of property, *The Contrast* thus offers a masculinist fantasy of a motherless nation.

Jennifer **Johnson** (St John's College, Oxford) William Gilpin's Picturesque Composition and Twentieth-Century Abstraction

Panel / *Session* 476, 'Visual and Literary Topography'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Cynthia Roman (The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

This paper revolves around an album of 74 landscape sketches in various degrees of finish, held at the Lewis Walpole library, and mainly by William Gilpin. These sketches demonstrate the construction of 'picturesque' landscapes, showing Gilpin's initial penciled response to a view, his alteration and rearrangement and the pictorial structure and balance achieved by later additions of wash and ink. In showing en masse the ways in which the landscape has been curated or manipulated, the album constitutes a different kind of engagement with Gilpin's ideas on landscape composition than is offered by his writings; one that raises interesting questions about the epistemological significance of place and the construction of the image. The central argument of this paper is that Gilpin's strictures on the making of pictures out of the parts of the landscape offer a way of understanding a particular kind of abstraction in British painting in the twentieth century – a form of abstraction that cannot be understood as an 'emptying' or reduction of the pictorial process.

Tom **Jones** (University of St Andrews) Pope's Philosophical Identities

Panel / *Session* 436, 'New Perspectives on Editing Pope'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Marcus Walsh (University of Liverpool)

Pope said his ethical poem *An Essay on Man* steered betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite. Annotators of and commentators on the poem have often perceived Pope to approach quite closely some of the doctrinal extremes he probably had in view. He was thought a fatalist by Crousaz, for example. In this paper, I will reflect on the recent experience of annotating *An Essay on Man*, and the preparation for editing *An Essay on Criticism* for the Oxford Edition. Deciding, as any annotator or commentator must, how strongly present any given intertext is in the target text can lead to fundamental revaluations of philosophical orientation of that text. Long-standing editorial decisions (Pope's own, as much as any later editor's) also make a substantial difference to the character of the texts. In discussions of the political scope of III.303-4 of the *Essay on Man* and lines 90-91 of the *Essay on Criticism*, amongst other examples, this paper will show how the processes of editing and annotating contribute to the composition of a philosophical identity for a poet. The grounds of Pope's philosophical politics, in the examples just noted, can shift in response to editorial policy about copy texts, and the use to which illustrative citation from sources and analogues is put. I will be suggesting that the processes of forming a sense of the philosophical character of a poet, and of annotating, must be iterative and open to fundamental changes of perspective.

Catherine **Jones** (University of Aberdeen) Scots in the Medical Worlds of Continental Europe in the Early Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 143, 'Medical Thought and Practice'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rose Hilton (Sheffield Hallam University)

This paper explores the experience and identity of Scots in the medical worlds of continental Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, focusing on the institutional records of the universities of Leiden, Utrecht, and Paris, as well as letters, diaries and memoirs of particular individuals. It highlights examples of association, friendship and influence within and across national boundaries.

The paper comprises three case studies: Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), Archibald Pitcairne (1652-1713), and Robert Areskine (1677-1718). Sibbald matriculated as a medical student at Leiden University on 28 April 1660. He left Leiden in September 1661 and then studied in Paris and Angers, graduating MD from the University of Angers on 17 July 1662. He returned to Scotland later that year, taking up medical practice in Edinburgh. Pitcairne pursued his medical studies in Paris from 1675, graduating MD from the University of Rheims on 13 August 1680. Like Sibbald, Pitcairne took up medical practice in Edinburgh. But where Sibbald remained in Edinburgh throughout his career, Pitcairne held the post of professor of medicine at Leiden University from 1692 to 1693. Areskine studied medicine in Paris from 1698, graduating MD from Utrecht University in 1700. He taught anatomy and practiced medicine in London until 1704, when he moved to Russia, entering the service of Peter the Great in 1705.

Sibbald and Pitcairne are often contrasted as belonging to different schools of thought. Sibbald was at the centre of Hippocratic-inspired initiatives of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh; Pitcairne championed what became known as the iatromechanical theory of physiology. Yet the thinking and reform projects of both men were shaped by their experience of, and connectedness to, ideas and practices circulating in continental Europe. Areskine developed the ideas and practices of both Sibbald and Pitcairne; in Russia, he was also closely connected to the medical communities of German-speaking central Europe. Through analysis of the networks of Sibbald, Pitcairne and Areskine, the paper examines the flow of ideas and cultural exchange in the early modern sciences.

Christine **Jones** (University of Utah) Tales as Toons: Book Illustration and the Fairy Tale

Panel / *Session* 321, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Leigh Dillard (University of North Georgia)

Print culture found an enthusiastic patron in Louis XIV who, more than any monarch before him, curated his own glory in media as diverse as statuary, coins, and magazines. He put Paris and Versailles at the center of European luxury by encouraging the dissemination of clothing prints—the original fashion plates—that showcased the glitz and glam of haute couture. Readily moveable prints of the king, Versailles, court spectacle, couture, and even collectibles turned the reign into a golden age of printmaking and everything French into a fashion. More than paintings, which took a long time to produce and were not readily mobile, prints traveled by the thousands to tell the story of the glory of France. Fairy tales also boomed during this golden age and, perhaps as a consequence, first editions of most tales published in France in the 1690s were illustrated. Fashion prints and fairy tales grew up together at the turn of the eighteenth century, both of them arts that targeted stylish adult audiences. Over the course of the long 18th century, thanks in large part to the French, British, and Dutch publishing industries, fairy tales thrived among the popular literary forms.

To tell the story of fairy-tale illustration, I take up the case of Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf, two of the West's most iconic characters today. Little Red's image does not appear anywhere until 1783, and when it does appear, it is not within the pages of her story but in a British satirical cartoon featuring David Hume. She does not don her signature cape in illustration until 1803, when her crimson identity makes her a logical choice to showcase color printing for children. The wolf, for his part, begins his visual life looking something like a dog. Over the century his image becomes naturalized thanks to encyclopedic zoology and his reputation crossing paths with a real-life animal killer menacing France. By century's end, having grown in stature, tooth, and aggression, he incarnates the nightmare of the big, bad wolf.

Emrys Jones (King's College London) *The Levity of the Levee: Sociable Space and Generic Expectation*

Panel / *Session 87*, 'Mixed Company, Assembly, Association, and Sociability'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Will Bowers (Merton College, Oxford)

The levée – a “reception of visitors on rising from bed” (OED) – was a crucial sociable space for the cultivation of political favours in eighteenth-century Britain. It was also, unlike most other such sites of patronage, almost universally derided. Those who made a habit of attending levées – “levee-haunters” or “levee-hunters” – were liable to be corrupted by them, if they were not corrupt already. Across the visual arts, plays, novels, poetry and periodical essays, the levée was progressively established as a kind of ludicrous hellscape, a scene in which society's basest sociable (or antisocial) impulses were on constant, amusing display. This paper will explore the generic connotations of the levée as it was portrayed in a range of eighteenth-century literary sources, including John Kelly's banned play *The Levee: A Farce* (1741) and Richard Steele's essay for *The Spectator* 193. It will enquire what the levée's levity – its regular association with comedic values, its reliable ridiculousness – meant for actual experiences of this sociable space, and how critiques of mercenary sociability could be supported or undermined through their recourse to humour. Ultimately, the paper will also consider to what extent

Richard J Jones (The Open University) *Tobias Smollett: Empty Author*

Panel / *Session 93*, 'Smollett and Enlightenment Identity'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Phineas Dowling (Auburn University)

In a pamphlet attacking the Scottish writer Tobias Smollett (1721–71), John Shebbeare refers to him as an 'empty author'. It is the breadth of Smollett's writings which signalled to Shebbeare that Smollett was a hack. As Shebbeare put it, Smollett had 'much improved the new way of composing new treatises by means of a pair of scissors, brown paper, a brush, paste and old authors.' In this paper, I do not intend to dispute Shebbeare's claim. Instead, I will suggest that we view it as a description of an art with which Smollett would have agreed. To put this more boldly, we might say that Smollett was engaged in an aesthetics of emptiness.

This paper will look closely at Smollett's work for the *Critical Review*, the journal which he co-founded in 1756 and which included an attempt to review everything that was being published on a monthly basis. Like Shebbeare before us, we will not simply turn to the reviews for the judgments that they contain. Instead, we will try to view them collectively – first, in the form of the *Critical Review*'s first number (February 1756), and then as a volume. Looking at the *Critical Review* this way, as a text assembled out of the fragments of other people's works, we will begin to see how Smollett gave shape to his otherwise impossible task.

The paper draws on my recent work on Smollett as a historian and critic – but it is also intended to bring into question what happens when we apply such labels. Smollett's work of compilation in the *Critical Review* resembles not only his writing for vast historical projects but also the way in which he worked on his own translations and novels. As an 'empty author', Smollett draws attention to what we might call a problem of 'Enlightenment identity' (is he 'really' a historian? a novelist? a critic?); however, he also solves this problem through the 'work of writing' itself. The paper thus contributes to discussions about creativity, print culture, and the Enlightenment.

Edward Jones Corredera (University of Cambridge) *Perpetual Peace and the Identity of the Eighteenth-Century Spanish Empire*

Panel / *Session 55*, 'Nationhood and Cross-Cultural Encounter in Europe'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

Scholarship on the Enlightenment in Spain has traditionally focused on how thinkers during the reign of Charles III (1759-1788) responded to the 'Black Legend' and accusations of Spanish backwardness. However, scholars have recently begun to investigate the political culture of early eighteenth-century Spain. This paper contributes to this wave of research by exploring how European writers such as the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Giambattista Vico, and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, and their Spanish contemporaries, portrayed the effects of the War of Spanish Succession (1700-1714) as a fundamental transformation of the identity of the Spanish Empire. Crucial commercial connections

with the rump Habsburg Empire were lost, French, Dutch; English smuggling throughout the empire increased; upon taking the throne, Philip V ended the age-old laws of Aragon and Valencia and pursued a costly bellicose foreign policy. In response, a number of understudied Spanish writers and political economists considered ways to revitalize the Spanish Empire, and reconfigure its identity. In 1745, a descendant of the Aztec Emperor Montezuma and Prince Henry 'The Navigator', who issued Portugal's Age of Discovery, José de Carvajal y Lancaster, proposed a reconceptualization of the Spanish Empire. Drawing on the Old Continent's reliance on Sino-European trade, Carvajal proposed the creation of a joint-stock company that featured Spain, Portugal, Austria, and England. Inspired by the Abbé Saint-Pierre's project for perpetual peace, Carvajal envisioned the company would ensure commercial cooperation, foreclose the possibility of war, and transform the identity of Spain in Europe. The paper will explain how this scholar recovered Carvajal's plan, how the Spanish statesman pursued its application, and how it spoke to debates about the Black Legend. It concludes by suggesting that eighteenth-century Iberian political debates carry important lessons for today's Europe, as they bestowed two ways of understanding Spain's identity in Europe – as one of many shareholders in an integrated union, or as a nation forever haunted by, and perpetually struggling against, myths about her own past.

Jennifer **Jones-O'Neill** (Bath Spa University) Drawing on an Enlightenment Agenda: The Case of the Artist's Repository

Panel / *Session 362*, 'Emotions and Control'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Percival (University of Exeter)

Ann Bermingham has convincingly demonstrated that there is an interweaving of roles at work in the use and popularity of English Drawing manuals. Beyond the provision of fundamental artistic guidance there is an engagement with, and reflection of, the enlightenment agenda in terms of subjectivity tied to gender, class, and social and political order. This paper will explore one particular drawing manual, "The Artist's Repository and drawing Magazine exhibiting the principles of the polite arts in their various branches", written by Charles Taylor under the pseudonym of Francis Fitzgerald and first published between 1788 and 1794. Through a close examination of this text it will be argued that the underpinning of this multiplicity of roles is formed by a rich amalgam of philosophical, aesthetic, and literary theories and sources in addition to, of course, significant traditional and contemporary artistic discourse.

Nicolle **Jordan** (University of Southern Mississippi) Maria Graham's Chilean Landscape of Independence

Panel / *Session 325*, 'Colonial Encounters'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Schoene (Cornell University)

Maria Graham's *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824) stands out as a unique representation of the Chilean War of Independence in part because it is the sole eyewitness account to be published by a woman. This paper explores the proto-feminist implications of Graham's text specifically as they manifest in her deployment of landscape rhetoric. Graham's proto-feminism has inspired complimentary studies of her travelogues. But they also provoke censure from scholars repelled by her presumed superiority as an aristocrat, a white person, and a Briton, whose Scottish lineage and propensity to refer to herself as "English" nevertheless complicate evaluations of her nationality. I argue that Graham is a deft composer of what I call literary landscape—the verbal description of natural scenery—and that she uses landscape discourse specifically to endorse Chilean liberty. That Graham achieves a distinctive political voice while advocating Chilean liberty suggests that a woman writer's appropriation of landscape discourse proves particularly auspicious in arguments for decolonization.

Nineteenth-century accounts of South America's natural history suggest that Graham's rhetoric both subverts and conforms to convention by staging Chilean independence against a backdrop of Chile's beautiful landscape and beautiful women. As the lone woman to publish a contemporary account of the Chilean independence movement, Graham introduces abundant rhetorical possibilities to the situation of writing in a narrative context rife with figures of femininity. Casting a female gaze cast upon feminized land adds to the discursive and tropological innovation that scholars scrutinize in their investigations of how Graham forges her identity as a female narrator in ways that both reinforce and challenge British imperialist rhetoric. By foregrounding the feminized tropes that emerge in Graham's

adaptation of colonialist landscape rhetoric, I suggest that the landscapes she sees operating in her own text acquire a complexity and political valence which proliferate, effectively generating an innovative landscape rhetoric that forges female solidarity from a trope that typically objectifies women.

Victoria **Juharyan** (University of Pittsburgh) Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment Strains in Hryhorij Skovoroda's Thought

Panel / *Session 224*, 'Double Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.12, Old Medical School.

Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer ()

Hryhorij Savyc Skovoroda (1722-1794) is one of the most important thinkers in the history of Ukrainian and Russian literature and philosophy of the 18th century. He saw himself as "Socrates in Russia," and has left us 33 Platonic Dialogs as well as verses, fables and philosophically rich correspondences. Skovoroda has had a profound influence on such remarkable writers as Taras Shevchenko, Nikolaj Gogol, and Andrey Belyj. Yet, his philosophy is virtually unknown in the West. In this paper, I analyze Skovoroda's metaphysics, ethics and aesthetics, identifying enlightenment and counter-enlightenment strains in his thought.

By many of his contemporaries Skovoroda and his philosophy were seen as "archaic," even decadent, representative of the past. As Dmytro Chyzhevsky writes, characterizing the baroque period in the history of Ukrainian letters and Skovoroda's role, "He stood in the shadow of a growing giant – the rationalism of the Enlightenment. For Skovoroda, however, this new spirit was without a soul, a monstrosity, the child of the devil, Goliath, the Beast of the Apocalypse!" This is all true. Given the religiosity of Skovoroda's thought and the fact that his works are profoundly steeped in the Biblical tradition, it is easier to see him as an Anti-Enlightenment thinker. Yet, under further scrutiny, Skovoroda's philosophy reveals surprisingly individualistic notions, much closer to the values of enlightenment thought than might be expected of him. It is this tension between counter-enlightenment and enlightenment values in Skovoroda's philosophy that my paper unravels.

Thibaut **Julian** (EHESS) Les genres de l'histoire : hybridations et dépassements

Panel / *Session 61*, 'Théâtre et Identités 1 : Identités des genres dramatiques dans le théâtre du XVIIIe siècle'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Renaud Bret-Vitoz (Sorbonne Université, CELLF)

Cette communication montre comment le théâtre des Lumières, en s'emparant de l'histoire, fait évoluer ses frontières génériques, thématiques et idéologiques, révélant un autre mode temporel marqué par l'accélération et la proximité, et un régime spectaculaire participatif.

Min **Jung** (Hanyang University) A Sociology of Written Communication: 'Brush Talks' (p'iltam) among East Asian Intellectuals in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 290*, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Eun Kyung Min (Seoul National University)

The purpose of this talk is to discuss the various dimensions of the brush talk (p'iltam) method of conversation—the preferred method among East Asian intellectuals in transnational communication since the middle ages up to the early modern period—and to examine its cultural-historical significance. This peculiar method of conversation called "brush talk" took place by replacing the mouth with the brush. At private gatherings other than official diplomatic meetings, envoys from Korea, China, Japan, and Vietnam conversed with each other by the brush. Given that none of them could understand each other's tongue, brush talks served as a means of communicating with each other perfectly. European intellectuals had built their republic of arts and letters by the eighteenth century. Communication and cultural exchange were made possible by their use of Latin, their lingua franca. East Asian intellectuals also had their lingua franca that was written Chinese. Unlike the phonetic Latin alphabet, Chinese characters were ideographic. As a result, their pronunciation varied widely among East Asian countries. Accordingly, East Asian scholars could not communicate with each other without interpreters. But once the brush was applied to paper, all obstacles to

understanding were eliminated. Hundreds of documents showing brush talks between Korean and Chinese or Korean and Japanese intellectuals remain in Korea, China and Japan. These documents enable us to revisit the realm of cultural exchange between East Asian intellectuals as well as to experience how they communicated with one another by the brush.

Byungsul Jung (Seoul National University) Dying for God: The Encounter and Conflict between Confucianism and Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century Korea

Panel / *Session 290*, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Eun Kyung Min (Seoul National University)

Less than twenty years after the first Catholic baptism in the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), the number of believers grew rapidly to reach ten thousands. Men and women, from members of the ruling yangban class to the low-class people, were strongly attracted to Catholicism. As Catholicism gained popularity, the ruling Confucian elite felt threatened by the rapid growth of the new religion. The royal court's and Confucian scholar-officials' fear of the new religion resulted in the persecution of Catholics. In 1791, Yun Jichung (1759-1791), a Catholic from Jinsan, Jeolla province, was executed for burning his ancestors' spirit tablets and failing to carry out the traditional ancestral memorial rites. In 1801, the nation-wide persecution of Catholics took place. Yun Jichung was captured and taken to prison in October 1790 and beheaded in Jeonju on December 8, 1791. In prison, he wrote a self-defense essay on how he had become a Catholic and how he had thought about Christian principles and beliefs. While he was investigated by Jeong Minsi (?-1800), Governor of Jeolla Province, Yun defended himself by upholding his Catholic faith. Yun's essay serves to highlight the various dimensions of conflict between Confucianism and Catholicism during the late Joseon period. Despite the continuous persecution of Catholics by the Joseon court, Yun's essay has miraculously survived. In this talk, I will explore how Confucianism encountered and confronted Catholicism by shedding new light on the case of Yun Jichung. In doing so, I will discuss how Korean Catholic martyrs lived in Confucian society and how their sacrifice played a significant role in the transformation of late Joseon Korea.

Amélie Junqua (Université de Picardie Jules Verne) The Polished Read, and the Polished Rear: The Impolite Waste of Periodicals

Panel / *Session 204*, 'Impolite Periodicals: Down and Out with Mr Spectator'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Emrys Jones (King's College London)

It is evident, when one contrasts the polished style and opaque persona of the Spectator with the far cruder literature of pamphlets and broadsides, that the trend in literary periodicals that Addison and Steele started erected a façade of politeness that glossed over a much more sombre, and chaotic, reality.

Print, used as a didactic medium to instruct readers and society at large, proved to be rife with paradoxes. This is nowhere more visible than in the fate of the edicts and laws printed and posted in public spaces by order of judicial institutions. Most of these items of print were subsequently destroyed and subsumed by the very space and people they were meant to regulate. Other types of public print – broadsides, leaflets, pamphlets, or advertising notices – did not survive in their vast majority. Yet these had no ambition to establish social codes. They only meant to amuse, move to anger or joy and, in fine, sell.

But periodical authors, after Addison and Steele, aspired to produce refined print, to educate their readers, and reach posterity. The paradox in the history of this fundamentally hybrid mass medium is that the high-flown ideal of educating a reading public was carried out by a mediocre object – yellowish paper, stained by the inevitable hazards of circulation, and consigned, ultimately, to the same impolite fate as its lesser, or less moral, counterparts. Hence, one might observe, the topos of the flying leaf that aimed to become part of a bound book, and the recurring bathos between form and content that its authors kept on highlighting.

Addison politely stared at the abyss, but never dared to commit to print the whole range of unmentionable uses his periodicals were likely to be subjected to, once their primary function had been performed. It may be argued that an immense need for paper, rather than print, governed the daily life of his readers. To uncover the impolite, chaotic and

at times absurd waste of printed paper, I will use primary sources, both written and visual, focusing on the fate of periodicals rather than books.

Matt Kadane (Hobart and William Smith Colleges) Embracing and Rejecting the Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 29, 'The Secular Enlightenment'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Margaret Jacob (UCLA)

In this paper I consider British and European cases studies of relatively ordinary people who self-consciously identified with or renounced enlightenment culture. Motives varied, but the clear pattern in the evidence is that embracing the enlightenment meant rejecting the doctrine of original sin as surely as rejecting the enlightenment meant defending and returning to original sin with newfound commitment. This reveals in one sense how much the enlightenment was premised on a new anthropological confession of faith, and how much it depended on redefining and anatomizing human nature. It reveals in another sense the discomfort even the most spiritually committed enlighteners felt about religious orthodoxy.

Andrew Kahn (University of Oxford) National Identity in the Letters of Catherine the Great

Panel / *Session* 220, 'The Monarch as Author 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Kelsey Rubin-Detlev (University of Southern California)

Catherine II is notable among eighteenth-century monarchs for her consuming interest in literature, ideas, and culture. Intellectual authority, in her view, was essential to marking the difference between the ruler as despot and ruler as enlightened monarch charged with enlightening her nation (or at least its bureaucratic and landowning classes). She used her extensive (and still understudied) correspondence for pragmatic policy-making purposes and in order to try out ideas. Her use of her epistolary network is now being seen as a means for projecting and controlling her own image and celebrity. Russia's national identity also comes to the fore in the letters, where references to the question of what Russia is as a nation accumulate. As she wrote to Voltaire on 31 March 1770, 'In general, our nation has the most fortunate proclivities in the world: there is nothing easier than giving them a taste for what is good and reasonable. [...] When this nation becomes better known in Europe, people will recover from the many errors and prejudices that they have about Russia.' Her letters share with her addressees her education as a European and her acculturation of things Russian, and her sense of being on par with her European addressees but also somewhat on the outside. Two tensions arise in this discourse of national and personal identity. Sensitive to her own status as a usurper, Catherine had to balance positive advocacy of Russia's cultural identity as legitimate, despite being heavily Europeanized, against both foreign and Russian critics wary of a false European veneer. It was one thing to attack Peter the Great for imposing non-Russian innovations on a population, it was another fifty years later to level similar charges against an unrelated successor who drew legitimacy from his achievements. Sensitive to her status as a foreigner, she pronounces in her letters on national characteristics, at times subsuming into observations of a philosophical kind on the national and universal her double perspective as ruler and as outsider.

Yoshi Kamimura (University of Tokyo) The Colonial Background of American Identity: The Battle over the Historiography between 1750s and 1770s

Panel / *Session* 156, 'The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hiroki Ueno (Hitotsubashi University)

As John Pocock explored, the argument over the historiography as a form of political thought has become well known in the British political thought. Yet the fact remains that how colonial Americans used the historiography as a political weapon for the opposition movement is not fully understood. In order to investigate the relationship between the movement against the metropole and the character of their historiography, my paper shows firstly how American colonists described the history of each colonies, focusing on Richard Jackson, William Smith, Thomas Hutchinson and other historical works in the 1750's and 1760's. Although their historical descriptions were only for the political contexts on each Colonies, namely Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, they were affirmatively cited by Thomas Pownall's *The Administration of the Colonies* for the integration into the British Empire. This provoked

another stream of historiography which could accord with the dominion theory, which was typically described by James Wilson and Alexander Hamilton. Their use of history was strategical for reconsidering to what extent the history of metropole and the colonies were interconnected. In conclusion, it can be clarified that through these three stages the politics of historiography obtained a character of “identity politics” between the Britishness and the Americanness. This could contribute to illustrating a new aspect of the character of the politics of historiography in the eighteenth century.

Dario Kampkaspar (Austrian Academy of Sciences) DIGITARIUM – Unlocking the Treasure Trove of Eighteenth-Century Newspapers for Digital Times (Co-authored with Claudia Resch, Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Panel / *Session* 391, ‘Eighteenth-Century Digital Humanities in Central Europe’. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Wallnig (University of Vienna)

The digitization and digital processing of historical newspapers promises new research perspectives and possibilities of analysis for scholars and researchers from various disciplines within the humanities. This contribution provides an overview of the state of the art in the digitization of historical newspapers and explains the added value of reliable full text processing as opposed to mere image digitization. Using the example of the “Wiener Zeitung”, founded at the beginning of the 18th century as “Wien(n)erisches Diarium”, this contribution will break down the digitization process into the individual steps required to turn digitized images into machine readable and searchable full texts. The full text corpus that is currently being developed at the Austrian Academy of Sciences will be made available online via the web application DIGITARIUM. With several hundred issues digitized, it does not only constitute a representative foundation for varied academic research endeavours in disciplines such as history, media studies and linguistics but, thanks to its wealth of manually corrected textual data, also contributes to the development of a practical model for future digitization projects concerned with the (largely) automatic processing and annotation of historical newspapers or similar sources.

Tomoo Kanazawa (Meiji University) The Role of Educational Periodicals in the Era of Catherine the Great

Panel / *Session* 44, ‘Formal and Informal Educations’. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Wolf (Birkbeck, University of London)

During her reign in Russia, Catherine II was passionately engaged in the reform of the educational system, trying different methods. In 1760’s her ideas and plans were devoted to the organization of Moscow university which was just established in 1750’s. Furthermore, in 1770’s she asked Enlightenment thinkers of other countries, such as D. Didrot and F.M. Grimm, for advice on establishments of domestic universities. She also invited F. Jankovich, Austrian adviser with a recommendation from the Joseph I in order to promote Russian educational reform.

Though some of Empress Catherine’s trials and efforts were consequently not accomplished successfully, partly because of the influence of the Revolution in France, her works extended opportunities to make progress also in the realm of periodicals and journals. In the 1770-80’s a lot of periodicals for youth began to be published in Russia. One of these periodicals is the monthly magazine “Growing Grapes”(1785-87), which we would like to focus on. This magazine covered the various fields and topics such as natural science, and moralistic policy.

Editing and publication of this magazine was under the influence of O.P.Kozodavlev, bureaucrat and writer, who had experience of studying in Leipzig University in early 1770’s. At the time of publication of “Growing Grapes”, Kozodavlev was a member of the commission for the Establishment of Public Schools and also worked as a director of the Public School. It was not only teachers and professional writers but also students of this school who participated in this magazine.

Focusing on this magazine, in this paper we would like to study the role and effects of educational periodicals in the era of Catherine the Great.

Michiko **Kanazawa** (University of Tokyo) Travelers to Russia in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 474, 'Travels Abroad'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

In the long history of movement within Europe, various types of travels were made by people. For example, diplomatic missions were sent to other countries; armies were dispatched for the war; many merchants went all the way to far off countries to trade.

In modern European society, travel became far more prevalent than before. A lot of people got to make personal trips in the peaceful era of the interwar period. The "Grand Tour" was one of the social phenomena that showed the trend of private travel. It is well known that the "Grand Tour", a custom born in England at the end of the 17th century, brought the trend of traveling around a variety of countries in the 18th century.

The destination of the private trip at that time was usually the cities of France and Italy and other European cultural centers. However, among the travelers, there were people who reached Russia at the eastern end of Europe. The subject of our research is to consider trips to Russia in the 18th century.

There were three main types of travel to Russia during the 18th century, as well as trips to other areas. One of them was a round trip to Russia, in which travelers returned to their homeland after staying in Russia. Diderot's courtesy visit to Russian Empress Catherine II was a typical example. The second type was a single trip to Russia to spend a lifetime. In 18th-century Russia many hired foreigners left their hometown and spent their entire life in Russia, under the employment of Russian emperors and aristocrats. The third type was a trip whereby the traveler stopped briefly in Russia on the way through Europe. The Italian adventurer, Casanova, is one of the most famous people who made this type of trip.

Casanova traveled eastward in Europe and stayed in Russia in 1764-65. He appeared in Russian aristocratic society without sufficient connections or credence, and met with Catherine the Great. He observed various aspects of culture in detail during his stay in Russia. His memoirs are valuable sources of information about Russian society in the second half of the 18th century.

In this research, we will take up three types of trips to Russia and specifically discuss Casanova's journey.

Dzianis **Kandakou** (Université d'État de Polotsk) Un diplomate petit-maître : le prince Andrei Belosselski d'après sa correspondance et les rapports de la police parisienne

Panel / *Session* 81, 'La Russie et la culture diplomatique européenne / Russia and European Diplomatic Culture'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dorit Kluge (Hochschule für Wirtschaft, Technik und Kultur, Berlin)

Au XVIII^e siècle, le diplomate doit illustrer la grandeur de son pays par son train de vie. À la cour et dans les salons, sa tâche est de briller par son savoir-vivre, ses gestes et ses bons mots. À Paris, s'ajoutent quelques obligations de plus, celles d'entretenir une actrice et suivre les modes. Le prince Andrei Belosselski, qui commence sa carrière diplomatique à Paris et la finit à Marseille, n'ignore pas ces règles. Les rapports de police des années 1761-1762 montrent un jeune homme qui maîtrise la culture galante. Un inspecteur ajoute même que le prince russe va jusqu'à « vouloir par des mines copier [des] petits maîtres » français. De retour à Saint-Petersbourg, le prince Andrei Belosselski entre dans le cercle intime du grand duc Paul et y joue un double rôle, celui de bouffon qui fait rire le futur tsar, et celui de bel esprit qui anime la société par sa verve et ses railleries. Il ne quitte pas ce ton même dans sa correspondance officielle avec le vice-chancelier Alexandre Golitsyne. On voit que le prince Andrei Belosselski incarne le modèle du petit-maître qui lui vaut une certaine réputation et, très probablement, les promotions. Dans son cas, la culture galante s'entremêle avec la culture diplomatique et l'homme commence à éclipser la puissance qu'il représente. Mais finalement les grands de ce monde ont le dernier mot : Louis XVI met le droit d'aubaine sur les biens du diplomate russe.

Marijn S. **Kaplan** (University of North Texas) Marie Jeanne Riccoboni's Protofeminist Identity Lost in Translation: Percival Stockdale's *Letters from Lord Rivers* (1778)

Panel / *Session* 92, 'Shaping Translations'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon (Université Paris 8)

"The united Force of these two Notes, will, I flatter myself,
prove a Coup de Grace to the illiberal, and dangerous Passages of this Novel,
with which Riccoboni means to reproach Men, and to arm Women."

Percival Stockdale's Letters from Lord Rivers (II, 96)

Within the broader context of French eighteenth-century women's writing on philosophy and slavery, this essay examines the English translation of Riccoboni's final novel, *Lettres de Mylord Rivers à Sir Charles Cardigan* (1777). It was published in 1778 by Percival Stockdale (1736-1811), an English author and poet as well as an abolitionist. More than any of her other novels, *Lettres de Mylord Rivers*, Riccoboni's sole polyphonic novel and the only one where the protagonist and main letter writer is male, places its author in the middle of the gendered Enlightenment debate over philosophy. I argue, however, that rather than strengthening or even maintaining the protofeminist context of the original, Stockdale not only criticized and contested it but tried to undermine Riccoboni's authority altogether by inserting notes and an entirely new paragraph to the original.

For a future abolitionist, Stockdale demonstrates a surprising lack of insight into other types of discrimination and inequity such as the ones combated by Riccoboni's protofeminism. Rather than acknowledging women's disadvantaged position when Riccoboni describes women's "slavery" in marriage and proposes a solution through egalitarian marriage based on friendship, he adds a note on men's slavery as the victims of women's coquetry. Stockdale takes the male perspective, creates male victims and questions Riccoboni's selections of characters, both male and female. Given that Riccoboni's message comes from a female perspective and analyzes female victimization, the genderedness of this English translation prevents it from accurately representing the French original by compromising its and its author's protofeminist identity.

Klemens Kaps (Johannes Kepler University) Glocal Merchants? Identities and Social Relations of Traders from the Habsburg Monarchy in Barcelona and Cádiz

Panel / *Session* 140, 'Marchands sans frontières? Cultures, Networks, and Identities of Early Modern Capitalists 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Filipa Ribeira da Silva (International Institute of Social History)

The research on merchants, their agency, identity and social relations has been and continues to be strongly shaped by assumptions on pre-configured group identities. Although the vast majority of merchant studies rejects notions of "national" identities and frameworks, pointing rightfully to the anachronistic use of national categories before the 19th century and the high extent of trans-regional and global connections, commodity flows and social relations wholesale merchants have been embedded in, there remains a certain ambiguity as to how to frame and define merchants regarding their social relations and forms of organization. Although Francesca Trivellato's path-making study on cross-cultural trade at most questioned the prevalent narrative on merchant nations, at the same time her framing of "communitarian cosmopolitanism" opened up the question to what degree merchants were organized in corporative communities along more or less clearly drawn boundaries of legal norms, bilateral treaties between states, religious and charitable institutions.

The present paper tries to shed some new light on the issue by presenting the study of merchants of a political state that is one of the main examples for composite or, as it has been framed more recently, polycentric Monarchies still in the 18th century. The Habsburg Monarchy with its already high variety of regions, legal traditions, social structure and institutional settings, added to its range of power additional spaces such as Lombardy, Naples-Sicily and the Austrian Netherlands. Thus, this paper focuses on both merchants from "older" Habsburg regions such as Tyrol and Bohemia as well as from "new" provinces (either newly acquired ones or playing a new role in commerce) such as Lombardy and the Austro-Croatian Littoral around Trieste. All these merchants from different regions out-migrated to the Spanish port cities of Cádiz and Barcelona in order to participate in the beneficial long-distance and even colonial trade. While all these merchants from different regions had one legal framework and consular representation in both port cities, their social relations differed quite substantially.

Stephen Karian (University of Missouri) Reflections on Editing Swift's *Complete Poems*

Panel / *Session 248*, 'Sources and Editing'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Carly Watson (University of Oxford)

For the past decade, James Woolley and I have been editing Swift's complete poems in four volumes for the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift. We're in the final stages of this massive scholarly project and soon we will be moving toward the production and publication phases. In this paper, I will reflect on what I learned about Swift's poetry while working on this project, what the edition's major contributions are, and what directions scholars might pursue in the study of Swift's poetry. I will also comment on the challenges and opportunities of working on such a long-term scholarly edition.

Swift's poems, in addition to their literary interest, are primary sources for scholars working on eighteenth-century British or Irish social and economic history, anthropology, linguistics, cultural studies, leisure activities, musicology, political and religious controversy, nationalism, censorship, and material culture. Therefore I hope my comments will appeal to a broad range of scholars.

Biliana Kassabova (Stanford University) Wilhelm Meister's Revolutionary Apprenticeship: Theatre and Social Change

Panel / *Session 157*, 'The French Revolution from Afar'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship, the novel that posed the beginning of the Bildungsroman genre, is, precisely, a novel of an individual's formation. Importantly, it is through an education largely influenced by theatre and indeed modelled on theatrical performance that the young Wilhelm learns about himself. As 18th century drama theorists, such as Denis Diderot and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, would have suggested, through spectatorship, analysis, and participation in theatrical performance the young man develops a sense of self and, together with that, a sense of his connection with the world.

But parallel to this individual story is another one, which I will be tracing in my talk – the story of the potential transformations of society itself. While in this late 18th century novel of middle-class ascension and self-formation explicit reference to the French Revolution is absent, here I argue that in fact it is textually performed through the discussion of theories of theatre and their textual implementation. More specifically, I analyse Wilhelm's conversion from an admirer of the classical theatre of Jean Racine into a devout Shakespearean and the effects that conversion has on his view of the functioning of society. Lessing's pre-revolutionary essays on the merits of Shakespearean drama are enacted as a veritable social revolution in Goethe's post-revolutionary novel, as Racine is overthrown by Shakespeare and the actors of Wilhelm's troupe can create their (short-lived) republic. In this way, theatre plays a key role in the enunciation of this larger, societal Bildung.

Thus in his engagement and rejection of French theatre, Goethe anticipates – and perhaps we could say, in fact influences – early 19th century French transformation of drama. Much like Goethe, in the 1820s Stendhal and Hugo will see in Shakespeare the true political response to the political, social, and aesthetic challenges posed by the French Revolution.

Declan Kavanagh (University of Kent) 'Past joys have more than paid what I endure': Rochester and the Pleasure of Impairment

Panel / *Session 317*, 'The Variable Body'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Chris Mounsey (University of Winchester)

Nor shall the sight of honourable scars,

Which my too forward valour did procure,

Frighten new-listed soldiers from the wars:

Past joys have more than paid what I endure.

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, "The Maimed Debauchee", ll. 21-24.

In "The Maimed Debauchee", written c. 1675, and attributed to John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, the speaker of the poem laments the onset of "days of impotence", which are caused "... by pox and wine's unlucky chance" (ll.13-14). Suffering from the symptoms of years of libertine over indulgence in wine and sex—namely, syphilis and cirrhosis of the liver—the poem's speaker, the maimed debauchee, who is now "Deprived of force but pressed with courage still", reflects upon his former exploits (l. 2). The poem is addressed to "... new-listed soldiers", younger would-be male libertines, who might "...meanly shrink," at the prospect of pursuing such pleasure (l.23).

In both literal and metaphorical terms, the speaker of this poem is militant about the pursuit of pleasure. Although now physically impaired and "On the dull shore of lazy temperance", the speaker of the poem does not address his own impairment in terms of past or future treatments. The narrative fantasy conjured in this poem does not imagine improvement in terms of cure or elimination of the speaker's disability. Instead, the narrative focus falls upon the pleasure of impairment in and of itself. For the maimed debauchee, the remembrance of past pleasures more than repays for present endurances. In this way, the poem resists the view of the impaired body being in need of "improvement" or medical intervention. My contribution to this panel will offer a new reading of libertine poetics as a poetics of illness, which celebrates the impaired person as "wise" and "statesmanlike" (l. 45; l. 48).

Keiko **Kawano** (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle) Pantomime and Imagination: Diderot's Reform of Drama in the 1750s

Panel / *Session* 280, 'Reforming Theatre'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Denis Diderot published a series of theatrical works that were followed by theatrical theories in the late 1750s. In place of words, which had been predominant in classical drama, Diderot introduced a large number of pantomimes into these works, authorised them as the new medium of drama in these theories, and thereby intended to reform drama—from drama consisting of 'words' to drama consisting of 'impressions'.

The major result from recent studies has been that Diderot's interest in the pantomimes is based on his purpose of strengthening the verisimilitude in imitating passion. However, did he intend a more radical and essential change in the drama by reforming the medium? We can rephrase the change from the word to the pantomime as a change from intellectual language to sensory body language. Diderot, as a sensationalist, regarded the sensory body as the origin of the language, and pointed out the strong connection between the sensation and the function of the creative imagination. This research explores this connection and shows that this reform signifies the transformation in drama to modernism, which seeks to find creativity rather than its imitation.

Keiko Kawano is a postdoctoral fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science completing her research abroad, while also fulfilling the role of a visiting researcher at the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle. She has a Ph.D. in Literature from Osaka University. Her thesis examines how the concept of dance as imitation of C.-F. Ménéstrier in the 17th century was inherited by L. de Cahusac and J.-G. Noverre in the 18th century. Her recent interests are French theories of body language from the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly on Ménéstrier and D. Diderot. Her main publications are 'The narrative of the dance in the Letters by J.-G. Noverre: studying the concept of the action' (Proceedings of the 37th Annual Conference of the Society of Dance History Scholars, pp. 117-126, 2014) and 'Cahusac : Un Théoricien de la danse moderne' (Fabula/Les colloques, La danse et les arts, XVIIIe-XXe siècles, 2018).

Gleb **Kazakov** (Albert-Ludwigs University of Freiburg) 'Mind your Language!': Diplomatic Communication between Muscovy and West European States and Its Linguistic Background 1650–1725

Panel / *Session* 264, 'Diplomacy, Diplomats, and Language Choice in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Denis Sdvižkov (German Historical Institute in Moscow)

The French language as a diplomatic lingua franca dominated eighteenth-century Europe. However its importance in the diplomatic relations between Muscovy and Western Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century was minimal. In pre-Petrine Russia the French language was not well-known, since the majority of diplomatic contacts were conducted with Germanic countries such as Denmark, Sweden, the Holy Roman Empire, Brandenburg and the Netherlands, or with the Slavic speaking Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Western diplomats thus had to choose from a variety of possible languages for communication – German, Latin, or their native language. This choice could be situational, depending on whom the communication was conducted with, in which ceremonial circumstances and with what purpose. For example, whereas Latin was seen more as a ceremonial language, suitable for solemn oratio speeches, German could be very useful for communication and gaining intelligence among the foreigners' community in Moscow, which was mostly German-speaking in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A knowledge of Russian could also be a crucial asset in the diplomatic game and was very much welcomed by the governments sending envoys there, often expecting from them a readiness to learn Russian.

I will also touch upon the linguistic skills of the Muscovite envoys. Although a knowledge of foreign languages was not widespread among the Russian pre-Petrine elite and the diplomats were very much dependent on translators, an interest for languages started to grow towards the end of the seventeenth century, resulting in the emergence of a 'new wave' of Russian diplomatic personnel during the reign of Peter the Great. I will compare to what extent the linguistic skills of a candidate influenced the decision of Russian and European governments concerning whom to send abroad on a diplomatic mission.

Erin Keating (University of Manitoba) *Mediation, Agency, and Celebrity in the Restoration Theatre*

Panel / *Session 97, 'Actors and Careers'*. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

My paper focuses on Nell Gwyn, Elizabeth Barry, and Anne Bracegirdle, theorizing the complex ways that their celebrity was mediated through theatrical and social performances, textual embodiments, and images. Drawing on recent work by Julia Fawcett and Elaine McGirr, I argue that thinking about these actresses through a lens of overmediation (a concept inspired by Fawcett's "overexpression" but tailored to the socially oriented models of selfhood dominant during the late 17th century in England) allows us to discern a form of agency grounded in multiplicity. My argument acknowledges the importance of public mediation in the rise of celebrity (Roach) but shifts the focus from the binary paradoxes of "it," which have shaped celebrity studies since Roach's influential book, to a non-hierarchical rhizomatic structure (Deleuze and Guattari), the multiplicity of which evades contradiction. Thinking outside of a binary (or even a spectrum based on two poles) allows us to consider the interplay of mediation and identity in a more nuanced fashion, and to think about the ways that early celebrity culture enabled multiple public and private identities to coexist in discourse and on the stage without conflict. The overmediation of these early actresses allowed them to occupy and move between multiple identities, and, by successfully doing so, attain an agency based in social awareness and identity fluidity.

Jean-Marc Kehrés (Trinity College) *Les grammairiens et l'Encyclopédie: rhétorique d'une hégémonie linguistique*

Panel / *Session 109, 'L'autorité de la rhétorique au siècle des Lumières'*. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marc-André Bernier (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

Si nombre d'entrées de l'Encyclopédie affirment faire oeuvre de libération politique et philosophique, il en va différemment dans le domaine linguistique. Ainsi le grammairien Nicolas Beauzée assigne un statut subalterne aux dialectes et autres patois. Bien qu'il reconnaisse d'abord à l'usage une fonction de légitimation et qu'il défende ainsi le bien-fondé des différences linguistiques, Beauzée se fait ensuite l'avocat d'une hiérarchie lexicale et grammaticale. En effet, alors que chaque langue, selon Beauzée, procédant de contrats librement acceptés, est régie par un «usage» qui lui permet de remplir sa fonction de communication et la rend de ce fait légitime, l'apparition d'un cadre national et la centralisation politique imposent une subordination linguistique, politique et sociale. L'exploration empirique initialement entreprise par Beauzée se mue en une rhétorique prescriptive où, prévalant sur la parole, l'écrit s'érige en modèle. Le langage de la Cour et du peuple doit ainsi obéissance à une autorité littéraire qui prive le second de

toute souveraineté linguistique. Signe d'une normativité grandissante, le critère majoritaire prôné par Beauzée se limite à l'espace de la cour et demeure soumis à l'autorité d'une «voix publique» dont les académiciens sont sans aucun doute les hérauts. À l'instar de Beauzée, Voltaire affirme que la Cour, source de civilité, est à l'origine de l'uniformité caractérisant la nation et étend son influence aux provinces. Dénonçant la corruption des patois, Voltaire procède à un éloge sans partage du français, langue de la sociabilité par excellence. L'histoire de la langue française marque ainsi pour l'auteur de l'entrée «Français» un cheminement vers une pureté due à la centralisation culturelle pour atteindre à une exemplarité universelle. Par delà les Provinces, c'est, pour Voltaire, vers le monde que Paris rayonne de sa lumière civilisatrice.

Katrin Keller (Austrian Academy of Sciences) *Lucerna abscondita: How Does One Remember an Empress?*

Panel / *Session* 251, 'The Empress in the Public Eye: Communicating Power around 1700'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Klaas Van Gelder (Ghent University)

The death of an empress, like that of many other princesses of the 17th and 18th centuries, was a moment in which her person received special attention in the media of the time. Publications of various sizes, newspaper reports and prints communicated the event to as many publics in the Holy Roman Empire as well as in the Habsburg hereditary lands. The example of Empress Eleonore Magdalena of Pfalz-Neuburg, who died in 1720, is intended to illustrate this diversity of public perception and mediation. Furthermore, on the basis of the central content of these writings, it will be necessary to ask which picture they drew of the princess as an Empress: What appropriate space of action can be identified for an Empress consort or an Empress Dowager? Is the media dissemination of the event as well as the person itself part of discourses on power and dynastic contexts?

Gary Kelly (University of Alberta) *Enlightenment and Irish Identities*

Panel / *Session* 201, 'Eighteenth-Century Ireland 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

In Ireland as elsewhere Enlightenment was contested ground. Members of the Protestant Anglo-Irish landed elite set economic, social, cultural, and political ideas appropriated from Scottish, English Midlands, Continental, and American colonial Enlightenments against what they cast as the unenlightened and subordinated Catholic majority in Ireland and an imperial administration they saw as an unenlightened form of court monarchy. Members of the Anglo-Irish Enlightenment deployed 'modern' arts and knowledges to imagine and promote their version of Enlightenment, notably historiography, antiquarianism, political economy, and belles-lettres. This Enlightenment was focused and mobilized particularly in response to the American Revolution, threat of French invasion, and anxiety about reliability and control of the majority lower ranks. An exemplar of this Enlightenment was the economic, scientific, social, and literary circle and project around Edgeworthstown in county Longford.

Alongside this Anglo-Irish Enlightenment, however, developed what can be claimed as an Irish Catholic Enlightenment, grounded in the important and widely circulated seventeenth-century Irish antiquarian-historical text of the Catholic priest Geoffrey Keating (*Seathrún Céitinn*), eventually translated and published in the eighteenth century, inspiring similar work by others that was deployed by successive generations of Irish Catholic nationalists into the twentieth century. Though created in the seventeenth century, Keating's work was grounded in Counter-Reformation Catholicism, which could be re-interpreted in the eighteenth century as an antecedent, basis, or form of Catholic Enlightenment, in this case to rival the militant Enlightenment of the Anglo-Irish 'Ascendancy,' by historians such as Silvester O'Halloran. Suggestively, it was this Irish Catholic Enlightenment that the leaders of the Edgeworthstown Anglo-Irish Enlightenment satirized, notably in such influential popularizations as Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*. This paper examines these countering versions of Enlightenment, in which the Catholic version ultimately prevailed.

Catriona Kennedy (University of York) *Sepoys on the Sands of Egypt: The East India Company, the Egyptian Campaign of 1801, and Comparative Colonial Knowledge Formation*

Panel / *Session 282, 'Scots, Empire, and Identity'*. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sydney Ayers (University of Edinburgh)

In a crude watercolour of the British encampment at Alexandria in 1801, sketched by a private soldier, a figure gazes out towards the viewer. Dressed in the uniform of the native infantry of the East India Company – a red coat paired with a blue turban and short cotton drawers – he stands sentinel beside the characteristic circular tent of the Indian army. To his left, another sepoy smokes a pipe and engages in conversation with a local Arab. In depicting this encounter between an English soldier-artist, an Indian sepoy, and an Egyptian Arab, this unique painting captures a significant, if overlooked, episode in the history of British colonial encounters. Although sepoys had served outside India before 1801, their participation in a campaign on the very borders of Europe was considered historic. It was, in the words of one British officer 'a singular event in the Annals of warfare to behold Troops belonging to the same King uniting by a regular Military operation on the plains of Cairo, one Corps moving from Bengal & Hindostannie, the other from England'.

This meeting of European and South Asian soldiers on the coast of North Africa offers an example of the 'webbed or networked' conceptions of colonial relationships that have characterized recent work in the field. As this paper will argue, this historic transfer of troops from Britain's trading colony to its future colonial possession would play an important role in the construction of comparative colonial 'knowledge' over the course of the nineteenth century. This aspect of the campaign would be referenced in orientalist accounts of the historic links between Egypt and India and in medical treatises on the relationship between climate, racial difference and disease. It would also provide an early example of the imaginative identification of Scottish Highland soldiers and native Indian troops within the emerging framework of martial race theory.

Camille **Kerbaol** (Ecole Navale) L'invention de l'officier de marine dans les écrits du for intérieur de la fin du XVIIIe siècle : émergence d'une identité professionnelle.

Panel / *Session 106, 'Identités plurielles'*. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

La Marine est une arme tradive en France, instituée sous Louis xiv seulement, et pendant longtemps sans prestige, contrairement à la Navy à la même époque. Bien qu'appartenant à une élite sociale cultivée, et, qui plus est, ayant une pratique professionnelle d'écriture (à l'image des juristes), les officiers de Marine ont tardé à figurer dans la littérature française, en tant que représentations (héros de roman ou de pièce, littérature grise à caractère historique) comme en tant qu'écrivains : il faut attendre 1729 pour voir un officier de marine publier ses mémoires (Forbin), non sans quelques scandale. L'intérêt naissant pour la Marine lors de la guerre de Sept ans ne suscite guère d'autres vocations littéraires et il faut attendre la période de la guerre d'Indépendance américaine pour voir fleurir toute une littérature sur/émanant d'officiers de marine. Cet accroissement dans les années 1780s correspond à ce qui est considéré comme l'âge d'or de la Marine, au cours duquel émerge une génération d'officiers pour lesquels le service de mer n'est pas qu'une carrière, mais une authentique vocation. Quelques uns (Cotignon, Viella, La Monneraye, Mandat-Grancey) vont laisser des écrits, mémoires ou correspondance, où l'affirmation du Moi passe par la représentation du métier, tendant par là à créer une véritable identité professionnelle ; à mi-chemin entre l'individuel et le collectif, il convient donc de se demander sur quels valeurs et aspects du métier d'officier la construction du moi s'appuie et quelles représentations de leur métier ces jeunes nobles donnent à voir, faisant de leur récit de vie, une Défense et Illustration de la Marine.

Alicia **Kerfoot** (SUNY Brockport) The Embodied Embroidery of Cecilia's 'Spoilt' Screen

Panel / *Session 260, 'Comedy; Morality; Sentiment: Mid-Eighteenth-Century Literature'*. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leigh-Michil George (Geffen Academy at UCLA)

In Frances Burney's *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heiress* (1782), Cecilia Beverley reveals her feelings about Mortimer Delvile to Lady Honoria when, in the act of "embroidering a screen" she hears that he might have a mistress and illicit child: "She forced herself, however, to continue her work, though she knew so little what she was about, that she put her needle in and out of the same place without ceasing" (489-90). In response, Lady Honoria exclaims, "Bless me,

Miss Beverley, what are you about! why that flower is the most ridiculous thing I ever saw!” (490). Cecilia begins to unpick the flower, but when Lady Honoria suggests that Cecilia’s blush reveals her preference for Mortimer she returns “in hasty confusion to her employment” and Lady Honoria this time asks her, “do you intend to unpick the whole screen?” (491).

In my proposed paper I’d like to attend to the interplay between Cecilia’s emotions, their display both in her embroidery work and in her face, and Lady Honoria’s ability to draw forth the blush and the “spoilt” embroidery of the screen. Burney draws attention to the way that emotional realities become visible in the work of the body: be it in a blush or in the action of the hands during needlework. The resultant material artifact in *Cecilia* leads her to think self-reflexively about her feelings for Mortimer Delvile, and the screen itself becomes imbued with her emotions and reveals them to her two female companions.

Burney also uses this screen scene to construct Cecilia’s body and emotions as representative of upper-class, white, female virtue. Cecilia’s embroidered screen achieves ideal female community with Mrs. Delvile at the same time she uses it to orient herself in relation to other women characters—including the unruly aristocratic Lady Honoria, and the absent bodies of two lower-class women: the recipient of Mortimer’s charity, known only as a “gipsey” woman, and Henrietta Belfield (her friend who is also in love with Delvile). In my talk I plan to attend to surviving examples of embroidered fire screens in order to develop this analysis of Cecilia’s screen as an embodied object that materially orients her subjectivity.

Olga Khavanova (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) Linguistic Aspects of Communication between the Courts of Vienna and St Petersburg in the 1750s: Monarchs and their Diplomats

Panel / *Session* 294, ‘Diplomacy, Diplomats, and Language Choice in Eighteenth-Century Europe 2’.

Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vladislav Rjéoutski (German Historical Institute in Moscow)

In the eighteenth century, the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg used Latin, French, German and Russian. The use or choice of a particular language depended on established practice, and the linguistic skills of the speaker or scribe. The paper is aimed at reconstructing the variety of language used in official correspondence and spoken during personal meetings of the monarchs and diplomats in the ambassadorial term of Count Nicolas Esterházy (1753-1761). Unlike his predecessors, who had not stayed in Russia for longer than one or two years, he spent eight years there, and had regular opportunities to meet chancellors and mighty courtiers and occasional instances of public and private conversations with the Empress Elisabeth. Historians have at their disposal a limited number of letters and ambassadorial reports written in Esterházy’s own hand; it is definitely known that he spoke and wrote both perfect German and French. This key figure in the Austro-Russian cooperation on the eve of, and during, the Seven Years’ war apparently remained in the shadow of the ambassadorial and personal secretaries, featuring and fashioning his accounts of negotiations, audiences, or confidential talks. The paper strives to taxonomize the occasions on which the different languages were used by the monarchs in their official exchanges, by the ambassadors (Nicolas Esterházy and his counterpart Hermann Keyserling in Vienna), and in cases when documents and letters were translated from one language into another, the Russian words known and used by Esterházy, if any.

Irina Khruleva (Lomonosov Moscow State University) Religious Enthusiasm of the ‘New Lights’ vs Enlightened Theology of the ‘Old Lights’: In Search of a New Protestant Identity during the First Great Awakening in New England

Panel / *Session* 418, ‘At the Confluence of Religion and Rationalism: The Enlightenment and Religious Identities’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Pavel Knyazev (Lomonosov Moscow State University)

The First Great Awakening marked an important step of Christianity’s evolution in America and it transformed Christianity from the religion of the established church to internal faith that did not belong to any traditional institutions, from Christianity as a strict doctrine to Christianity as piety, from the state church that included all society to the church of the converted ones.

The First Great Awakening has always drawn a profound scholarly attention; Recently there have been a growing profusion of scholarly works devoted to various aspects of the colonial revivals that have broadened and deepened our understanding of the phenomenon, yet there are still a great number of questions to discuss, such as its religious meaning, chronological frames and regional peculiarities.

The First Great Awakening was complicated and controversial in its nature due to its many religious denominations evolved. Moreover, it would be incorrect to link it exclusively with different pietistic movements. Its opponents who took a stand against enthusiastic religious renewal ardently preached by revivalists also boosted the development of the fundamentally new religious situation in the British colonies.

“Old lights” included not only the orthodox clergy but also those ministers who had experienced the great impact of the Enlightenment. The “Old lights” opposed the perceived “chaos” in colonial religious life caused by “New Lights”.

The “New Light” supporters defended their call to preach against the claims of established (but “unconverted”) ministers. The new style of religious life had a particular appeal to young people who were a “target audience” at the open-air gatherings in the fields and in public market places. Unlike the old pattern of state-church colleges such as Harvard and Yale, none of the new colleges received financial support from the state, since a growing denominationalism and religious toleration made state support of such colleges unnecessary.

Miranda **Kiek** (Independent Scholar) *Corinne and Fanny Price: Actresses, Heroines, and the Identity of the Heroine*

Panel / *Session 207*, ‘Jane Austen and Friends’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer ()

This paper argues that Germaine de Staël’s *Corinne*, a novel written by a performer about a performer, led to the creation in England of a new type of observer heroine who was imaginatively constituted in tandem with the moral assassination of the performing woman. The figure of the actress had been important in political debate on both sides of the channel at the beginning of the French Revolution and, after the publication of *Corinne*, she became a feature of British debate for a second time. Qualities of intellectual ambition and foreignness were now superadded to the older associations of actresses with unfeminine publicity, fakery and social disorder. As a consequence the virtuous woman, the actress’s domestic binary, had to become ever more suspicious of artistic and intellectual flamboyance. Writing about the actress (the figure who most embodied contemporary notions of attractive but corrupted femininity) gave conservative authors a ready way to conceptualise different models of gender politics structured not around separate spheres but the theatrical auditorium. Rejecting the role of performer, however, did not mean accepting a role of domestic nonentity. It meant taking on the identity of observer, audience member, judge and a critic. Using Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* as exemplar, it is argued that when female authors wrote about the relation of women to the public realm, or performance, it was not to assert the superiority of domesticity but rather the superiority of intellectual interiority. Women were not part of the public realm but their role within it was to watch and not perform. The actress identity became the battleground upon which the case for female intellect was fought.

Younguk **Kim** (Université nationale de Séoul) *Jean-Jacques avec d’Alembert : sur le projet « expérimental » de l’autobiographie de Rousseau*

Panel / *Session 74*, ‘Entre physique et métaphysique : quête de l’identité de la pensée des Lumières’. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Young Mock Lee (Université nationale de Séoul)

L’objet de notre réflexion est d’expliciter le fondement empiriste du projet autobiographique de J.-J. Rousseau, et d’observer son éloignement progressif de ce fondement. Pour cela, révélatrices sont les deux comparaisons que Rousseau invoque en expliquant la méthode des *Confessions* et des *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* : la chambre obscure et le baromètre. Quelle est la signification de ce déplacement de la comparaison méthodologique ? Pour y répondre, nous convoquons d’Alembert qui justifie passionnément l’« esprit systématique » des Lumières dans le *Discours préliminaire* et les *Eléments de philosophie*. C’est par un examen comparatif de la méthode de Rousseau,

exprimée dans les deux comparaisons scientifiques, et du système empiriste de d'Alembert que nous pouvons situer la place du projet autobiographique rousseauiste dans l'empirisme du XVIIIe siècle, et en même temps, mesurer le décalage significatif de ceux-ci.

Jeong Oh **Kim** (Vanderbilt University) Joseph Banks at the Threshold of Cultural Entanglements

Panel / *Session* 163, 'Biological Classification'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Brycchan Carey (Northumbria University)

When William Roy (1726-1790) and William Mudge (1762-1820) carried out the Ordnance Survey of the British Isles, their military cartography became internationally significant in the subsequent mapping of the South Seas to make "dominance at a distance feasible" as Bruno Latour has called it. This wide spectrum of cultural interests, which are not necessarily cartographic, but, more crucially social, economic, political, scientific, and literary, set Joseph Banks in motion to "re-discover" the new geographies of Tahiti, New Zealand, and Australia. James Cook's fellow voyager, Joseph Banks was a Lincolnshire landowner voyaging into the unknown in the South Seas. While Banks comes back with splendid specimens of hitherto unknown plants and animals, MS notes, drawings executed during the passage across the Atlantic, along the coast of South America, across the Pacific via the Society Island, and the east coast of Australia, his three-month stay at Tahiti makes him the case of hybrid or singular identity, which he calls "half mongrel" and "half British." Banks always already gets caught either as a maximally "licentious" curio in his times or a minimally "licensed" botanist without public credit as a scientist. Rather than negating or affirming the one variant view in favor of the other Banks, my essay synthesizes these two modes of inquiry to develop hypotheses that will withstand rigorous scrutiny from both sides. I argue that the history of geography is a complex process in which events determined by local interactions involve projects informed by global conceptions about the task of geography and the aim of knowledge. Drawing upon the history of science framed by such critics as Michel Serres, Isabelle Stengers, and Bruno Latour, as well as upon philosophical arguments enhanced by John Locke and Alain Badiou, I make a case that every geography Banks moves in carries an intellectual and cultural ethic—a set of assumptions about the nature of knowledge production and its social practice. Banks brought data and specimens home from the South Seas in order to place them into a Linnaean taxonomy, but this plan was foiled by the singularity of his experience.

Myung-hwan **Kim** (Seoul National University) Plebeian Energies in Walter Scott's Historical Novel

Panel / *Session* 346, 'Sir Walter Scott'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Emma Macleod (University of Stirling)

If we take Highland clan societies in *Waverley* or *Rob Roy* for primitive and barbarous ones, we are likely to misunderstand Scott's novel, a mistake that has been repeated since the publication of *Waverley* in 1814 partly because Scott sometimes compares Highland societies to tribal ones like that of "American Indians." It is obvious, however, that the Highland clans lived with a kind of feudalism of their own, doomed to be destroyed by the advancing capitalism of neighboring Lowlands as well as of modern England, a historical destiny that Scott finds inevitable.

In his novels, Scott is always conscious of what is lost and forgotten in the rapid and fundamental change of traditional Scotland including the demise of Highland clan societies. In *Waverley*, for example, Alice is a charming young woman who helps the hero and his lover, though she is merely a daughter of a cunning Highland thief. Scott also describes the features of poor commoners at Tully-Veolan to be "rough, but remarkably intelligent." In *Rob Roy*, needless to say, *Rob Roy* is an attractive, sometimes overwhelming Highland clan leader, and we must remember the astonishing fortitude of *Jeanie Deans*, a common peasant girl, in *The Heart of the Midlothian*. In a word, Scott repeatedly tries to portray the positive nature of plebeian energies of Scottish common people including Highlanders.

For a fuller understanding of Scott's historical novel, I will attempt to focus on the "demos" rather than the "ethnos" of different Scottish characters in *Waverley* novels. This will also contribute to a more balanced evaluation of the figures that belong to the upper classes, at the same time helping us overcome diverse misinterpretations of Scott's fiction.

Kit Kincade (Indiana State University) **Masculine Identity Then and Now: The Case of George Wickham**

Panel / *Session* 207, 'Jane Austen and Friends'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer ()

Masculinity studies runs the gamut from historical readings of structures and constructions of social status, power, violence, and gender through those of the present moment. The opposing terms of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities (as identified by Pascoe and Bridges) work as a template for the tension between George Wickham's desperation for higher social and economic standing and his precarious, and therefore dangerous, actual place in Jane Austen's England. Using the character of Wickham, I plan to track not merely his attempt at constructing his socio-economic position in the world of the novel, and by extension how Austen's contemporary audience would have interpreted his character, but then how current adaptations of the novel (both through other novels and film versions) have revisited and reassessed who he is and what type of threat he is. Modern popular cultural renditions of his character have shifted his threat from being primarily a monetary one (displayed through his financial incontinence and subsequent attempts at marrying for money) to a sexual one (re-imagined as everything from a pedophile, to a serial cheater, to a sexual deviant), hence the shift to toxic masculinity. I believe that this shift from him being a class and economic danger to being a sexual predator is as revealing about what both societies (Austen's then and ours currently) deems as truly threatening to cultural order.

Laura Kirkley (Newcastle University) **'Pensive Wanderer': Mary Wollstonecraft's Sentimental Cosmopolitan**

Panel / *Session* 276, 'Mary Wollstonecraft'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

Focusing on An Historical and Moral View of the French Revolution, this paper argues that Mary Wollstonecraft was a cosmopolitan writer – a polyglot and traveler who wrote in a transnational context and articulated a cosmopolitan ethic in her political thought. Influenced by Scottish sentimental philosophy and the rationalist theologian Richard Price, she acknowledges the appeal of local loyalties, but she also insists on the moral imperative to philanthropy, a cosmopolitan love of humankind that recognizes natural rights beyond national borders. In her political works, reason is presented as a means to refine instinctive sympathies into philanthropic moral sentiments. Yet Wollstonecraft also betrays anxiety about the fallibility of feeling as a moral guide, particularly in light of the zealous love of country that ignited the Terror. Drawing on Rousseau, she articulates the complexities of her ethical position by constructing multiple and conflicting textual identities. In her preface to French Revolution, Wollstonecraft depicts herself as an impartial observer, an historian for whom the Revolution is an imperfect milestone on the march to enlightenment. But in the rest of the text, this determined perfectibilism is periodically fractured by her eyewitness perspective. The narrative voice struggles to sustain the neutrality to which it lays claim, and in sentimental interludes, Wollstonecraft offers her readers fleeting glimpses of an expatriate textual persona entirely unlike the phlegmatic narrator-historian. Described as a 'pensive wanderer,' this persona expresses compassion for victims of the Terror, performing the fellow feeling crucial to philanthropy and, in doing so, countermanding the state-orientated mentality of the Jacobins, for whom sympathy for counterrevolutionaries was tantamount to treason. Embodying Wollstonecraft's anxieties, her persona casts doubt on the views advanced with apparent certainty elsewhere in the text and calls attention to its central paradoxes. Thus Wollstonecraft brings new layers of complexity to the model for cosmopolitan philanthropy constructed in her works.

Caitlin Kitchener (University of York) **Sisters of the Earth: The Identities and Performances of Female Reformers in 1819**

Panel / *Session* 406, 'Popular Politics and Radicalism'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

1819 was an important year of radical activity with the Smithfield Meetings, Peterloo, and its aftermath, but it also saw the emergence of female reform societies. These societies should be considered as a way of women claiming and

constructing political spaces as well as material culture and be viewed as part of a suffrage narrative which recognises the role of women much earlier than usual. Female reformers sought to perform a political identity in a male dominated space, emphasising their role in the domestic sphere and translating this into political language and action. They organised meetings, processed to mass platform events, wrote letters, and crafted liberty caps.

Their attempts at building a political or reform identity were met with criticism and satire, resulting in female reformers having fragmented identities. This paper will consider their efforts and ideas on identities whilst also analysing outsider perspectives and imagined identities. Using both the press and print response to female reform meetings, speeches, and letters, it is possible to understand how female reformers were sexualised, viewed as fat and excessive, and out of their depth. Analysing these, the female reformers will be read and understood in terms of 'female masculinity/ies' with this extending out of queer theory. Female reformers thus led and performed a contested identity within the radical and reform spheres. The multiplicity provides an interesting opportunity to view how gender, radicalism, and print intersects.

Jana Kittelmann (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Epistolary Nation-Building: Frederick the Great and Prussia in Private Correspondences by German and Swiss Writers

Panel / *Session 449*, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIIIe siècle – La lettre entre les nations 2 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth Century – Letters between Nations 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

The accession of Frederick the Great in 1740 coincides with the emergence of the epistolary culture of sentimentalism. Starting in the 1740s, a whole generation of young epistolists, for example, Gleim, Lange, Sulzer, Gellert, Kleist, Hirzel, and Karsch, explored the aesthetic, communicative and political possibilities of the medium letter anew, transferring their model of friendship and sociability to the practice of writing letters. For this, the political, military, social and cultural ambitions of

Frederick were not only an ideal background: Moreover, the Prussian King himself was at the same time a central subject of the widely ramified correspondences that reached beyond Prussia to France, England or Switzerland. In different respects, Frederick as "Hero", and with him the young

Prussian nation, are topics that substantially shape the exchange, the literary form and the sound of these letters. Aside of the literary interest in Frederick, expressed with poems, odes, anecdotes, portrayals, and descriptions of battles, also the formation of nations plays an important

role. This interplay of epistolary communication and circulating concepts of nation is investigated in the contribution. How "nation" is literary and aesthetically formed in correspondences, accompanying military, political and cultural dynamics and developments? The considered

material includes correspondences by Gleim, Ramler, von Kleist, Karsch, and in particular, Swiss writers, philosophers, and artists, such as Sulzer, Hirzel, Zimmermann, and Füßli, who lived in Prussia for different periods of time, or, like Laurenz Zellweger in Trogen and Bodmer in Zürich, who intensely followed the development of Frederick and Prussia.

Katharine Kittredge (Ithaca College) Having Beauty, Losing Beauty: The Case of Melesina Trench

Panel / *Session 405*, 'Perceptions of Variability'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Chris Mounsey (University of Winchester)

During her lifetime, Anglo-Irish writer Melesina Chenevix St. George Trench (1768-1827) was known more for her great beauty than for her literary productions. Although she wrote steadily all of her life, Trench did not find literary fame until thirty-five years after her death, when her son printed selections from her letters and journals as *The Remains of the Late Mrs. Richard Trench* (1862).

Trench's son depicted his mother as a pious upstanding woman, editing out the more gender-transgressive roles which she played in the last twenty years of her life. Recently, additional information has come to light through previously lost and mis-catalogued archive materials which have allowed me to assemble a clearer image of the way

that Melesina Trench transitioned from being a society beauty to becoming a prolific writer and an engaged activist. In spite of eschewing the title of “professional author,” Trench published extensively in local and national periodicals, and devoted herself to a wide range of philanthropic activities and social causes.

As a result, what we now know about Trench’s life is valuable as a microhistory which reveals important aspects of the contemporary framing of age and gender. Trench’s frank discussion of the way that age affected her social status and her perception of the opportunities that became open to her as she aged provides a rare view of early modern mid-life reinvention. Furthermore, the information gained from the Leadbeater-Trench correspondence shows two friends encouraging each other to step outside of the traditional role of wife-and-mother, allowing them to create a new norm for themselves which re-casts formerly transgressive behavior as selfless service to a higher cause.

Bryan Klausmeyer (Virginia Tech University) ‘(Ist fortzusetzen.)’ Writing Time in Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*

Panel / *Session* 65, ‘Writing Time: Temporalities of the Periodical in the Eighteenth Century 2’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nora Ramtke (Ruhr University Bochum)

In 1929 Walter Benjamin summarized Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* oder die Entsagenden (1821/29) thusly: “Der Roman, der langeliegen blieb, schließlich ueberstuerzt beendet wurde, ... wurde zuletzt vom Dichter als Magazin behandelt, in den er den Inhalt seiner Notizhefte durch Eckermann einreihen ließ.” Benjamin’s allusion to the commercial format of the magazine – not to mention Eckermann’s co-editorship – serves to cast doubt on whether Goethe’s final “novel” can still be considered a unified “work” of literature in light of the self-evidently external and contingent factors governing its composition and publication. To be sure, Benjamin’s critique of the *Wanderjahre* as a kind of repository or compendium can be situated within a long history of the work’s failed reception. Yet the suggestive reference to the magazine, which aligns the *Wanderjahre* more with the material world of print than with the romantic conception of *Dichtung*, is to a certain extent legitimized by the work’s discontinuous publication history.

By drawing attention to the medial and material circumstances of the book’s genesis, Benjamin’s critique thereby anticipates more recent approaches to the *Wanderjahre* which read Goethe’s final work less through the traditional thematic prisms of wandering and renunciation (*Entsagung*) than with an eye toward 19th-century print history and the collective editorial practices surrounding Goethe’s literary estate. In order to delve deeper into the relationship between writing and time, this presentation proposes, therefore, to examine Goethe’s *Wanderjahre* as an early exemplar of serial literature, whose two-fold publication – first in installments, and subsequently as a monograph – promises to open up a new perspective onto the temporal dimension of these semantics of closure, continuation and transition. In short, by examining the manifold strategies – poetological, medial and material – of “writing time” in the *Wanderjahre*, this presentation seeks to contribute to our understanding of the shifting media landscape of the early 19th century and show how the literature of the time realized this shift at the level of literary form.

Claude Klein (Université de Strasbourg) L’identité narrative de Rétif de la Bretonne à l’épreuve de la nouvelle

Panel / *Session* 230, ‘L’identité narrative chez Rétif de la Bretonne’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sophie Lefay (Université d’Orléans)

Lorsque Rétif entreprend de rédiger son autobiographie en 1783, cette entreprise est précédée par différentes expériences narratives visant à parler de soi par le biais de genres différents. Encouragé par ses succès littéraires, c’est à travers ces détours et ces approches successives, dont celle d’une intention comique, sous le titre du *Compère Nicolas*, qu’il entreprend en 1783 la rédaction de *Monsieur Nicolas*. Cette autobiographie recueille donc les fruits de ses expériences antérieures où le narrateur s’est souvent cherché à travers ses doubles et ses avatars. Or la plus grande partie de *Monsieur Nicolas* sera rédigée en même temps qu’il termine la rédaction de la dernière série des *Contemporaines* et les nouvelles de cette série à succès contiennent différentes allusions autobiographiques, ainsi que des allusions à ses autres productions. La dernière série, intitulée *Les Contemporaines* par gradation, dont la publication coïncide avec la rédaction de la première version de *Monsieur Nicolas*, manifeste plusieurs interférences avec son autobiographie. Nous proposons d’étudier dans cet esprit l’ultime nouvelle des *Contemporaines*, *La Belle*

Charlatane, qui développe plusieurs motifs récurrents de l'identité narrative chez Rétif. Le canevas de cette nouvelle peut ainsi être considéré comme une alternative existentielle non développée dans *Monsieur Nicolas*. Cette nouvelle illustre de façon exemplaire la part d'imaginaire qui travaille l'identité de l'écrivain.

Lawrence **Klein** (University of Cambridge) *Mixed Company and Its Discontents*

Panel / *Session 87*, 'Mixed Company, Assembly, Association, and Sociability'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Will Bowers (Merton College, Oxford)

The expression 'mixed company' was used saliently in eighteenth-century Britain as one way to formulate and characterize some occasions of sociability. One aim of this paper is to explore the contexts which occasioned the reference to 'mixed company'. The expression was a way to think about the experience, for better or worse, of being in settings in which people who were different (in a variety of ways) shared the same space and even had contact. While sites of commercial leisure conspicuously involved 'mixed company', many other social occasions required exposure to and management of human difference. A second aim of the paper is to map 'mixed company' against other formulations of social interaction, such as 'select company', 'friendship', 'familiarity' and 'intimacy'. It was easy for contemporaries to make the case for the superiority of phenomena designated by these latter formulations to 'mixed company'. At the same time, justifications for the advantages of 'mixed company' were also available. For some, extending one's interactions to 'all sorts' cured solipsism and opened the door to edification and enlightenment. However, 'mixed company' by its nature required specific technologies to reduce the liabilities of fractiousness and disorder.

Marianne **Klemun** (University of Vienna) *Gathering Data and Objects without Travel Narration: Natural History Collections of the Habsburg Monarchy in Transition*

Panel / *Session 438*, 'Resilience of Eighteenth-Century Science in the Habsburg Monarchy 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Borbala Zsuzsanna Török (University of Vienna)

Gathering Data and Objects without Travel Narration –

Natural History Collections of the Habsburg Monarchy in Transition

The extensive Viennese court collections (museum and gardens) could long compete with those of other European capitals although they were not supported by a genuine colonial power. From the eighteenth century, the Austrian court launched expeditions to participate in global colonial knowledge and enhance Vienna's spaces of knowledge. Citizens, who were interested in natural history and travelled on their own initiative, often submitted their findings to the court collections in Vienna. Diplomats, high officials and aristocrats acted as go-betweens, contributing to the expansion of knowledge stores in the centre of the monarchy. What kind of knowledge was mobilised? It is striking that the endeavours focused predominantly on objects, specimens and their possession. Through meticulous description of these objects and specimens, they were identified and classified based on modern classification and description systems. However, in contrast to western European practices, endeavours launched by the Austrian monarchy lacked a narrative in the form of travel accounts and were therefore not put into social and cultural contexts. By using examples from botany and mineralogy, the paper explores this development that continued into the second half of the nineteenth century. It discusses the coexistence, connection between epistemes and administration, or rather overlapping of traditional practices and dynamic approaches in relation to bureaucracy.

Gabriel **Klimont** (Polish Academy of Sciences) *The Problem of Vagrancy in Eighteenth-Century Warsaw – 'social margin' or a Marginalized Population? The Costs of Urbanization on the Peripheries*

Panel / *Session 261*, 'Crime and Punishment'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jeanne Clegg (University of Ca' Foscari Venice)

The aim of this paper is to critically examine the practices of the first Polish police institutions in the second half of the 18th century. I argue that their “fight against vagabonds” was highly ineffective (both at the logistical and economical level) and should be understood rather as an unstable outcome of the political conflicts between parties, than a part of linear “modernization” process.

My main argument is based on both qualitative and statistical analysis of a 90 interrogations from Warsaw (1787-1794). The usage of biographical methods (D. Bertaux) enables to reconstruct the life-cycles and highly heterogeneous identities of people usually referred to as a “social margin”. Furthermore, the statistical interpretation of the main correlations in my database (between age, gender, social origin, number of migrations and conflicts with law) allows to draw a conclusion that the people caught by the early modern penal institutions in Poland did not differ significantly from a normal population. I will also briefly discuss the main institutional projects that aimed at using vagabonds as an asset (Warsaw’s prison, the suburban manufactures supported by the state) and reveal the structural flaws of such projects.

The paper will contribute to a more detailed understanding of the “modernization” process in the peripheral context, as my analysis will hopefully prove, that the Polish police institutions were not fighting against “social margin” – they were in fact actively producing it.

Dorit Kluge (Hochschule für Wirtschaft, Technik und Kultur, Berlin) *L’identité de la critique d’art : un glissement du visuel/descriptif vers l’auditif/narratif.*

Panel / *Session* 231, ‘Le corps sensoriel : sensibilité, émotions et identité(s) dans les expositions d’art au XVIIIe siècle’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marc André Bernier (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

Tout au long du Siècle des Lumières, l’identité de la critique d’art et de ses auteurs ne cesse d’évoluer. Les transformations apparaissent à la fois dans l’exercice de la fonction et dans le type voire le genre de texte produit. Sous l’influence de différentes pratiques culturelles, telles que la promenade, les voyages ou la fréquentation des expositions, les identités du critique d’art et de son mode d’écriture se transforment. Le critique n’est plus une instance invisible ou immobile jugeant simplement les œuvres d’art, il expérimente et se transforme en promeneur. Il se déplace physiquement dans l’espace de l’exposition et même à l’extérieur de ce cadre concret afin de construire ses réflexions. Il capte des impressions visuelles, ainsi que le jugement du public, des artistes et des autres critiques avant de développer sa propre vision des œuvres. Ce processus de réflexion ne passe pas simplement par l’écrit, mais aussi par l’oral. Le critique qui se fait quelques fois accompagner d’un individu qu’il entraîne dans une conversation réelle ou fictive sur l’art, transpose ces échanges en écriture dialogique. Ce processus de création déjà présent dans la tradition littéraire se transpose ainsi dans la critique d’art de la deuxième moitié du 18e siècle. Cette communication, en se basant sur des sources françaises et allemandes, tentera de saisir la transformation de la critique d’art, sa complexification et ses caractéristiques multisensuelles, tout en observant le glissement d’une approche principalement visuelle et descriptive, vers une méthode plus narrative qui intègre les éléments auditifs ainsi que le mouvement du corps du critique.

Claire Knowles (La Trobe University) *The Oracle of Syle: Or, John Bell, the Eighteenth-Century Newspaper, and the Rise of the Female Poet*

Panel / *Session* 255, ‘Women and Periodicals’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Williams (Northumbria University)

In 1789 the fortunes of newspaper the World, famous for its “Della Cruscan” stable of writers headed by Robert Merry, suffered a heavy blow when the paper’s printer John Bell left the paper rafter a disagreement with its proprietor, Edward Topham. On the 1st of June, Bell began his own rival paper, the Oracle, or Bell’s New World and succeeded in luring many of the most famous of the World’s poets over to his own stable of writers. Michael Gamer has suggested that Bell played a pivotal role in establishing a “canon” of Della Cruscan poetry. He did this in two ways. First, he collected what he regarded as the quintessential poems from the World and the Oracle and republished them as The British Album and The Poetry of the World, part of his popular Bell’s British Poets series. But Bell also influenced our subsequent understanding of second-wave Della Cruscanism by choosing only the “best” (or, more

accurately, the most popular) of the World's poets to grace the pages of his new paper—Robert Merry, Hannah Cowley and Mary Robinson.

More than any other poet it is Mary Robinson (typically publishing under the pseudonym, "Laura Maria," who dominates the pages Oracle from 1789 until Bell loses control of the paper in 1793. But from its very beginning, the Oracle seems to have had a higher proportion of female writers appearing in its pages than the World. The very first poet to publish in the paper was one "Aunt Winifred" on June 1, 1789, but issues for the first month of the paper's existence also feature the work of "Carolina," "Adelaide," "Charlotte," "Bet Blossom" and "Laura Maria." The increased presence of women writers in the pages of the Oracle is a testament to the increasing possibilities being opened up for women writers within the late eighteenth-century newspaper. I argue in this paper that it is "Laura Maria" and not "Della Crusca" who becomes the focal point of the Oracle's poetry pages, and that this shift reflects the importance of the daily paper as a forum for the publication and promotion of women's poetry at the end of the eighteenth century.

Pavel Knyazev (Lomonosov Moscow State University) Religion and Protestant Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England: The Case of Charles Davenant

Panel / *Session 467*, 'Orthodoxy and Dissent'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Roger D. Lund (Le Moyne College)

After the Glorious revolution, religion remained significant for English politics and culture, being important in forging the Protestant identity and defining Englishness during the long eighteenth century. The aim of the paper is to study the attitude towards religion in the works of Charles Davenant (1656-1714), an English economist, politician and thinker. This problem will be approached in the context of the complex issue of early 18th century religious and early Enlightenment identities.

The speaker will show how Davenant combined his religious views and beliefs with the elements of Republican political thought and with the contemporary Enlightenment influences. The thinker stressed that "the religion of the Church of England... is the purest, so it seems to agree best with the nature of our constitution". However, according to Davenant "a wise government" had to restrain from religious prosecutions, so to stay away from extremities. Davenant thus expressed a pragmatic approach towards religious cause, using the rhetoric of the "reason of the state". Davenant's position will be compared to the views of his contemporaries, such as Locke, Defoe and Swift. His views will be placed into the early 18th century 'Rage of Party' context. Another question the speaker will touch upon is the complexity of Davenant's Protestantism. The thinker used this notion to define Englishness. Nevertheless, he stayed far from alluding to the "Protestant interest" rhetoric, when it contradicted with England's national interest.

To sum up, Davenant's identity was a complex one. The Enlightenment values and ideas were combined in the thinker's system of views with his religious beliefs. Davenant saw Protestantism as an important marker of the English (as well as of the British) identity. However, the pamphleteer tended to put the interest of the state above any religious contradictions or sympathies.

Meg Kobza (Newcastle University) No Dominos Admitted: Social Display, Identity, and the English Country House Masquerade

Panel / *Session 164*, 'Collections, Costumes, and Representations: London and the Country House'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Serena Dyer (University of Hertfordshire)

Eighteenth-century London was home to many forms of leisure activities, including the expensive and exclusionary subscription masquerade. Held in theatres and assembly rooms, this form of entertainment was mildly accessible to anyone who could afford the high price of a ticket and costume. While ticketing practices made this leisure activity a consumer experience, there were other forms of the masquerade at which social rank was the sole determinant of gaining an invitation.

This paper will examine the English country house masquerade through a critical analysis of the ways in which they were presented, hosted, and attended. Using a combination of manuscripts, masquerade tickets, and illustrative

prints, this paper will explore how the country house operated as a space of social display through its relationship with the private masquerade. These sources will help uncover how private masquerades could influence a host's or participant's identity within society, with particular attention given to the masquerade at Powderham Castle (hosted by William Courtenay) and those given by the Duke of Bedford. Additional attention will be given to the peculiar trend of not admitting those wearing domino disguises and how it further defines the masquerade as a form of entertainment exclusive to the beau monde. These examples lead to a broader comparison between the subscription masquerade and those held privately, which will ultimately contribute to the current work on eighteenth-century leisure and its relation to social display in the private and public spheres of England.

Caroline Koegler (University of Münster) *Deeply Affected: Reading Trans-Atlantic Journeys and the 'Politics of Self-Preservation' in Daniel Defoe's Moll Flanders and Olaudah Equiano's Interesting Narrative*

Panel / *Session 31*, 'Writing Black Atlantic Lives'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Rowland (University of Sussex)

This paper will focus on the Atlantic as an affective space, considering Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* in the light of the 'politics of emotion' (Ahmed 2014; Butler 2015, 2009), self-preservation, and the process of consolidating early colonial identities. Empire is a central focus, twice functioning as a game-changer in Moll's lot as her trans-Atlantic journeys to America facilitate, at least temporarily, a safe haven of happiness, financial security, and family bonding. For Equiano, they mean the opposite: a destruction of family attachments, the experience of slavery and suffering. A particular focus will be on what I call the 'politics of self-preservation': Who copes, with what, how, why, and with whose help? Which external factors support or undermine Moll/Equiano in their attempts at self-preservation? Reading Equiano next to *Moll Flanders* illuminates the extent to which the – already gendered – narrative of Moll's self-preservation relies on early colonial identity politics and uneven notions of 'grievability' (Butler 2015, 2009). Acc. to Butler, life can only be valued (and thus grieved if lost) if it is "intelligible as a life," which means it "has to conform to certain conceptions of what life is, [i.e. to esteemed conventions of gender, race, class, and sexuality] in order to become recognizable" (2009, 7). I would add that lives are only imagined to be worthy of (self-)preservation if they also conform to these conceptions. Equiano can be seen as writing back to early colonial notions of grievability and self-preservation, vividly representing the atrocious crimes of slavery and showing how they impacted on individuals even after they attained the status of free men. Giving detailed insights into his state of mental health in the second half of his autobiography, he reveals himself to be suffering and suicidal (181-189). How do representations of his sufferings – and his coping strategies – tie in with the text's abolitionist politics? I will also be interested in the significance of race and gender for the positionality of Moll/Equiano and assessments of their emotional expressions as 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate.'

Margaret Koehler (Otterbein University) 'Wrap round your Joints this healing Verse': Poetry and Medicine in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 277*, 'Medicine and Literature'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ashleigh Blackwood (Northumbria University)

The field of Literature and Medicine has grown steadily in recent decades. The journal *Literature and Medicine* (JHUP), the book series "Literature and Medicine" (Kent State UP), and the growth of Medical Humanities programs and medical school tracks in Literature and Medicine all testify to the appeal of this interdisciplinary dialogue. The role of poetry in the field is often an explicitly therapeutic one. A 2008 PBS Nova episode, "Healing Words," showcases the work of "poetry therapist" John Fox at a teaching hospital in Florida. My paper will complicate two assumptions: 1) that poetry's sole medical connection is its healing power, and 2) that links between poetry and medicine are new. In the 18th century I will identify cases where poets and physicians are urged to think alike. I will show that poetry and medicine share a reliance on metaphor and analogy, a determined attention to particulars, and observational, experimental habits of mind.

The title of my paper, "Wrap round your Joints this healing Verse," comes from John Winstanley's poem "A Cure for the Gout" (1751). Like many 18th-century poems about illness and medicine, this one integrates clinical detail

("Corrosive Pains, that cramp the Bone") with literary analogy ("Miner-like, you work below,/ To sap Man's Fabric by the Toe") and poetic invocation ("O Gout! thou puzzling, knotty Point,/ Who nick'st Man's Frame in ev'ry Joint"). Poets of this period wrote on a startlingly wide range of medical topics: the history of medicine; human anatomy and physiology; dissection; the correct training of doctors; the praise of skilled and compassionate doctors; satire of arrogant doctors and quacks; inoculation; pain; advice for how to preserve health; the relationship between mind and body; particular diseases (smallpox, plague, tuberculosis or 'phthisis' as it was known in the period, headache, tooth-ache, gout, eye disease, insanity); hospitals and charitable organizations; recovery from illness; and more. My paper will outline the link between poetic and medical identities in the 18th century by focusing closely on several poems that illustrate the connections.

Metoda Kokole (Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts) *The Collection of Private Letters by Ignaz Maria von Attems-Heiligenkreutz from his Grand Tour of Europe (1734–1738)*

Panel / *Session 83, 'Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 2'*. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Teodora Shek Brnardić (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb)

Ignaz Maria von Attems-Heiligenkreutz (Graz 1714–Vienna 1742) – later founder of the Slovenska Bistrica branch of the Attems-Heiligenkreutz family – was sent in late 1734 from his native Graz to his four years long Grand Tour of Europe. He more or less regularly informed his father on the places he visited, routes, costs, transport, accommodation, health, clothing, his university education, religious issues, warfare activities, descriptions of the foremost sites and artistic wonders of the time, etc., but also visits to music events, concerts, dances and operatic productions.

From his native Graz in Styria Ignaz von Attems travelled to the north, to Würzburg and some other German towns. In the first half of the year 1735 he studied in Prague and later he inscribed himself to the University of Leiden. In July 1737 he finished with his official university education and travelled to Belgium, France and finally to Italy, where he remained from late 1737 to September 1738. He was back home from late October 1738. Thirty four extant letters are today part of the Attems family collection in the Provincial Archives of Graz and are subject of an e-edition to be released by the end of this year.

One aspect of this interesting Grand Tour as described in the letters has left also material traces – the collection of music manuscripts and a print now housed by the Provincial Archives of Maribor in Slovenia. Part of this collection originates from Italy from the exact time of Count's visits to Roman and Neapolitan theatres in 1738 and a number of copied music pieces have his name written on the first page. The information deduced from the letters and the surviving music combined with records on music productions of the time enables us to reconstruct the young Count's music interests and preferences leading to his introduction of these repertoires to the local music events in his native Graz.

Mümin Köktaş (Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University) *Thomas Paine and Enlightenment Political Philosophy*

Panel / *Session 416, 'American Enlightenment: Influences and Influencers'*. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

Thomas Paine is one of the most renowned thinkers of the 18th century. However, interestingly, he is one of those figures who has not been sufficiently studied. Famous for his aphorisms, his name is frequently mentioned in the historical texts. Nonetheless, despite this awareness, Paine has not been sufficiently evaluated with what he did and what he wrote. In addition, he has been at the center of exaggerated responses. It is either over-praised or over-denigrated. Paine, on the other hand, lived in the main developments in the history of 18th century political life and thinking. In other words, the intellectual history of the basic political developments of the 18th century, such as the American Revolution and the French Revolution, cannot be easily understood without regard to Paine. Namely, Paine emigrated to America for a while before the Declaration of Independence, supported the struggle of the colonies against Britain, went to Europe in 1787 and witnessed the French Revolution. In this respect, Paine's personal intellectual and political biography represents a very important aspect of the Enlightenment thought and movement.

Especially in the context of American Enlightenment, Paine is a very important figure. Paine, who came to America with Benjamin Franklin's recommendation, took part in the struggle of the American colonies for independence and played a remarkable role in the expression of the American Enlightenment itself with the best-selling book *Common Sense* and a pamphlet series known as *The American Crisis* in the process of adopting the Declaration of Independence and American Revolution. In this paper, Paine will be studied in the context of the American Enlightenment, his contribution to American political thought, his intellectual origins, change in Paine's perception in the American intellectual circles and whether Paine contributes to the intellectual relations between America and Europe will be discussed.

László Kontler (Central European University, Budapest) *An Unestablished Academy of Sciences: Maximilian Hell and Ex-Jesuit Trajectories in the Habsburg Monarchy after 1773*

Panel / *Session* 438, 'Resilience of Eighteenth-Century Science in the Habsburg Monarchy 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Borbala Zsuzsanna Török (University of Vienna)

An unestablished academy of sciences: Maximilian Hell and ex-Jesuit trajectories in the Habsburg monarchy after 1773

In the 1750s, the Habsburg government embarked on a comprehensive project of putting Vienna once and for all on the map of European learning by reforming the curriculum of the university and creating a range of new institutions from a botanical garden to a new astronomical observatory. Yet no Austrian academy of sciences was created in this period (in fact, until as late as 1847), while the role of stakeholders whose positions were apparently adversely affected by the transformations, such as the Jesuits, was far broader in these reforms than generally assumed or acknowledged. One of them, the imperial and royal astronomer Maximilian Hell, even played a major part in the development of plans for an academy two decades later, immediately after the general suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773). This paper will examine the eventual frustration of Hell's plan in the context of the Jesuit suppression, the trajectories still open to ex-Jesuit men of learning in the Habsburg monarchy in the subsequent period, and the chronology of the Enlightenment in Central Europe.

László Kontler (Central European University) *Their Own State(s) of Nature: Enlightened Hungarians Inventing Ethnic Origins*

Panel / *Session* 234, 'Origins and Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Alvarez (DePauw University)

A work on the "sameness" of the Hungarian and Sámi ("Lappish") language first published by the Jesuit scholar János (Ioannes) Sajnovics (1733-1785) in 1770 re-ignited discussion on the ethnic kinship and origin of Hungarians, traditionally associated with the Turkic or "Scythian" warrior peoples of the Eurasian steppe. Participants in this discussion relied extensively on international and domestic literature in ethnography and global geography, classifying these peoples according to the categories of stadial history as savage or barbarous, sometimes with patently dehumanizing overtones. On a different level of abstraction, some of the contributors, like the par excellence Hungarian philosophe György Bessenyei (1746-1811), also dedicated important texts to larger questions of nature, human nature and culture. My paper will examine the interferences among these different genres of scholarly and philosophical inquiry, and the ways in which assumptions about the nation's "own" past informed ideas about the natural condition of humanity, and vice versa. It will throw new light not only on emerging discourses of identity during the Hungarian national awakening, but also on important aspects of mainstream European intellectual development in the late eighteenth century and beyond.

Tatiana Korneeva (Freie Universität Berlin) *Sacco Truffaldino and Sacco ballerino: A Reconstruction of the Artistic Biography and the Routes of Travel of Two Italian Actors*

Panel / *Session* 97, 'Actors and Careers'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

The career of the Italian actor Antonio Sacco, born in Vienna in 1708 and died in 1788 in the sea on his way from Genoa to Marseille, is a sound example of the travelling Italian artists, who went to the North and fostered the cultural transfer of knowledge and the transmission of artistic practices. The celebrated Truffaldino, who worked with the renowned Italian dramatists Carlo Gozzi and Carlo Goldoni and was described by the latter as one of the three greatest actors of the entire eighteenth century (alongside Garrick and Préville), traveled across Europe, from Austria to Italy, from Russia to the Czech Republic, from Portugal to Spain. However, the cosmopolitanism of the Italian actors in general and of Antonio Sacco in particular, is precisely the reason why many questions in the historical research on actors remain still open. One of these questions concerns Sacco's stay (or stays) at the Russian court, an important place for his formation as an artist, and the routes of his travel. Based on the research in the archives in Moscow and Venice, this paper reconstructs Sacco's biography as well as the artistic activities of other members of his family, who were active agents in the circulation of ideas and cultural artefacts across geographical borders. Whereas the new archival evidences that this paper brings to light demonstrate that the actor Sacco has been to Russia only once in 1734-35 and not three times as it has been previously hypothesized by the scholars, they also make clear that the dancer Sacco present at the Russian court in 1758-61 was another artist, and the two Sacco degree of kinship is yet to be established.

Takeshi Koseki (Hitotsubashi University) *Kæmpfer et Charlevoix : deux regards sur le Japon*

Panel / *Session* 355, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 3 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

L'Histoire du Japon, ouvrage posthume du médecin allemand Engelbert Kæmpfer (1651-1716), a été publiée d'abord en anglais en 1727. Elle a été traduite en français deux ans après, et est devenu un livre de référence pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent à ce pays d'Extrême-Orient. Mais on avait à cette époque une autre Histoire du Japon de la main du père jésuite Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1682-1761). Celui-ci avait fait paraître son Histoire de l'établissement, des progrès et de la décadence du christianisme dans l'empire du Japon en 1715. L'ouvrage de Kæmpfer a ainsi renouvelé les connaissances sur le Japon. Charlevoix n'a pas pu rester indifférent. En 1736, le père jésuite a révisé son livre sous le titre de l'Histoire et description générale du Japon. Le sous-titre annonce que l'on y trouvera « l'examen de tous les auteurs qui ont écrit sur le même sujet ». Il est évident que Kæmpfer est une des cibles principales de Charlevoix. À travers la comparaison de leurs regards sur le Japon, nous examinerons la différence de l'image du Japon qu'ils voulaient donner à leurs contemporains.

Paul Kosmetatos (University of Edinburgh) 'Capitalism by generalists': The Scottish Enlightenment Lawyer as Banking Visionary and Practitioner

Panel / *Session* 14, 'Everyday Identities'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer ()

Better known today from a thinly-veiled reference in Book II of the Wealth of Nations discussing monetary fallacy, the short-lived Ayr Bank project (1769-1773) was even at the time presented as a cautionary tale of the dangers of putting high-minded but inexperienced generalists at the helm of a major capitalist endeavour. Particular attention was drawn to the fact that the bank's founders and directors included a large proportion of 'young gentlemen of the law, many of them of genius and spirit, but not conversant in matters of trade'. Despite its later reputation for dishonest and sloppy management however, the bank had originally been a cutting-edge experiment of financing a rapidly expanding economy in a country with limited resources and commercial traditions, that included one of the first ever implementations of branch banking and an implicit attempt to "melt down" the resources of landed estates into banking capital in a manner reminiscent of Sir James Steuart's prescription in his Principles of Political Oeconomy. Even after its shareholders, themselves including a strikingly high proportion of lawyers, agreed to unwind the stricken bank, the drawn-out and painful process of liquidation was dominated by an ambitious and well-connected Edinburgh Writer to the Signet, George Home of Branxton (1734-1821). Drawing upon a body of mostly unpublished manuscript sources, including Home's voluminous private correspondence and his literary excursions in the short-lived periodicals Mirror and Lounger, this paper discusses the role of Scottish lawyers in conceiving, running and liquidating major

financial institutions in a period of lively financial innovation in both the theoretical and practical spheres, as well as the conflicts with the banking establishment that arose in the process.

Josef Köstlbauer (University of Bremen) A ‘Moors’ Lovefeast’ in Herrnhag 1742: Perceptions and Identities of Non-Europeans in Eighteenth-Century Moravian Communities

Panel / *Session* 430, ‘German Slavery 2: Identities, Perception, and Representation’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Wolfgang Schmale (University of Vienna)

On a Sunday afternoon in December 1742, a remarkable event took place in Herrnhag, a settlement of the Moravian Brethren in Wetteravia. There, a group of people came together to celebrate a “moors’ love feast”. Some of the “moors” in attendance on that day hailed from the West Indies, others from North America or West Africa. But also present were a Malabar, a Tatar, and a German Sinto. Obviously, in designating “moors”, other factors than geographical and ethnic origins played a role –such as skin colour, and biblical or secular mythologies.

Although not all of the non-Europeans living in Moravian settlements in Europe were slaves, a majority came out of the maelstrom of the Atlantic slave trade. But no matter where these individuals came from, no matter whether they were slaves or not, male or female, adults or children, servants or labourers –they found themselves in a situation of dependency, their status characterized by legal and social ambiguities. Their presence demonstrates that slavery and its consequences were reaching into places and situations far removed from the Atlantic basin. Therefore, the Moravians’ communities may very well be characterized as hinterlands of slavery (Brahm/Rosenhaft 2016) in both a physical and metaphorical sense. At the same time the lives of many of these individuals also reveal the multiplicity and mutability of slavery in eighteenth century Europe and its overlaps with other forms of dependency. The proposed paper will use the “moors’ love feast” to take a new look at the rhetoric of racial difference and the ambiguous status of non-Europeans in the Moravian community, which shaped perceptions and identities of Europeans and non-Europeans alike.

Hideo Kotani (Gunma University) Why Should We Think Historically in Political Economy? – Rethinking of Gottfried Achenwall’s Statistik and His Conception of Historiography

Panel / *Session* 156, ‘The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 2’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hiroki Ueno (Hitotsubashi University)

It is said that Political economy is a science and art of government which aims to reproduce a social order and a national unity by growing wealth of nations. The discipline has been build up through 18th century, and is said to have been finally established by Hume and Smith.

However, of course there were many thinkers in several countries who developed the notion of political economy in their own ways. Gottfried Achenwall (1719-1772) was the one. Like other philosophers of the German enlightenment, Achenwall has been forgotten in a long time; but he was popular in his time and known as a jurist, historian, political scientist, etc. For example, his *Elementa Iuris naturae* (1750) was used in a lot of universities as a text book of natural law theory (Kant gave his lecture with this book).

Achenwall’s most significant contribution was to the Statistik, which meant not statistics in today’s understanding, but the science of a state or government (*Staatswissenschaft* or *Staatskunde*). He tried to found this science in 1749, started the lecture in the Göttingen University, writing a thin textbook (*Vorbereitung zur Staatswissenschaft*) and a thick book (*Abriss der neuesten Staatswissenschaft der vornehmsten europäischen Reiche und Republik*). So, in this paper I will give an outline of Achenwall’s Statistik and analyze his conception of historiography of nations.

Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace (Boston College) The True State of Our Condition, Or, Where are Crusoe’s Insect Companions?

Panel / *Session* 199, 'Critical Insect Studies in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00.

Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Srividhya Swaminathan (Long Island University Brooklyn)

While certainly remarkable in their capacity to hinder, bother, or disrupt human purpose, insects in the eighteenth-century—as now—also did necessary work, from aerating, to pollinating, to facilitating decomposition. Yet with notable exception, the real fact of insect impact on terrestrial existence does not make its mark on the eighteenth-century realist novel. My paper will take up the example of Robinson Crusoe: where are the mosquitos, the wasps, the worms, or the pests that should be ravaging Crusoe's island? My purpose is not to indict Defoe for his failure to attend to an ecological reality. Rather, I seek to ask "what kind of story would Crusoe tell if his greatest natural enemy were not the lion, the bear, or the cannibal, but the insect?" After a discussion of how Crusoe's very humanness seems to rest upon the improbable fact of his complete isolation from the arthropod phylum, I will further consider the implications and the consequences of the novel's notable omission. I will conclude by asking, "what story of human agency would the eighteenth-century realist novel tell were its focus more insistently insect-centric?"

Desmond Kraege (University of Lausanne) An Eighteenth-Century Methodology for the Architectural History Book: Julien-David Le Roy's 'Preliminary Reflections' to the Observations sur les Édifices des Anciens Peuples

Panel / *Session* 77, 'History and the Architect: Shaping Identities through Publications and Design'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Hague (Rowan University)

The mid-eighteenth century saw the publication of several important books on architectural sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, that had hitherto been known only through written descriptions. Their inclusion of detailed and accurate plates providing views and plans of impressive buildings caused a revolution within the understanding of the history of architecture and of the relations between civilisations of the ancient world. Besides, the novel task of presenting unknown sites to a varied public – comprising not only artists but also antiquarians and wealthy dilettantes – necessarily meant that the authors of these volumes had to make significant choices concerning both the information selected for their works and the type of analysis to which it was submitted.

The theorisation of these issues arose most clearly in a short text by Julien-David Le Roy – the "Preliminary Reflections" opening his 'Observations sur les Édifices des Anciens Peuples' (1767) – which constitutes a rare example of an eighteenth-century methodology for publications on architectural history. It arose in response to criticism from British architect James Stuart, who had published his 'Antiquities of Athens' concurrently with Le Roy's *Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*. The Frenchman, in turn, thus chose to outline his own opinion on the most significant questions pertaining to the task and the identity – so I will argue – of the architectural historian. This paper proposes to examine his take on these issues within the context of Franco-British networks of erudition, reflecting on topics such as the functions of the architectural history publication and its potential stimulation of creation, the ideal amount of information and interpretation to be presented, the possible inclusion of varied methodologies in different sections of the publication, and finally the role of the historian's taste in his selection of significant monuments and details.

Lilla Krász (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest) Cultures et pratiques des connaissances médicales dans le Royaume de Hongrie au 18ème siècle

Panel / *Session* 33, 'A l'Est, du nouveau'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

This paper is intended to reconstruct the processes of the circulation of medical knowledge in Hungary, the establishment of institutes of medical administration, including registration techniques, medical writing, the practices of medical profession, in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The administrative measures of a comprehensive reform programme introduced in Vienna, the centre of the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as in some regions located at significant distances from the centre itself should be deemed as a successful field of practice in relation to the considerable shifts taking momentum in Habsburg governance from the 1780s on. The positive interventionist program launched on the basis of a centralised health

administration model devised by van Swieten focusing on academic knowledge of medicine as well as on authority reached its second phase all over the Habsburg Empire in the last three decades of the eighteenth century. Reforms aiming at the establishment of the system of medical knowledge as well as of health administration in Hungary seem to have produced spectacular results at several levels. The medical faculty of Hungary's university founded in 1770 in conformity to the medical faculty of the University of Vienna serving as an example provided not only the opportunity of training doctors in Hungary, but became the scene of the production of medical knowledge, previously dependent on different educational traditions and institutional structures, as well as of its systematisation, filtering, validation and dissemination. Physicians were compelled to gather reliable information on all kinds of medical issues (relation morborum) arising in their daily practices in the different countries of the Habsburg Empire as well as subsequently having to process and arrange them in accordance with a previously set system of aspects communicated to them.

Holly Kruitbosch (University of Nevada at Reno) Book Illustration and Visual Rhetoric

Panel / *Session* 289, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christina Ionescu (Mount Allison University)

A classical approach to visual analysis utilizes the tools of Greco-Roman rhetoric, applying them to the visual, thereby broadening the modern researcher's understanding of eighteenth-century literary illustration. To demonstrate this rhetorical method, I apply the five canons of rhetoric to the artwork for Samuel Butler's (1612-1680) incredibly popular tripartite poem, *Hudibras*, (1662, 1663 & 1678) illustrated by an unknown artist in 1709/10 and William Hogarth (1697-1764) in 1726. I expand upon the work of Caroline van Eck who employs this method in *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (2007). She notes the persuasive capability of paintings, statues and architecture, elucidating the ways "works of art...were thought to act on their viewers and what it may have been they tried to make them think, feel, believe or do." [1] I adopt a similar approach, implementing it in the field of eighteenth-century literary illustration. Within this rhetorical method, discovering and evaluating visual figurative language sharpens our comprehension of visual persuasion. In *Rhetorical Figures in Science*, Jeanne Fahnestock argues, "If figures are verbal epitomes of underlying topical or argumentative moves, they can also be thought of, by a natural extension, as verbal icons." Fahnestock therefore concludes, "Just as it is possible to arrange words in a diagrammatic way... so it is possible to arrange data and other visual units to express the same "figural logic." [2] Through this line of reasoning, classical textual strategies translate to visual methods. The classical visual rhetorical approach means modern scholars will be able to say more – to produce more possible meaning by combining the eighteenth-century illustration, newly seen through a pictorially-voiced argument, enhanced through an exploration of visual figurative language. In a culminating case study, I investigate illustrations for Tobias Smollett's (1721-1771) most overlooked fictional work, *The Adventures of Count Fathom* (1753).

Akihiro Kubo (Kwansei Gakuin University) Adaptation and Criticism of Fiction in the Early Novels of Marivaux

Panel / *Session* 364, 'Enlightenment Style: Strategic Use of Fiction for Persuasion and Entertainment'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Masaaki Takeda (University of Tokyo)

In the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, the novel ("roman") had been a popular subject of criticism in France. Writers and critics discussed the authenticity of the novel as literary genre not only from the aesthetic point of view but also in terms of moral questions. Many of these polemical texts can be classified into either of the two attitudes to fiction that are, according to Jean-Marie Schaeffer ("Why Fiction?", 1999), traditionally found in Western culture: the antimimetic attitude formulated by Plato (imitation as "lure" which misrepresents the reality) and the Aristotelian concept of the mimesis (imitation as cognition). In this context, some eighteenth-century writers created the fictional works which by themselves point out the danger of fiction as illusion. These works that Jean-Paul Sermain describes as "Metafictions" are characterized by their self-reflexive mechanism.

One of the early novels of Marivaux entitled "Pharsamon ou les Nouvelles folies romanesques" (written in 1712, published in 1737) constitutes a remarkable "Metafiction" in the eighteenth century with his other novels of

this period, such as “La Voiture embourbée” (1714) and “Télémaque travesti” (written in 1714, published in 1736). In this novel, which is an adaptation of “Don Quixote”, Marivaux invites readers to examine the problems of fiction and cognition especially by means of his hero, who is obsessed by the chivalrous ideals expressed in books. This paper will focus on the early novels of Marivaux in consideration of latest theories of fiction to understand his conception of fiction and narrative strategy.

Emily Kugler (Howard University) ‘Her Father’s Daughter’: Mad Mothers and Creating Kinship in *The History of Mary Prince*

Panel / *Session 12*, ‘Enlightenment Motherhood and Transatlantic Maternal Identities’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ula Lukszo Klein (Texas A&M International University)

Widely considered the first published Anglophone slave narrative by a woman, *The History of Mary Prince* (1831) features a woman who continuously asserted her humanity against a system that viewed her rendered her socially dead and legally chattel. Throughout the narrative, Prince survives by creating and maintaining a transatlantic network comprised mainly of women. These women draw from different socio-economic and racial groups, yet the vast majority are largely defined by their labor. Whether it is the paid labor of a white English washerwoman, the abolitionist activism of a poet, or the forced domestic and sexual labor of enslaved women, the women in Prince’s network are known by the work that they accomplish. Children, pregnancy, and motherhood lie at the margins of *The History*.

Yet, in these margins, we find a subplot of maternal loss in Prince’s mother’s eventual madness and multiple motherless daughters abused by their colonizer fathers. Additionally, there are also the controversies around Prince’s sexual history that fueled libel trials at the time of *The History*’s publication and continue as a point of debate amongst scholars today. Within this context of women’s networks and maternal loss, the focus on Prince’s sexuality highlights the resistance to popular conceptions motherhood as found in abolitionist literature aimed at emerging all-female abolitionist groups, as well as in pro-slavery rhetoric. Instead, what emerges is her careful maintenance of connections that includes biological, social, religious and literary constructions of community.

Michael Kugler (Northwestern College) ‘The Womb of Providence’: The Scottish Science of Human Nature as Physico-Theology and Theodicy

Panel / *Session 147*, ‘Religion in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King’s College London)

Expositions of the Scottish science of human nature typically overlook the precise debt it owed to trust in divine providence. But Britain’s physico-theological tradition sought to vindicate providence. Responding to the problem of evil, physico-theologians argued that natural philosophy revealed such complexity, variety, and harmony in natural relationships that reason demanded the acknowledgment of a divine engineer, one as infinitely benevolent, compassionate and just as he was powerful and wise. All living creatures neatly fit into environments perfectly suited to realize their divine purposes. Astronomy, botany, biology, anatomy and geology underwrote the trust of many British scholars in God’s promised capacity to bring all affairs to ultimately wise, just and good conclusions.

The key question was how to account for human evil and suffering. The physico-theologians had only begun to consider how divine providence had fitted the human passions as well as their environments for social interactions. The recent revival of St. Augustine’s moral theology offered a way to explain human social and political order in the wake of the Fall. This exploited the trope of ironic outcomes, in which God humbled human aspiration and arrogance. Scottish Presbyterian clerics and scholars began applying this range of resources to robust accounts of the passions and interests. Hume’s skeptical attacks on physico-theology, and his alternative, a naturalized account of morals, was the catalyst prompting Blair, Robertson, Wallace and Ferguson to respond with providentialist portraits of human society. Explaining complex human interaction without human design, the early Scottish science of human nature was a kind of physico-theology, designed to explicate the “invisible hand” of providence. It also served as a kind of theodicy, vindicating divine goodness amidst the tangle of human moral and political affairs.

Arthur **Kuhle** (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) War without Contact: Berenhorst, Bülow and the Avoidance of Violence as the Core Paradigm of Military Science

Panel / *Session* 471, 'The Intellectual History of War in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christy Pichichero (George Mason University)

Georg Heinrich von Berenhorst (1733-1814) and Dietrich von Bülow (1763-1807) were perhaps the most inspirational and important war theorists of the late 18th century. Both were dedicated pacifists. Following Berenhorst, Bülow developed a theory that interpreted war as a dynamic system without physical contact, prompting Carl von Clausewitz to write a crushing critique that, up to the present day, obfuscates Bülow's ideas. There is, however, a fundamental contradiction in Clausewitz's critique, which helps to illustrate why the most decisive swerve in war theory towards an epistemological framework for social dynamics continues to be neglected. Through use of the Newtonian method, Bülow wanted to develop a scientific perspective on armed conflicts in an attempt to regulate them and to create less violent and more sustainable societies. In this paper I would like to demonstrate how two Prussian war theorists, Berenhorst and Bülow, developed a whole new approach to arguing in favor of a science of social affairs and how they introduced Newtonian standards to human behavior in order to develop a pacifist theory of war.

Roman **Kuhn** (Freie Universität Berlin) Enlightened Classicism, Classicist Enlightenment. Entangled Eras in French Literature

Panel / *Session* 334, 'Intellectual Enlightenments'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shiru Lim (European University Institute)

Traditional French literary history draws a sharp distinction between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century. While the former is characterized by the doctrine classique, the eighteenth is known as the 'siècle philosophique', a progressive age that breaks with philosophical and literary tradition. Even those who question whether we should slice history into tranches at all (Le Goff: "Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?", 2014) consider the publication of the "Encyclopédie" as the decisive landmark of a progressive new era.

Taking a closer look at the "Encyclopédie", however, shows that some major contributions express their belief in progress while explicitly excluding the domain of literature. In his "discours préliminaire", d'Alembert closely models his expectations for literary texts on classicist poetics and reformulates the principles of aptum and imitatio naturae, which remain the central regulating principles throughout the eighteenth century.

The paper examines the way classicist poetics and enlightened thought are intertwined. It focuses on poetological statements that reinforce classicist norms (d'Alembert, Marmontel, Voltaire) and takes into account literary genres that are often underrepresented in enlightenment studies. When Voltaire incorporates Newton's theory of gravitation into an epic poem about Henri IV or when he re-uses verbatim quotes of Racine and Corneille in his Oedipus in order to challenge superstition and religious fervour, it becomes obvious that classicist forms are being adjusted for new purposes. The relation of enlightenment and classicism is therefore much more complicated than unilinear narratives of rupture suggest. Instead of disqualifying references to classicist poetics and literary practice as old-fashioned remains in an otherwise enlightened era, the paper argues that the two are entangled and interact in a way that challenges our clear-cut categorisations.

Maria Cristina **Kuntz** (Université de São Paulo) Les parcours de l'émotion vers « l'ouvert de l'écriture » dans *Les Rêveries d'un promeneur solitaire* de Rousseau

Panel / *Session* 439, 'Rousseau, émotions, sexualité'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christophe Martin (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

Les Rêveries d'un promeneur solitaire constitue la dernière oeuvre de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, écrite pendant les deux dernières années de sa vie. C'est aussi la troisième oeuvre autobiographique, suivant *Les Dialogues* et *Confessions*. Cependant *Les Rêveries* diffère de celle-ci par sa nature, parce qu'elle présente des réflexions qui ne se destinent pas

à un lecteur, mais l'auteur écrit pour lui-même. Ayant parcouru de grandes distances pendant sa vie, de ville en ville (Genève, Paris, Turin, Lyon, Berne etc), lui-même connaissait le sens des grands parcours, qui ont fini pour se transformer en opportunité pour son auto-connaissance. Ce fut justement à la fin de sa vie que, auprès d'agréables paysages, il rencontrera de la tranquillité. Ricoeur explique que la mémoire garde les lieux bienfaisants ou désagréables, ainsi comme la possibilité que ceux-ci ont d'éveiller des émotions et des sensations (RICOEUR, 2000). Ainsi, ces espaces se transforment en des espaces "vécus" à mesure que le/les personnage/s les appréhende/nt ou agit/sent sur eux. Donc, l'auteur les transforme en des espaces littéraires (BACHELARD, 1957). Dans ce cas, ces espaces deviennent « insaisissables », ça veut dire qu'ils vont au-delà, vers une profondeur (BLANCHOT, 1955). Pendant les dernières années de sa vie, ayant surpassé les déboires envers ses ennemis et critiques, Rousseau présente une nouvelle attitude. Il construit un espace "abstrait", à mesure qu'il réfléchit sur l'existence et la conduite humaines. Parmi des paysages calmes propices à la méditation, l'auteur approfondira son auto-connaissance en substituant ses pensées et arguments logiques. Nous y observerons dans quelle mesure il découvre la liberté et l'immense plaisir d'écrire, pas exactement pour être lu, mais seulement pour atteindre la jouissance d'entendre sa propre voix, la voix de son cœur, de pouvoir rêver et rêver de nouveau, infiniment, dans un mouvement de se connaître et se de se revoir, en voyant la mort s'approcher. Dans cette intervention, nous examinerons les connexions établies par l'auteur entre les espaces narrés et le sentiment du personnage narrateur, en même temps qu'il tisse sa parole vers "l'Ouvert" (BLANCHOT

György Kurucz (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary) Agricultural Study Tours of Hungarian Intellectuals in Early Nineteenth-Century Western Europe

Panel / *Session* 194, 'Agriculture, Innovation, and Reform'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Andreas Golob (University of Graz)

The principal objective of the paper based on letters, journals and reports compiled by the professors of Hungary's first agricultural college of farming, the Georgicon, founded by Count György Festetics in 1797, is to shed some light on the processes of the instrumentalisation of late eighteenth-century Hungary's scientific life through the building of an established scientific network. The study tours of young professors undertaken in the early decades of the nineteenth-century should by all means be considered as a crucial means of creating the channels of interactions and transfers, thereby facilitating the circulation of scientific knowledge, including the need to create an accurate forms of communication and terminology. The patterns of transmissions, including the interrelationships of contents, methodology and technique can as well be presented in a wider European context considering that the founder of the Georgicon sought to establish his institute along the lines of the special ethos of the University of Göttingen founded by King George II. Although the ultimate aim of contemporary "technological journeys" was to explore and record advanced practices, the large quantity of letters, reports and journals held in the aristocratic Festetics family archives can be instrumental in revealing some hitherto aspects of Europe's scientific, social and economic life in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Valerie Kuzmina (University of Ottawa) Sympathy and Identity through Diderot's Conception of Theatre

Panel / *Session* 280, 'Reforming Theatre'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

In his Discourse on Dramatic Poetry, Diderot claims that the duty of a dramaturge is to always keep virtue at the heart of their writing, and that the philosopher's duty, in turn, is to address and invite all artists to share in the common goal of inspiring a love for virtue and a hatred for vice within men. Thus, in attempting to elucidate the responsibilities of both art and philosophy in regards to morality, as according to Diderot, one can perhaps take the example of theatre as an art form capable of generating the kind of sympathy which can morally shape individuals into virtue-loving citizens.

In this paper, I aim to present the elements of the specific kind of sympathy which Diderot envisions, before turning to an analysis of the ways in which theatre can generate this kind of aesthetic experience, as explained in Diderot's principal works on the theatre such as his Discourse on Dramatic Poetry and his Conversations on the

Natural Son. Central to the theatre's success in producing this aesthetic experience of sympathy is the essential theory of active identification, as found between on-stage characters and the spectator, which depends on the spectator's capacity to project themselves into the situational context of the play while remaining objectively outside of the events of the play themselves. What grants Diderot's theory its unique status is that it necessitates the spectator to imagine themselves in place of the onstage character, resulting in an unprecedented view of "actively produced" sympathy that opposes the general consensus regarding sympathy of the time: that is to say, the idea of sympathy as a result of a passive "contagion" or reception of passions. As such, I hope to not only demonstrate what this active process of identity or identification within theatre involves, under Diderot's view, but to also explain the connection between theatre and the production of sympathy, as well as to show the interplay between Diderot's aesthetics and moral philosophy.

Abstracts of Papers / *Résumés des communications*

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Abstracts are listed in alphabetical order of presenter. Names, paper titles, and institutional information have been checked and, where necessary, corrected. The main text, however, is in the form in which it was originally submitted to us by the presenter and has not been corrected or formatted. Abstracts are provided as a guide to the content of papers only. The organisers of the congress are not responsible for any errors or omissions, nor for any changes which presenters make to their papers.

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Giulia Maria **Labriola** (Università Suor Orsola Benincasa, Naples) L'ambivalence du droit de punir : droit pénal et politique criminelle

Panel / *Session* 434, 'Liberté et sécurité dans la pensée pénale des Lumières 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Philippe Audegean (Université Côte d'Azur)

Envisagé sous l'angle du problème pénal, le XVIII^e siècle apparaît comme un siècle long : il commence en portant à son terme le long processus de sécularisation du concept de peine, il se développe en nouant la peine à la loi, il s'achève en énonçant le noyau essentiel, du moins sur le plan normatif, du garantisme pénal. Pourtant, dès la genèse de ce parcours complexe, la difficile affirmation pénale du principe de légalité a manifesté une irréductible ambivalence, puisqu'elle se présente à la fois comme le meilleur instrument de garantie des libertés individuelles contre l'arbitraire du pouvoir souverain et comme le levier d'un pouvoir potentiellement disciplinaire, inquisiteur, panoptique. Cette duplicité était le lieu d'un champ de tensions qui s'est prolongé jusqu'au temps présent, particulièrement critique de ce point de vue. Les théories et idéologies de la peine qui cohabitent dans ce cadre et parfois se contredisent invitent à reconsidérer de manière articulée la manière dont Beccaria construit le pouvoir de punir comme un dispositif complexe composé de légalité et de limitation. Cette alliance décrit un palimpseste qui mérite encore d'être repensé, à la lumière de la dimension constitutionnalisée des droits et de la sévère remise en cause à laquelle semble être soumis le principe de légalité dans le domaine pénal.

Charlotte **Ladevèze** (Université d'Augsburg) Le roman ethnologique pour une autre perception de l'oïkos – Les Morlaques de Giustiniana Wynne v. Orsini Rosenberg

Panel / *Session* 337, 'Les ailleurs des Lumières'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicolas Brucker (Université de Lorraine)

Les Morlaques, publié pour la première fois en 1788 par une aristocratique vénitienne, Giustiniana Wynne v. Orsini Rosenberg, marque l'entrée des Balkans, et plus particulièrement du peuple morlaque, dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale. Inspirée notamment du Voyage en Dalmatie d'Alberto Fortis (1774) et de Rousseau, cette œuvre nous invite à réfléchir sur le rôle de l'anthropologie, ou plus précisément de l'ethnologie, en cette fin de siècle. À la suite d'Alberto Fortis, l'ouvrage de Giustiniana Wynne fait en effet découvrir à ses contemporains un peuple et un espace géographique complètement méconnus jusqu'alors et qui sera le prélude à la fascination romantique pour les Slaves du Sud. À la fois peinture de mœurs, de coutumes et du folklore morlaques, l'ouvrage constitue également un état des

lieux de l'histoire culturelle de l'Europe et de la condition féminine en Europe occidentale et orientale. Reflet de la littérature de son temps, le roman renouvelle non seulement le mythe du « bon sauvage » et la critique de la civilisation corruptrice mais présente également toute une réflexion sur une perception et une co-habitation autre avec la nature qui sera abordée dans une perspective écopoétique.

Natalie LaFleur (Sorbonne Université) Les tableaux de machinations par les « magiciens » dans les romans du Tournant des Lumières : *L'Aventurier français; Nos folies, ou Mémoires d'un musulman connu à Paris et Les Aphrodites*

Panel / Session 17, 'Le roman français'. Monday /Lundi 11.00 – 12.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair /
Président.e : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

Au début du XVIIIe siècle, des romans populaires d'aventures attirent l'attention sur le personnage du magicien, tels : Le Diable boiteux d'Alain-René Lesage et la traduction française des contes arabes des Mille et une nuits. Dans le roman du Tournant des Lumières, les tableaux qui les mettent en évidence sont spectaculaires et théâtraux. Son rôle est intéressant au XVIIIe siècle; parfois ce personnage est aussi connu comme sorcier, sibylle ou vampire. Dans les romans suivant : *L'Aventurier français*, ou *Mémoires de Grégoire Merveil de Lesuire*, *Nos folies*, ou *Mémoires d'un musulman connu à Paris* de Révéroni Saint-Cyr et *Les Aphrodites* de Nerciat, les auteurs décrivent des tableaux qui mettent en évidence des personnages de sociétés secrètes qui prétendent être des magiciens. Les scènes sont préparées par eux dans le but de créer un effet d'étonnement. Dans cette communication, nous examinerons quelle technique narrative est employée par ces trois auteurs et quels sont les ressorts cachés qui servent à mettre en relief les tableaux dramatiques où les personnages jouent ce rôle dans *L'Aventurier français* et *Nos Folies*. Ensuite, il s'agira d'examiner un deuxième niveau de manipulation, psychologique, dans les tableaux de la magicienne dans les *Aphrodites*. Cette communication tentera d'éclaircir les machinations théâtrales employées dans ces trois romans du dix-huitième siècle.

Pascale LaFountain (Montclair State University) Neverending Conversations: Acoustic Ecology and Active Listening in Alexander von Humboldt's *Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegende des neuen Continents*

Panel / Session 330, 'Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Thursday /Jeudi 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building.
Chair / Président.e : Mary Helen Dupree (Georgetown University)

Alexander von Humboldt's reports on his travels to the Americas (1799-1804) are well known for their vivid portrayals of the natural world. Relatively little attention has been paid, however, to his interest in acoustic experience. Daniel Velasco has observed that "Humboldt possessed a highly refined sense of listening" (24), but a closer reading of Humboldt's texts suggests that this sense of listening goes far beyond Humboldt's empirical observations. Humboldt's descriptions of listening in his monumental *Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegende des neuen Continents* range from narrations of what he hears to his use of sound to represent interconnection in the natural world to his analysis of phonetic structures that underline the cultural value of native languages he encounters. Indeed, throughout the *Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegende*, Humboldt dramatizes active listening as the link between rationalism and empiricism, between subjective emotional experience and objective scientific observation.

My presentation will begin by outlining the many ways in which Humboldt portrays listening as a central, emotionally-inflected, dimension of scientific discovery. Close readings will not only reinforce Humboldt's role as a forerunner of the acoustic ecology movement, which recognizes the value of particular sound ecosystems around the world, but also specifically focus on his conception of sound as a link among ecological elements. I will conclude with comments regarding Humboldt's personal writings on the value of listening and conversation as part of the foundation of scientific and academic dialogue more generally. Highlighting Humboldt's comments on rhetoric and his reflections on his own listening process in his letters and journals, I will trace his emphasis on active listening as an aspect of scientific dialogue as well. For Humboldt, nature uses a network of voices to speak to the scientist in a similar way that scientists themselves create affective voice networks that advance intellectual growth. Humboldt thus casts listening as essential to both observation and exchange in the scientific world.

Daniel **Lago Monteiro** (Universidade Estadual Paulista) Edmund Burke's Theory of the Sublime on the Verge of Ancient and Modern Poetics

Panel / *Session* 258, 'Aesthetics and Taste 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Wing Sze Leung (National University of Singapore)

Along the 20th and 21st centuries, a lot has been discussed on the rise of a new aesthetic sensibility in the 18th century, and how this sensibility was crucial to the following restatements of literature and the arts in general. Although authors such as Burke, Rousseau and Diderot were not always on the theoretical horizon of an impressionist artist or a symbolist poet, about that time, their main theories were deeply embedded in Western culture. According to art historian Rudolf Wittkower, it is not, to an extent, in 18th century artistic and literary works where one can find the most authentic expression of this new sensibility, but in critical and philosophical texts of that time. Therefore, there seems to be a mismatch between art and criticism in the period. An explanation to this, according to Wittkower, must be sought, firstly, in the fact that artists were often restricted to rigorous norms and rules; and, secondly, in the advent of a new category of writer, the men of letters: critics and philosophers who wrote on art with greater freedom and detachment than most artists. Consequently, 18th century critics and philosophers explored a new field unknown to classical rhetoric and poetics, namely, the role of subjectivity in the making and reception of art. In this line of thought, Burke's theory of the sublime expresses a similar disagreement between artistic production and critical and philosophical reflections on art. As I intend to show in this paper, Burke's artistic and literary examples reflect dimly the sensibility he describes. In classical art, the sublime should be restricted harmony, pleasure, and completeness, to positive categories, according to Hugo Friedrich's terminology. Burke, however, made the negative categories – privation, obscurity, emptiness, infinitude, etc. – the touchstone to his theory of the sublime. It was thus that his theory gave way to the rise of a new sense of the sublime, which I shall call romantic or modern sublime, as opposed to classical. In this paper, I will speak of both notions on the sublime from the opposition between loftiness and humbleness, rise and fall.

Xabier **Lamikiz** (University of the Basque Country) Social Capital Formation, Julfan-Armenian Merchants, and Cross-Cultural Trade in Spanish Manila, c. 1660–1800

Panel / *Session* 55, 'Nationhood and Cross-Cultural Encounter in Europe'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

This paper explores the presence of Julfan Armenian merchants in Spanish Manila from their first arrival in the 1660s to the end of the eighteenth century. These merchants came from New Julfa, the Armenian quarter of the Persian capital of Isfahan, which was thousands of miles away. The Julfans were relatively few compared to other ethnic minorities present in Manila. However, they played an important commercial role in the Philippine capital, linking the Indian Ocean, the East Asian rim and the Indonesian islands with the fringes of the Spanish empire in the Pacific. Julfan merchants were, of course, attracted by the vast amounts of silver arriving at Manila from Acapulco. The paper addresses their complicated relationship with the Spanish authorities, their participation in both inter-Asiatic and trans-Pacific exchanges, and their life experiences as told in their own words before the court of the Spanish Inquisition in Manila. The paper also pays particular attention to the experiences of twenty-six Armenians who chose to join the Catholic Church while in Manila. Their stories help to assess not only the global nature of the Julfan commercial diaspora but also the formation of social capital within their network.

Maria-Tsampika **Lampitsi** (University of Cyprus) From Merchant to Philosopher: The Transitional Identity of Adamantios Korais (A True Representative of the Greek Enlightenment)

Panel / *Session* 435, 'Merchants and Merchandise'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) is one the most exceptional personalities of the Greek Enlightenment. He spent most of his life in Paris, where he prolifically pursued his literary interests and elaborated a comprehensive grand vision for the enlightenment of the oppressed and backward Greek society.

Today we think of Korais as a philosopher, philologist and political theorist but this identity built upon several transitions. Before he became a scholar in Paris, Korais was a medical student in Montpellier; before that, he was a merchant in Amsterdam for several years. I argue that, among his stations in life, it was his early career as an Amsterdam merchant that provided a formative influence and holds the key to the transitional character that runs through his Enlightenment identity.

Korais arrived in Amsterdam, directly from Izmir, in his early twenties; his partners had sent him as their agent in the West. He was a member of the Chiot network of merchants and came from a merchant family. He thus belonged to the most progressive and extrovert group within a secluded Greek society, whose advancement depended upon information (economic or cultural) infused by the various Greek diasporas in European economic centres. Yet, the ideas and perceptions of culture Korais adopted once in Amsterdam were interpreted by his partners back in the Ottoman Empire as radical. He found himself on the receiving end of various group pressures, and in the end he was expelled from the network.

The unpublished – and almost unknown – letters of Korais from that period I examine (along with related material already published), indicate that his thought (cultural and economic) went beyond what was expected of his identity as an agent. My paper studies the possibility that his identity was already in a reformulating transition, by examining: first, the exact pressures exerted by the group; second, how he translated these pressures; and last, how his translation helped to the emergence of his particular enlightened identity.

Marie-Charlotte Lamy (Université de Montréal / Université de Lausanne) Safari à la Malmaison : les animaux curieux de la ménagerie de l'Impératrice Joséphine

Panel / *Session* 410, 'S'appropriier l'ailleurs. Imaginaires de l'exotisme dans la culture du Premier Empire'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Angela Benza (Université de Genève)

Visuellement ennuyeuse pour l'historien de l'art, matériellement déroutante pour l'historien et démunie de valeurs scientifiques pour le biologiste, la ménagerie de Joséphine Bonaparte demeure inexplorée par la recherche. Seules quelques anecdotes sont rapportées au grand public, amusé de savoir qu'un orang-outan mangeait des navets à la table de l'Impératrice. Cette communication se veut de démontrer, au regard des cultural studies, que les bêtes détenues par la première femme de Napoléon constituaient un véritable cabinet de curiosité qui servit tant au faste de la cour, aux avancées scientifiques qu'à la puissance de l'Empire. La présence d'animaux exotiques à la Malmaison, ayant eu des répercussions autant sur les manuels zoologiques que sur les relations politiques, révèlent des transferts culturels et témoigne d'une appropriation française de l'autre.

Lorsque le couple Bonaparte acquit le château de Malmaison en 1799, Joséphine eut le désir d'y constituer un véritable « jardin des délices ». Si son goût pour l'exotisme est attesté à travers les fleurs et les oiseaux, il n'en est rien pour l'enthousiasme qu'elle eut à collectionner les mammifères venus d'ailleurs. Des sources, pour la plupart inédites, attestent que Joséphine entretenait de fortes relations avec les professeurs et les expéditeurs du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle – institution créée en 1793 et placée sous la protection de Napoléon dès 1802 –, enrôlant ainsi la ménagerie aux encouragements apportés par l'Empereur à la science. Par-delà l'histoire naturelle, les bêtes jouaient un rôle insolite dans la société de cour ; cadeau diplomatique, divertissement des convives, trophée rapporté des conquêtes napoléoniennes, l'animal curieux formait une incontournable vitrine du pouvoir.

Ned Landsman (Stony Brook University) Taxation WITH Representation: Malt Tax Protests in Glasgow, the Stamp Act Crisis, and the Limits to Parliamentary Taxation in Provincial Britain

Panel / *Session* 247, 'Scotland and the American Revolution'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Paul Tonks (Yonsei University)

This paper is part of a larger project on the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 and its implications for British America. It asks the question, what difference did it make that Britain's American empire went from being dependencies of an increasingly centralized English state to provinces of a multinational united kingdom? This paper will look at the implications of the union for the issues of taxation and representation that would loom so large in the American crisis.

Scotland at the time of union and Americans in the later crisis confronted much the same problem: how far a smaller party in a political union could protect its vital interests against a Parliament claiming unrestricted sovereignty. Those issues surfaced the 1725 malt tax protests in Glasgow and again in American reactions to the Stamp Act. There were two critical differences between the two. While American arguments rested on the principle that taxation should only follow representation, Scotland had representatives in Parliament, albeit a modest number (45), while Americans did not. The other difference was dynamic: Scotland was clearly destined to remain smaller than England, whereas by 1765 it was becoming increasingly evident that American growth was far out-stripping that of Britain and would in time become the majority interest and even the future seat of empire.

This paper will consider the ways that Scottish dealings with the problem of union provided contexts both positive and negative for later American reactions to issues of taxation and representation. Scots early on recognized that representation by itself was not sufficient to protect Scotland's interests. Scotland relied instead on explicit limitations on taxation written into the Articles of Union and on a system of political management in which their representatives came together to support government policy in exchange for ministerial support on matters of vital Scottish interests such as taxes and revenue. Such practices seemed like the epitome of corruption to American Whigs, who denounced "Scotch representation" and emphasized the moral imperative of equitable representation and the moral imperative of American growth.

Ulrik Langen (University of Copenhagen) Representations of the Fallen Struensee

Panel / *Session 249*, 'The Abolition of Censorship and the Pamphlet Period in Denmark 1770–73'.

Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tine Damsholt (University of Copenhagen)

While most of the laws passed by J.F. Struensee was revoked immediately after the coup against him in January 1772, the freedom of the press continued to be in force for more than 20 months after his downfall. Even though freedom of the press did not align with the doctrine of the new regime, the government apparently felt that it could benefit from the unrestricted discourse unfolding in the new public sphere which had emerged thanks to the press freedom. Following the down-fall of Struensee, an avalanche of printed sermons, pamphlets and broadside ballads were published giving a vivid picture of an alleged conspiracy conceived by Struensee. Most of these prints and sermons accentuated how the monarchy had been saved by divine intervention and by the efficiency of the Queen Dowager Juliana Maria and the Hereditary Prince Frederick, who took control of the government following the coup.

It seems, that the accounts of the events concerning the coup presented in the broadside ballads and pamphlets to a great extent were based on rumors circulating in Copenhagen in the months before the downfall of Struensee. In this paper, I will explore specific elements in the press freedom writings indicating how rumors and popular accounts played a significant role as interpreter of the acts of Struensee and produced a narrative which would consolidate the legitimacy of the new regime.

Catherine Lanoë (Université d'Orléans) Cosmétiques, couleurs de la peau et identités

Panel / *Session 129*, 'Couleurs et identités à l'époque des Lumières 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Aurélia Gaillard (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

À l'époque moderne, les discours sur la couleur de la peau sont profondément enchâssés dans les représentations de la société d'ordres et les cosmétiques destinés à en modifier les apparences s'inscrivent dans une économie de l'identification qui construit en miroir la valeur des biens de consommation et celle des consommateurs. Au siècle des Lumières, de multiples témoignages attestent les inflexions de ce modèle. La couleur de la peau et celles des cosmétiques s'articulent aussi à de nouvelles perceptions de l'identité et à de nouvelles modalités de son expression.

Marvin Lansverk (Montana State University) Homeric Smiling and the Function of Laughter in Jane Austen

Panel / *Session* 329, 'Emotions and Affect'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

There has been a good degree of critical attention over the years to the special place of laughter in Austen, and especially in *Pride and Prejudice* (Spacks 1988, Mullan 2013)—though less attention has been paid to its cultural history, and to the connection of this laughter to emerging epistemologies, Austen's free indirect discourse, and the formation of Enlightenment identities. What I suggest in this paper is that these are intimately connected: further, that Austen uses laughter and smiling in ways similar to ways which she uses other schematic structures in her novels—to map them onto her stories and then eventually to push away from them—as part of the emerging novel's method of representing truth and exploring social identity formation, with important and innovative contributions being made by Austen. What I do is connect many dots, first, observing a pattern among Austen's careful deployment of laughter and smiling that is so schematic that it makes a nod towards allegory: where the "approved" characters (which includes the honest ones and most socially integrated) laugh well and laugh complexly. The "disapproved" ones, including the dishonest ones, laugh simply or not at all (with smiling eventually adding more complexities). The pattern is so stable that it's as if Austen is actually thinking about Homeric laughter (a term in use by Austen's time, and not just in its most general sense, of the revealing belly laughs of the Gods, but in a narrower sense of laughing at moments that reveal one's true identity; and though "Homeric smiling" isn't a literary concept in Austen's time, or even a critical concept in ours, perhaps it should be, given Austen's careful attention to it. Having noted this pattern, the paper goes on to explore laughter's place in the cultural history, social history, and literary history of the eighteenth century in very productive ways, which themselves additionally comment on some of our most sustained preoccupations in Austen studies (her narrative innovations), also allowing for a nice intersection with the conference theme, under the particular lens of the changing use of laughter in the forming of Enlightenment identities.

Edward Larkin (University of New Hampshire) Carl Wilhelm Frölich's Plea for an Alternative Identity

Panel / *Session* 328, 'Economics and Commerce'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Felicia Gottmann (Northumbria University)

The establishment of a circumstantially determined identity proposed by Carl Wilhelm Frölich (1759 – 1828) in his anonymously published *Über den Menschen und seine Verhältnisse* (1792) represents an alternative to the universalistic identity commonly associated with the German Enlightenment. While Frölich insists that to be human is more fundamental than to be a member of a particular national state, thus not fully disavowing some sense of universal humanity, he nevertheless emphasizes that economic circumstances substantially contribute to a sense of identity and consequently to individual happiness and social harmony, which for Frölich are indivisibly enmeshed. Interested in the practical (volksaufklärerisch) implications of Enlightenment thinking, Frölich maintains that such happiness will only result from pupil-centered education and the dismantlement of an economic system that privileges the private property of the wealthy. It was perhaps such thinking that led Georg Forster to claim of Frölich's text, "It is one of the rarest creations of our time, the work of a young, right-thinking and sensitive man." (July 1793)

Gérard Laudin (Sorbonne Université) Le discours sur les théâtres et les spectacles dans les récits des voyageurs allemands et autrichiens en Italie

Panel / *Session* 272, 'Identités italiennes'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Colombo (Università degli Studi di Verona)

Gérard Laudin, professeur émérite (Sorbonne Université) de littérature et d'histoire culturelle des pays dans langue allemandes.

Recherches et publications portant en particulier sur:

- la littérature de langue allemande, en particulier le théâtre durant le "long 18e siècle";
- l'histoire de l'historiographie et la philosophie de l'histoire au 18e siècle;
- thématiques historiques et réflexion politique en particulier dans les tragédies;

– les transferts culturels franco-allemands.

I. – propositions de co-direction d’une table ronde: Hommes des Lumières, hommes politiques”, en commun avec Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Pierre Musitelli et Pauline Pujo,

La proposition vous a été communiquée directement par Pauline Pujo

II. – propositions d’intervention(s) personnelle(s), dans table ronde ou session:

VOUS POUVEZ M’affecter dans une table ronde, ou session, pour l’un des 2 sujets proposés ici.

a- “Le discours sur les théâtres et les spectacles dans les récits des voyageurs allemands et autrichiens en Italie”

Les voyageurs allemands et autrichiens ont assisté à des représentations théâtrales, en particulier à Naples et à Venise, et également réagi aux spectacles de carnaval. L’intervention portera sur les enjeux esthétiques et culturels de leurs commentaires.

Je puis aussi m’adapter à des demandes de participation sur des sujets en relation avec les champs de recherche mentionnés plus haut, dans des configurations thématiques reliant l’histoire, la réflexion politique et le théâtre.

Lucinda **Lax** (Scottish National Portrait Gallery) Materialising the Prince’s Image: Stuart Propaganda and Jacobite Popular Culture in Scotland during and after the ’45.

Panel / *Session* 335, ‘Jacobite Material Culture’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vicky Coltman (University of Edinburgh)

This paper will explore the central role of material culture in Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s campaign to regain his family’s lost thrones in 1745-6. It will take as its starting point the recently rediscovered portrait of the prince by Allan Ramsay, painted at the height of the Jacobite uprising of 1745. By placing the painting in the broader context of the exiled Stuart court’s propaganda effort, the paper will illuminate its purposes and intentional meaning. It will then trace how the image was disseminated in Scotland first through engravings and then through diverse media, including miniatures, etchings and glassware, and explore how in this process the original image was transformed to meet the desires and beliefs of the popular audiences who sought tangible evidence of the legitimacy of the Stuart cause. The result of this complex interaction was a remarkably coherent hybrid of the high cultural forms of the Stuart court and the more vernacular idiom of many of their sympathisers. The material legacy this left behind would, I conclude by suggesting, continue to attract sympathy for the Stuart cause long after the Jacobites had ceased to represent a substantive threat to the established political order.

Micha **Lazarus** (University of Cambridge) ‘The First Great Fiat’: Divine Speech and Literary Sublimity

Panel / *Session* 239, ‘Poetics, Aesthetics, Criticism, 1640–1760’. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Gerrard (University of Oxford)

The dilatory arrival of Longinus’s *On the Sublime* on the English literary scene did not promise much. Antecedents to Milton’s brief notice in *On Education* have yielded some piecemeal references by the early seventeenth century in Rainolds, Chapman, Junius, and a few rhetorical textbooks, but nothing that seems to indicate a school of thought or even particular enthusiasm. A more promising readership may, however, be suggested by a string of citations in mid-seventeenth-century sermons. In Longinus’s brief quotation from Genesis and praise of Moses’s oratory, clergymen found literary and rhetorical roots for their explorations of divine sublimity. Developing alongside Longinus’s reception in rhetorical education, these citations offer an alternative route for the early association of *On the Sublime* with Milton’s Christian epic, and its eventual entry into the literary mainstream.

Maud **Le Guellec** (Université de Lille) Female Leadership of Spanish Kingdom in the Reign of Philip V (1700–1746): (Re)presenting Marie-Anne de la Trémoille and Isabel de Farnesio

Panel / *Session* 160, 'Women of Power in the Eighteenth Century: Identity and Representation'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Claire Boulard-Jouslin (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 3)

The reign of the Spanish king Philip V was a particularly rough one. The main reason for its disorder was the war of the Spanish Succession, which dominated the first thirteen years of the Eighteenth Century in the peninsula, with European leaders objecting to the arrival of a Bourbon to the throne. But another reason that made Philip V an unusual monarch was the way he left, to a great extent, the affairs of the state at the charge of Marie-Anne de la Trémoille, Princesse des Ursins and the queen María Luisa de Saboya's camarera mayor, first, and then at the charge of his second wife Isabel de Farnesio. In a patriarchal society, where men and women weren't considered as peers neither in facts nor in rights, how were these two figures able to lead the political and economic issues of the kingdom?

This study aims to question the identity and character of these two powerful women, the way they assumed their main political role –along with French ministers for Marie-Anne de la Trémoille, with Italian and Spanish ones for Isabel de Farnesio– and above all to examine the way the texts and prints of the time –those published by the crown as well as those produced by the opposition circles– portrayed them.

Colette Le Lay (Université de Nantes) *D'Alembert et l'astronomie dans l'Encyclopédie : traduction de la Cyclopædia ou œuvre originale ?*

Panel / *Session* 214, 'Nouveaux éclairages sur la manufacture de l'Encyclopédie 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne)

La parution des Principia de Newton engendre une mutation profonde dans l'astronomie. À la traditionnelle astronomie d'observation s'ajoute désormais une branche hautement mathématisée qui se propose de résoudre le « problème de trois corps » c'est-à-dire de déterminer l'orbite d'un astre soumis à l'attraction de deux autres. D'Alembert, qui prend en charge la plupart des articles d'astronomie de l'Encyclopédie, est une figure essentielle de la seconde et n'est guère passionné par la première. Aussi s'appuie-t-il sur la traduction de la Cyclopædia et les Institutions astronomiques de Pierre Charles Le Monnier pour mener sa tâche à bien. Toutefois l'article LUNE lui permet de mettre en valeur ses travaux personnels et ceux de ses deux prestigieux contemporains Clairaut et Euler, avec une objectivité toute relative. En comparant les articles consacrés aux planètes à LUNE, nous tenterons de donner quelques éclairages sur la manufacture de D'Alembert pour le domaine astronomie.

Véronique Le Ru (University of Reims) *La Marquise du Châtelet défend-elle une morale matérialiste ?*

Panel / *Session* 360, 'Diderot et la Morale 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gerhardt Stenger (University of Nantes)

Emilie du Châtelet publie en 1740 les Institutions de physique qui visent à fonder la physique newtonienne dans la métaphysique leibnizienne, où elle n'hésite pas à présenter le principe de conservation des forces vives comme un des secrets du Créateur. Entre 1742 et 1745, elle rédige les Examens de la Bible qui constituent une critique radicale de la Bible qu'elle présente comme un recueil de fables et un outil de domination masculine. En 1746-1747, elle rédige son Discours sur le bonheur où l'on peut relever des indices d'une discussion serrée avec La Mettrie sur plusieurs questions de morale. Ce sont ces indices que nous voudrions mettre au jour pour évaluer la place de la Marquise dans l'histoire du matérialisme en France au XVIIIème siècle : faut-il ajouter à la bande des quatre – La Mettrie, Helvétius, Diderot, D'Holbach – Emilie du Châtelet ?

Alastair Learmont (University of Edinburgh) *Chisholme and Stonedge: The Scottish Border Estates of William and James Chisholme*

Panel / *Session* 80, 'Jamaican Connections'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tom Rodgers (University of Portsmouth)

William Chisholme (1736-1802) and James Chisholme (1744-1812) typify 18th century Scottish sojourners who sought to "make and save money" in the British West Indies within a time frame coinciding with the golden age of the plantocracy, the American Revolutionary Wars and abolition of the slave trade. In the 1760s and 1770s, the Selkirk-born brothers prospered as plantation doctors in Jamaica where they purchased three sugar estates, associated cattle pens, and over 450 slaves. Returning to Britain in 1775 and 1791 respectively, the Chisholmes purchased estates in Roxburghshire. As absentees, within a metropolitan and transatlantic context, they divided their time between Scotland and London where they were leading members of the Society of West Indian Planters and Merchants.

When James Chisholme re-named his country house "Greenriver" after land on his Jamaican estate, its name provided an inescapable reminder of his West Indian enterprise. He furnished his newly acquired house with mahogany, and ordered domestic supplies of sugar and rum from Jamaica which were shipped to the port of Leith. This case study argues that the Scottish country house acted as a nexus between the brothers' West Indian and Scottish enterprises. The Chisholmes' Scottish estates formed part of a single Atlantic business enterprise and, at a time when Jamaican profits were in a state of free fall, provided a reassuring and, to an extent, controlled income. Drawing on archival material held at the National Library of Scotland, the paper examines how, within an Atlantic context, the same desire to make and save money was evident both in Scotland and Jamaica. At a time of domestic agricultural change, it considers how the younger Chisholme sought to maximise income from the most profitable use of land. To what extent was oppression visible on the Scottish as much as on the Jamaican estates?

Marie **Leca-Tsiomis** (University of Paris Ouest Nanterre) La morale du loisir dans l'*Encyclopédie*

Panel / *Session* 360, 'Diderot et la Morale 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gerhardt Stenger (University of Nantes)

Comme il le fit souvent, c'est dans un petit article de grammaire, caché dans un recoin de l'*Encyclopédie* que Diderot, tournant le dos aux définitions convenues, donna un sens neuf et plein à l'*otium* dans la perspective d'une morale athée.

Marie **Leca-Tsiomis** (Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre, Centre des Sciences des Littératures en langue Française) Un nouvel état des lieux de la recherche sur les contributions des encyclopédistes

Panel / *Session* 16, 'L'ENCCRE et les recherches sur l'*Encyclopédie* à l'ère du numérique : résultats et perspectives 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Le Sueur (CNRS, Institut Camille Jordan)

Le travail collaboratif mené au sein de l'ENCCRE entre spécialistes de différents domaines ouvre un nouvel espace de recherche. Parmi les multiples apports de la méthode collaborative, on signalera deux points particulièrement innovants : l'un concerne les attributions d'articles, l'autre la mise en commun de savoirs différents.

Cerner au plus juste chacun des auteurs encyclopédistes implique d'abord désambiguïsation des signatures, campagnes de repérages dûment renseignés, de vérifications, puis intégration des attributions fournies par la recherche, permettant alors d'offrir la liste des contributions de l'auteur tant en articles qu'en planches le cas échéant, liste accompagnée d'une notice biobibliographique renouvelée depuis Kafker. Quant à la question ardue des articles non signés ou signés de façon équivoque, notre édition l'aborde par la réflexion collective en atelier : ainsi par exemple du cas de Formey, de celui de Diderot, de Saint-Lambert, etc.

La réunion des savoirs s'opère grâce au travail collaboratif, à l'échange qu'il implique et qui permet l'annotation à plusieurs mains. Dans l'*Encyclopédie*, fréquent est le cas d'articles relevant de champs de savoir différents : dans l'ENCCRE, ces articles bénéficient de la variété des éclairages procurés par les savoirs conjugués d'historiens de la langue, de l'art, de la balistique, de la charpenterie, de la musique, de l'artisanat, de la physique, des mathématiques, etc., ce qui renouvelle en profondeur leur approche.

Timothée **Lécho**t (FNS, University of Oxford) La diffusion sociale et géographique du *Mercure de France* d'après les signatures d'énigmes

Panel / *Session* 51, 'Les identités du lecteur de journaux'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Universität des Saarlandes)

Dans le *Mercure de France* (1724-1778), les énigmes en vers paraissent de manière ininterrompue. Beaucoup d'entre elles sont produites par les lecteurs mêmes du périodique. Elles forment un corpus homogène de textes qui permet d'étudier sur plus de cinquante ans une frange significative du lectorat, celle des amateurs de poésies badines et de jeux littéraires. S'il est rare de connaître le nom réel et complet des auteurs, ceux-ci indiquent souvent leur ville de résidence et leur occupation, laissant de précieuses informations géographiques et sociales sur la catégorie de lecteurs-contributeurs à laquelle ils appartiennent.

Un relevé systématique des signatures d'énigmes nous permettra de mieux comprendre la diffusion du *Mercure de France* et son évolution au XVIII^e siècle. Les résultats obtenus seront confrontés à d'autres données, toujours partielles, dont on dispose pour connaître le lectorat du périodique, notamment les rares listes d'abonnés.

Marie-Pascale **Leclerc** (Université du Québec à Montréal / Université de Paris-Sorbonne) La carte mentale de Paris au 18^e siècle, entre littérature de la gueuserie et risque policier

Panel / *Session* 245, 'Regards sur les intermédiaires culturels au XVIII^e siècle : des savoirs aux pratiques'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Lise Andries (Université de Paris-Sorbonne)

Fabriquées pour la postérité par la littérature romantique du 19^e siècle, les cours des miracles furent de véritables espaces de la marginalité urbaine. Elles fascinaient autant qu'ils inquiétaient la police de l'époque, qui n'eut de cesse de réitérer leurs craintes par les innombrables arrestations de mendiants, de vagabonds et d'errants qui dessinèrent finalement les lieux considérés à risque par cette police aux aguets.

La cartographie parisienne garde trace de ces lieux infâmes, jusqu'à ce que les dernières occurrences disparaissent complètement avec la refonte des 12 quartiers municipaux en 48 districts électoraux. Nous conservons 150 ans de plans divers qui traduisent une perception urbaine de la capitale autant nourrie par une réalité sociale que par une littérature abondante. Or, comment départager le réel du fictif?

L'objectif de cette communication est de proposer l'utilisation du concept de carte mentale des villes, largement exploité en urbanisme, en sociologie et en psychologie, afin de démontrer comment la littérature de gueuserie ainsi que les guides de voyages ont permis la survivance d'un imaginaire social jusqu'à son implantation dans la perception policière de la ville. Ce concept permet de négocier une approche nouvelle de la représentation de l'espace pour différents groupes sociaux. Trois réalités sont donc, ici, triangulées, celle de la littérature de gueuserie attachée au réel, mais fantasmée ; celle des guides de voyage ; et enfin, celle de la police, inquiète et vigilante. Au-delà du fait de reconsidérer autrement la cartographie de la misère à Paris, c'est dans la démarche que notre proposition entend tisser des liens entre les différents groupes sociaux impliqués.

Matthew **Lee** (University of Aberdeen / National Library of Scotland) 'Broiling on the Coast of Guinea': Tobias Smollett and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

Panel / *Session* 37, 'Caribbean Connections'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : April Shelford (American University)

Recent scholarship has identified collective amnesia concerning Scotland's relationship with the transatlantic slave trade (Devine, 2015). More specifically, the literary output of Scottish writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been characterised by the use of distancing strategies that omit the reality of Scots' involvement with slavery (Morris, 2015). This paper examines the relationship between Scottish literature and the slave trade with reference to one author: Tobias Smollett. Smollett made significant literary contributions, compiled voluminous works

of history and had first-hand experience of life in the Caribbean. The paper examines the ways that Smollett engaged – or failed to engage – with the transatlantic slave trade in terms of his literary output and his private life. The paper is based on analysis of Smollett’s fiction and nonfiction – specifically *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748) and *The Present State of all Nations* (1768-69) – alongside his published private correspondence. Consideration of Smollett’s oeuvre alongside his private life reveals a complex relationship with the slave trade that encompassed its partial omission from his fiction, direct engagement in his nonfiction and his personal involvement in the slave trade. In this way, Smollett represents an apt case study of Scottish interactions with the transatlantic slave trade.

Siyeon Lee (Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology) Margaret Cavendish and the (Fe)male Subject of Fictions of Lunar New Worlds

Panel / *Session 216*, ‘Private Women, Public Consequences: Domesticating the Enlightened Subject at Home and Abroad 2’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nancy Cho (Seoul National University)

Margaret Cavendish’s *A Description of a New World Called the Blazing World* belongs in a tradition of early modern, ‘new philosophical’ fictions of lunar new worlds, but it also serves as a critical exception and response to such works by male philosophers. Francis Godwin introduced a narrative of the ‘man’ in the moon, a would-be philosopher and conquistador, parting ways with Johannes Kepler’s *Somnium* (Dream) that had granted significant female agency to the character of Fiolxhilde. The move away from *Somnium* marked a turn towards the exclusively male-centered ‘he’ philosophy of the Royal Society, interrupted by Cavendish’s intervention in *The Blazing World*. Early modern lunar fictions, from *Somnium* to Gulliver’s burlesque voyage to Laputa, form part of the debate on the nature and motion of matter against the backdrop of seventeenth-century ‘new philosophical’ thought. Cavendish’s ‘female fancy’ in *The Blazing World* defies both Aristotelian and mechanist views of inanimate/female matter. The abductee-turned Empress in Cavendish’s fiction proves herself not only a ‘self-moving body,’ capable of free and even out-of-bounds motion, but ultimately the subject that negotiates and produces new knowledge about the Blazing World and an infinity of (inner) new worlds, enabling her to speak despite the constraints established by the new experimental philosophy.

Yunsoo Lee (Université nationale de Kongju) Roman français des Lumières, sources d’inspirations du cinéma coréen : le cas des *Liaisons dangereuses*

Panel / *Session 74*, ‘Entre physique et métaphysique : quête de l’identité de la pensée des Lumières’. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Young Mock Lee (Université nationale de Séoul)

En 2003, Lee Jae-Yong, cinéaste coréen a réalisé une adaptation cinématographique des *Liaisons dangereuses* dont le titre est *Scandale* et qui a comme interprètes des acteurs coréens réputés. Le changement de contexte et d’horizon y est assez frappant, car il transpose le roman de Laclos dans la Corée du XVIIIe siècle, à l’époque Chosŏn, où la société était très fermée et les mœurs entre hommes et femmes strictement régies par le confucianisme. Contrairement aux appréhensions, cette version orientale filmée n’a pas trahi l’esprit du roman de Laclos.

En 2012, neuf ans après *Scandale*, une autre version extrême-orientale est sortie en Chine. Il s’agit de *Dangerous Liaisons*, – qui reprend donc le titre du film de Stephen Frears – le fruit d’une co-production sino-coréenne. L’histoire se déroule dans les années 1930 à Shanghai.

Situant l’action du roman de Laclos dans des univers totalement différents de la France du XVIIIe siècle, les deux cinéastes parviennent à transposer, chacun à sa manière, les thèmes de l’oeuvre originale. Afin d’éclairer de quelle manière ils parviennent à leur fin et de voir s’ils offrent de nouvelles perspectives par rapport au roman occidental nous porterons notre regard sur quelques points essentiels concernant à la fois les caractéristiques majeures du roman comme le libertinage, l’échange épistolaire et la condition des femmes ainsi que sur certaines particularités des personnages dans les deux films.

Patrick Leech (University of Bologna) Revolutionary Proselytising: Translation and the Forging of a Transnational Radical Identity

Panel / *Session* 110, 'Language and Community'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Daniela Haarmann (University of Vienna)

Against the backdrop of notions of a shared cosmopolitan identity in the Enlightenment (Scrivener 2007), some recent work has focused on specific examples of transnational influences through translation in the Enlightenment (eg. Kozul 2016). The revolutionary period too has been interpreted as one of shared ideologies and common trajectories (eg. Palmer 1959; Godechot 1971; Israel 2017). One space in which these transnational exchanges took place is that of translation. Two issues will be discussed this paper. The first relates to the commitment of some revolutionary figures to translating their own or others' work as part of a desire to forge commonalities, share issues across national boundaries and create consensus. Examples may include Mirabeau's translation of Aedanus Burke's polemic over the Society of the Cincinatti, Marat's self-translation of a text first published in English, Joel Barlow's translations of Brissot and Volney, Francois Lanthenas' translations of Paine). The second will consider the necessary adaptation of the ideas presented through paratextual commentaries ('framing' – Genette 1987), significant omissions, additions or rewriting.

Inger Leemans (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) Visualizing the Amsterdam Stock Exchange to Conceptualize the Economy

Panel / *Session* 47, 'Imagineering: Prints and the Imagination of Complex Concepts ('Earth', 'Violence', 'Author', 'Economy')'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Marijn S. Kaplan (University of North Texas)

One of the buildings that were high on the list of the European tourists and international merchants was the Amsterdam stock exchange. Seventeenth-century visitors, authors and artists were fascinated by this beautiful building, designed by Hendrik de Keyser. The building was remarkably often depicted. Engravings and paintings of the Amsterdam Bourse were made in spades during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The plates were reprinted repeatedly, sometimes coloured, sometimes provided with a poetic legend.

In this lecture I will analyse these bourse depictions, and argue that they constitute a central manifestation of early economic thought. The bourse prints helped to conceptualize the market and the idea of economics by addressing aspects of commerce, exchange, order, governance, and regionality versus globality. I will argue that the prints also envision the market as an affective economy, driven by desire and other interests, materializing through embodied practices.

James Lees (Independent Scholar) Nationhood and Regional Identities in the German Catholic Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 68, 'Catholicism and the Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh)

There is a long-standing convention of discussing the Catholic Enlightenment in Germany and Austria through the 'national context' paradigm. This paper will critically examine this approach in two ways. Firstly, it will consider how geography and political connections brought differing areas of Catholic Germany into contact with neighbouring national traditions, particularly those of France and Italy, and thus associated them to an international movement that was 'above' national context. Secondly, it will consider how contested concepts of nationhood, regional identities, and the particularist nature of the Holy Roman Empire helped to produce distinctive Enlightenment operating 'below' national context. It will discuss how differing religious traditions (Jansenism in the Habsburg lands, Ultramontanism in Bavaria, and Episcopatism in the Rhineland) and political agendas led Catholics living in diverse parts of the Empire to adopt variegated views of the Enlightenment and approaches to the implementation of its programme of reforms. It thus posits a new approach to the German Catholic Enlightenment by emphasizing how communal identities fashioned its essentially polycentric character.

Sophie **Lefay** (Université d'Orléans) Les couleurs de Paris à travers trois « tableaux » de Paris (Caraccioli, Henrion, Pujoux)

Panel / *Session* 102, 'Couleurs et identités à l'époque des Lumières 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford)

On s'interrogera sur le rôle que jouent la et les couleur(s) dans l'identification de Paris, à travers trois « tableaux » de la fin du siècle, qui seront mis en relation avec l'œuvre de L.-S. Mercier. Les questions suivantes pourront être abordées :

- les modifications induites par une perception désormais colorée d'une ville, placée sous le signe du changement et de la variété ;
- la contribution de la couleur à une écriture à la fois pittoresque et satirique ;
- la fonction identificatoire des couleurs, en particulier dans la désignation des différents groupes sociaux urbains.

Antonieta **Leite** (University of Coimbra) Enlightening the Portuguese Atlantic Islands: Architecture and Land Planning in the Azores General Captaincy

Panel / *Session* 120, 'Planning and Architecture'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Amalia Papaioannou (Hellenic Open University / Democritus University of Thrace)

The aim of this paper proposal is to examine the impact produced on the build environment by the new colonial administrative system, the General Captaincy (Capitania Geral) and correspondent policy program, founded in the Azores archipelago in 1766 by the hand of Marquis of Pombal, following the model already applied in Brazil and in Mozambique.

The General Captaincy came to replace, as a centralized administration, the old manorial system, based on eight smaller, disperse and private captaincies operating since the beginning of the island settlement in the fifteenth century, an old system that couldn't respond properly to the Enlightenment idea of "building a new world" (principiar um Mundo novo) in the islands.

In 1766, Angra, the oldest city in the archipelago (1534), was raised to be the capital of the islands and plans were made to materialize that new status. A General Captain was nominated by the Marquis, with a regiment ordering his actions. By that regiment he should improve

Marie **Lemonnier** (Université du Québec à Montréal) Les aides naturalistes du Muséum de Paris comme « amateurs experts » à la fin du 18e siècle

Panel / *Session* 245, 'Regards sur les intermédiaires culturels au XVIIIe siècle : des savoirs aux pratiques'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Lise Andries (Université de Paris-Sorbonne)

Dans les échelons hiérarchiques du Muséum d'histoire naturelle à Paris, les aides demeurent bien souvent cachés dans l'ombre des professeurs pour qui ils travaillent. Si quelques élus ont la chance d'être promus à la tête d'une des chaires et d'accéder au statut professoral au cours de leur carrière, le destin de plusieurs est pourtant de rester dans un certain anonymat. Du moins, leur nom n'apparaît-il presque jamais dans l'historiographie. Or, cela ne veut pas dire que, de leur vivant, leur nom reste inconnu de leurs contemporains; bien au contraire. Ainsi, certaines figures apparaissent un peu partout dans les sources. C'est entre autres le cas de Louis Dufresne. Taxidermiste et amateur sous l'Ancien Régime, il agit comme expert dans les ventes aux enchères de curiosités naturelles alors qu'il obtient un poste d'aide au Muséum. Il fait partie de ces « seconds couteaux » de la science qui ont joué un rôle actif dans l'espace savant de leur époque, mais qui ont fait pendant longtemps l'objet d'un mépris injustifié de la part des historiens.

Ainsi, ayant un pied dans une institution qui représente le centre du développement des sciences naturelles à l'époque, l'ambiguïté de la position des aides naturalistes leur permet de naviguer dans l'espace dévolu aux amateurs et aux curieux où ils font figure « d'experts », un statut que la hiérarchie de l'institution muséale leur refuse pourtant. Ils font ainsi office d'intermédiaire entre une science de plus en plus institutionnelle et professionnelle, et une science « aimable » qui crée l'engouement chez la population lettrée. Cette question sera étudiée à travers les archives administratives du Muséum de Paris et de certaines sociétés scientifiques, mais également à travers la littérature relative à l'histoire naturelle et les périodiques lus par les amateurs d'histoire naturelle.

Johanna Lenne-Cornuez (Paris-Sorbonne) L'identité du moi et le contentement de soi-même dans la *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard* de Rousseau

Panel / *Session 203, 'Identité personnelle et identité morale (l'héritage lockien)'*. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Céline Spector (Paris-Sorbonne)

La bonté de l'homme est menacée par la société inégalitaire et injuste dans laquelle il vit. Celle-ci met l'homme en contradiction avec lui-même. D'une part, la logique passionnelle de l'amour-propre et la poursuite de l'intérêt personnel le conduisent à masquer ses véritables intentions. D'autre part, le spectacle de l'injustice triomphante étouffe sa conscience morale. La *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard* opère un retour à soi par la médiation du point de vue de Dieu. La croyance en Dieu provoque une véritable « révolution copernicienne » : chaque homme est réassigné à sa place selon l'ordre divin projeté et espéré. Or, ce qu'il importe de croire n'est pas tant que Dieu rétribuera les justes et punira les méchants. Rousseau congédie la conception d'un Dieu vengeur et d'une morale hétéronome. La croyance en Dieu a pour fonction de garantir une réconciliation avec soi-même. Grâce à ce témoin universel, l'homme cesse de dépendre du regard et du jugement des autres pour ne rechercher que le contentement de lui-même. La fureur de se distinguer et d'obtenir la première place engendrée par l'amour-propre est neutralisée par le point de vue de Dieu, pour permettre un retour à l'amour de soi. Ce dont chacun jouit à sa place dans l'ordre divin c'est de soi-même. La rétribution des actions morales ne dépend donc pas d'une récompense divine mais réside dans ses propres souvenirs. En définitive, le juste espère la prolongation de l'identité de son moi par une mémoire éternelle. On montrera alors que la redéfinition par Rousseau du lien entre identité personnelle et identité morale est conduite dans un dialogue critique avec les fondements de la philosophie lockienne.

Sarah Lentz (University of Bremen) Enlightened Activists? Motives for a German Involvement in the Transatlantic Abolitionist Movement in the Late Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 394, 'German Slavery 1: Legal Problems, Legal Cases, and the Struggle for Identity'*. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Diana Paton (University of Edinburgh)

The emergence of an institutionalized abolitionist movement in Europe and North America in the late Enlightenment period marks a turning point in the history of the slave trade and slavery in the Atlantic world. Owing to a lack of German colonies in the 18th century historians have long assumed that the anti-slavery movement met with no response in the Holy Roman Empire. Countering this presumption, the proposed paper will illustrate that abolitionist arguments also reverberated in the German territories and that consequently there were Germans who were stirred into action on behalf of enslaved people. Regarding the overall theme of the conference, the paper proposes that most of these activists and their practices of protests were shaped by an 'enlightenment identity'. The influence of enlightenment thought and convictions becomes evident in the personas and motivations of the men and women who campaigned against the slave trade and slavery. It is also revealed in the scope for action of potential activists, for instance in the practices of protest that they chose to engage in.

Andrea Leonardi (Università degli Studi di Bari 'Aldo Moro') The Italian Eighteenth Century: Paintings, Statues, Drawings, and Objects: Encyclopedic Exhibitions (Venice, Florence, 1929–1948)

Panel / *Session* 351, 'The Italian Eighteenth Century: Exhibitions between Complexities and Identities (1911–1998)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Massimiliano Caldera (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Piemonte (Italy))

During the XX c. the exhibitions on the XVIII c. in Italy, included the regional ones, seem to have a standard narrative structure which differs from those dedicated on an individual painter or on a group of artists. The complex identity of this period, spread to the entire Europe, imposes an 'encyclopedic' pattern despite the political influences. Traditional masterpieces (paintings, statues) are matched by graphics, decorative and textile arts, music, publishing and theatre. With its block-buster traits, the passage is from a model of 'ephemeral museum' focused only on painting, as in the case of the Florentine exhibitions "Ritratto Italiano" (1911) and "Pittura Italiana del Sei e Settecento" (1922), to a generalist one. It took place, not by chance, in Venice in the Biennale gardens with the event "Settecento Italiano" (1929). The exhibition -out of the context with this contemporary setting- can be paradigmatic, since it expresses the vivacity of that historical period, laden with a large generations of players (painters, writers, composers and interpreters), as well as new genres, like the 'veduta', always within a new figurative culture. Paradoxically, it happened in a period in which the critics was adopting the A. Venturi's point of view about the presumed 'artistic weakness of the century', but that did not stop the cultural turn which strengthened, at first, in Florence, thanks to the diachronic "Mostra del Giardino Italiano" (1931) by U. Ojetti, organizer of two previous events (1911,1922), and then, in the 2th post-war phase, with the "Mostra della casa italiana nei secoli" (1948) by C.L. Ragghianti. Both called attention to the XVIII c. with setups between 'teatrini' (1931), heirs of the 'tableaux-vivants' tradition, and the 'ricostruzioni d'ambiente' (1948), traceable back to the period rooms and, in some ways, to the literature on the history of decorative arts, of which the unsurpassed example was E. Warton with her "The Decoration of Houses" (1897).

Marina Leoni (Université de Genève) « Une complète identité ». Quatremère de Quincy, l'identité, le caractère et le climat dans le débat sur les arts du dessin au siècle des Lumières

Panel / *Session* 15, 'Identités complexes'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jacques Wagner (Université Clermont Auvergne)

Dans le débat artistique du siècle des Lumières, la notion d'identité est-elle utilisée ? Est-elle liée à la notion de 'caractère' qui participe à sa construction ? L'argument du 'climat' est-il évoqué pour expliquer l'identité et le caractère ?

Si le thème de l'identité représente, pour le siècle des Lumières, un des points cruciaux du débat philosophique, cette notion est néanmoins présente de manière évidente dans d'autres domaines du savoir. Parmi ceux-ci, les arts du dessin, qui dans ce siècle sont sujets à des réflexions qui les modifient en profondeur : statut de la discipline et de l'artiste, spécialisation (et fragmentation) des savoirs, définition de divers sujets qui se prononcent en matière d'art.

Tout au long du siècle, plusieurs identités sont donc plus ou moins directement évoquées, comme, en guise d'exemple : d'un côté l'identité de l'artiste et celle du critique, et, d'un autre côté, l'identité des œuvres, celle-ci identifiable par rapport à la main qui les produit, aux nations dont elles sont considérées comme un miroir, ou, dans un cadre théorique beaucoup plus large, identifiable à l'égard de la nature qui en constitue le modèle – dans ce cas, on dirait plutôt non-identifiable. Nous voyons donc que le terme 'identité' oscille, aussi dans le domaine des arts, entre une double signification : de l'identité par rapport à soi-même ou par rapport à l'autre, personne ou objet.

Figure centrale dans le débat artistique français au tournant des Lumières, Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849) touche plusieurs fois à ces thèmes dans une longue production écrite de 1785 à 1837. Sous quelle acception le terme 'identité' revient sous la plume de Quatremère ? Au premier regard, il semble plutôt lié à l'identité entre l'œuvre et son modèle naturel, mais la lecture de ses textes invite aussi à le nouer avec la notion de 'caractère', celle-ci permettant d'identifier un artiste ou un ouvrage, et avec la notion de 'climat', entendue comme cause qui forge identité et caractère.

Elisa Leonzio (Università degli Studi di Torino) Theoretical and Cultural Identity in the Work of Salomon Maimon

Panel / *Session* 419, 'Autobiographical Narratives'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

The German-Jewish philosopher Salomon Maimon (ca. 1751-1800) is best known for his autobiographical work *Salomon Maimons Lebensgeschichte*, which was edited and published in Berlin in 1792-1793 by the philosopher and psychologist Karl Philipp Moritz. Moritz, who had already published some excerpts from the book in his *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, was fascinated by Maimon's depiction of his life as a metaphorical (and geographical) journey from the dark, obscurantist shtetl in Lithuania where he was born to the progressist, enlightened Germany, i.e. a journey from religious superstition to secular knowledge. But what Moritz was more interested in were actually the inner conflicts which constantly animated and disturbed this process of acculturation and assimilation.

Also the recent scholarship reflects on this aspect rightly underlining how Maimon's attempt to construct a new identity for his new life and philosophical career in Germany leads to ambiguous results which sometimes escalate into pathological manifestations of dissociation and other mental issues.

Beginning with a brief account on German-Jewish cultural transfer in eighteenth-century Germany, which represents the framework for Maimon's intellectual and existential vicissitudes, the aim of the present paper is to investigate which notion of identity is subtended to Maimon's autobiography. Taking into consideration some of his philosophical works, such as *Versuch über die Transscendentalphilosophie* (1790), *Philosophisches Wörterbuch* (1791), and *Die Kathegorien des Aristoteles* (1794), I will analyze in the first section of the paper concepts such as self, unity, substance and contradiction in order to delineate Maimon's theory of identity as a theoretical and logical category. In the second part of the paper, I will then observe how this category reflects in the autobiography and influences the construction of a cultural identity.

Alice **Leroy** (Université de Lille) 'For the happiness and prosperity of England': (Re)presenting Stuart Queenship

Panel / *Session* 160, 'Women of Power in the Eighteenth Century: Identity and Representation'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Claire Boulard-Jouslin (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 3)

Upon her accession to power in 1702, Queen Anne was welcomed by many and celebrated for her Englishness and her perceived legitimacy as a Stuart. Yet, Anne (1702-1714) was to face many challenges linked both to her body and to changing circumstances: first queen regnant in almost a century with no heir presumptive, she came to the throne of a transforming monarchy as the War of the Spanish Succession was just beginning.

I propose to study how the limitations of the queen's sex were reconciled with the need for a strong military leader, able to overcome party politics and to unite the country, to guarantee its "peace and prosperity." To understand how such an enterprise was undertaken, it will be necessary to look at different forms of discourses (written, visual, but also material) produced during Anne's reign and to determine if and how media commissioned by the crown or produced by independent subjects complemented each other, to create the image of a queen who embodied the nation and led Great-Britain into a century of British dominance.

Wing Sze **Leung** (National University of Singapore) Pity and Justice in Rousseau's *Emile*

Panel / *Session* 59, 'Rousseau: Pity, Justice, Virtue'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

In Book 4 of the *Emile*, Rousseau claims that the sentiment of pity should be guided by the notion of justice, and that the love of mankind is the love of justice. Despite its seeming importance, the notion of justice appears only a few times in the *Emile*, and Rousseau never very systematically explains how it is related to pity. In this paper, I will explain the relation between justice and pity in three ways.

First, I will argue that requirements of justice provide *Emile* with the basic moral framework to make judgments of pity. I will show that as far as the sentiment of pity is concerned, the educational programme of the first three books of the *Emile* aim at developing *Emile's* moral framework, so that he will be able to make judgments of pity one day. I

will also show that the notion of justice—and its kindred concepts, such as equality and fairness—play a very important role in forming this moral framework.

Second, I will argue that, although Emile may naturally feel pity in a lot of different circumstances, the primary objects of pity in the educational treatise are people who have been unjustly treated, and people who may easily encounter unjust treatment. They are, in particular, poor people in the society who may easily be exploited and dominated by the rich, noble and powerful.

Finally, I will argue that precisely because judgments of pity should accord with requirements of justice, the sentiment of pity should be action-guiding. That is, if Emile does feel pity towards someone, he will be willing to do something about it, so that he can bring an end to the injustice. I will show how the tutor makes use of the technique of habituation in Book 4 to inculcate in Emile this willingness to act. I will also explain how, by repetitively serving the poor, needy and oppressed, Emile comes to understand more about the requirements of justice.

Alexis **Lévrier** (Université de Reims) L'attachement paradoxal à une ville et une culture : l'identité collective dans les « spectateurs » d'expression française

Panel / *Session* 185, 'Territoires, communautés, appartenances : la question de l'identité individuelle et collective dans les « spectateurs » 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Klaus-Dieter Ertler (Université de Graz)

Le genre des « spectateurs » a d'emblée été caractérisé par son extraordinaire succès en Angleterre, puis sur le reste du continent. Traduit, plagié, imité partout en Europe, il a sans nul doute contribué à l'affirmation d'une culture européenne au XVIII^e siècle. Les personnages de *Spectateurs* sont en outre, pour la plupart d'entre eux, définis par un sentiment d'étrangeté vis-à-vis du monde qui les entoure : ils vivent en marge de la société qu'ils décrivent, sans réellement coïncider avec elle.

Nous voudrions pourtant montrer que la question de l'identité spatiale et géographique se situe au cœur de ces journaux : dans le périodique fondateur, Addison et Steele ont tenté de représenter la vie quotidienne à Londres, et ont donné à voir à leurs lecteurs tous les mouvements de la société londonienne. Les adaptations en langue française du *Spectator* reprennent cet objectif, en l'adaptant à de nouvelles villes, en Hollande, en France ou même au Danemark. L'imaginaire urbain est ainsi partout présent dans ces journaux, et l'adaptation du modèle du périodique anglais s'accompagne d'une volonté d'exalter d'autres lieux, une autre culture et d'autres pratiques sociales. Même s'il existe des exceptions, comme la ville jamais nommée où écrit l'Indigent philosophe de Marivaux, nous verrons que les « spectateurs » d'expression française ne sont jamais prisonniers de leur modèle anglais : chaque imitateur ne s'inspire du *Spectator* que pour mieux valoriser sa ville, son pays et sa langue.

Anthony **Lewis** (Glasgow Museums) Finding Fortune and Fame: The Life and Times of an Architect and Builder of New Edinburgh

Panel / *Session* 161, 'Architecture'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Joana Balsa de Pinho (University of Lisbon)

Being an architect and builder of New Edinburgh may at first sight appear to be a dream come true as the city expanded in all directions from the 1760s on. What could go wrong? This paper looks at local city architects, as well as builders, and considers the similarities and differences between the two groups in terms of establishing a reputation, and patronage.

The paper will draw upon primary source evidence from archives, museums and buildings to suggest that establishing successful business in architecture was easier said than done. Many people faced ruin rather than fame. However, the paper goes on to discuss that some ideas presented in plans, and buildings intended for New Edinburgh, present ideals pertinent to the aspirations both groups had to be considered well educated and competently qualified to being considered members of polite urban society. Judging their considerable contribution to the physical and intellectual fabric of the city's conversation in terms of the size of their profits, or lack of, may not release our abilities today to assess a potential for understanding the ideas that relatively ordinary people played in creating a new Georgian city.

Ann Lewis (Birkbeck, University of London) Framing the Sentimental Topos: Illustrating the Novel of Sensibility in a Transnational Context in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 387*, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 4'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.
G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nathalie Collé (Université de Lorraine, CLSH de Nancy)

This paper examines the illustrated sentimental novel in the eighteenth century within a transnational context. The sentimental novel is replete with topoi (narrative clichés), evoking the visual through the deployment of descriptive tableaux, and creating and referencing multiple intertextual and intericonic networks. Examples include: 'the first kiss', garden encounters, scenes of bienfaisance and/or seduction, scenes of family drama, and deathbeds. This circulation of 'images' or 'figures' is further complicated when the many illustrated editions of a number of bestselling novels of sensibility are taken into account, which usually placed a series of engravings opposite their textual counterparts within a material book. This paper will focus on three bestselling novels from different national contexts: Richardson's *Clarissa*, Rousseau's *Julie*, and Goethe's *Werther*, each of which were illustrated many times. I will examine the ways in which certain iconic scenes are replayed and reconfigured within different contexts but in such a way that the trace of previous versions are still readable, within a sentimental paradigm. The iconographic corpus of illustrations embodied by different artists' rendition of a same scene provides a particular type of visual archive, and the fact that the same artists illustrated many different sentimental texts, means that the web of cross-references and allusions across their oeuvre provides a further visual network. The work of Chodowiecki is particularly fascinating in this respect, as he illustrated all three of the novels in question. Having considered the ways in which sentimental topoi, tableaux and engravings serve to inflect readings of both text and image when apprehended within the material book – I will explore the implications of viewing sentimental engravings in a different context: the literary almanac. In this case, the status of the image in relation to the text is radically shifted, and the balance between generalised literary topos, visual stereotype and the engraving as illustration of a particular passage changes, generating a range of possible sentimental readings.

Catherine J. Lewis Theobald (Brandeis University) Book Illustration and the Epistolary Genre: Picturing Women Writing Letters in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 354*, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 3'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30.
G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Teri Doerksen (Mansfield University of Pennsylvania)

A fresh examination of epistolarity seems necessary—even crucial—in light of the new shapes that verbal exchanges have assumed in the digital sphere of emails, social network comments, and gaming chats. The intense mixing of multimedia in that parallel universe—where word, image, symbol, video, music interact in complementary, ironic, and tense ways—requires a reevaluation of the missive's evolving roles in spinning narratives and shaping truth. The current rich hybridity of digital exchanges also encourages us to turn our gazes backward to the "mash-ups" of the past, such as the eighteenth-century illustrated novel of letters. In this paper, I will examine how pictures impact the epistolary experience, a topic that seems a blind spot in the critical corpus, even regarding some of the most studied novels of that "Golden Age" of both book illustration and epistolary fiction. I will apply the insights of prominent scholars of epistolarity, such as Janet Altman and Thomas Beebee, to certain key illustrated editions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*, Françoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, Samuel Richardson's *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, and Frances Burney's *Evelina, or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. By considering the role of pictures in those bestselling novels, I will extend the dialogue on the letter's engagement with the ideas of truth, distance, closure, and, particularly, gender. Furthermore, I will study the ways in which visual content shapes reception of the female writing subject as it adds, modifies, and redacts content from her body of letters. Book illustrations in eighteenth-century epistolary fiction thus literally "change the conversation" to yield a multi-layered reading event that, among many other effects, co-opts the heroine's voice by shifting from "I" to "she." An analysis of how and why those texts appropriate and repurpose material in their engravings will shed light not only on the communication strategies of electronic epistolarity, but also on the continuing discussions of gendered power dynamics in the twenty-first century.

Avi Lifschitz (University of Oxford) 'Caesar is not above the grammarians': Frederick the Great and Public Authorship

Panel / *Session 220*, 'The Monarch as Author 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.16, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Kelsey Rubin-Detlev (University of Southern California)

Frederick II of Brandenburg-Prussia ('the Great', r. 1740-1786) was unique in the eighteenth century (and beyond) in composing a large corpus of philosophical works. He did not merely aim to comment on current affairs; his works analysed the nature of political action and its links to justice, virtue, human reason, and the passions. While the monarch engaged closely with the history of political thought, historians have accorded little significance to his philosophical writings, usually regarding them as no more than tools for self-fashioning in a game of Realpolitik. Examining Frederick's reflections on public authorship, language, and the restrictions they impose upon writers, I argue that writing for large audiences was a major political act in itself. By submitting his writings and himself (as author) to the public's judgement, Frederick demonstrated he could be criticised and held accountable by his subjects. While structurally the Prussian regime was highly absolutist, in the public sphere the monarch launched a conversation resembling a more level playing field – which endowed him, in turn, with greater space for political manoeuvre.

Naomi Lightman (Independent Scholar) Didacticism with a Difference in Evenings at Home (1792–96) by Aikin and Barbauld

Panel / *Session 38*, 'Children's Literature of the Enlightenment: Purposes, Canons, Legacies'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

This paper will concentrate on the afterlife of two dialogues in *Evenings at Home* [1792-6], written by Anna Barbauld with her brother John Aikin.

Aikin's contribution entitled 'Eyes and No Eyes', and Barbauld's 'Things by their Right Names' both illustrate the influence of their background as the children of Dissenters who because of religious and civil prejudice developed unconventional pedagogical methods in their own schools away from rote learning towards seminar teaching and a syllabus which did not concentrate on the classics but included science and contemporary politics. These two dialogues offer a particularly influential example of this new approach. 'Eyes and No Eyes', Aikin's best-known contribution is an example of a chapter which appears on the surface to be conventionally didactic in the way that the Romantics would have most disliked. In dialogue form it records a walk taken by two boys, one of whom is praised by a tutor for taking note of his surroundings and one who is not. But evidence which uniquely survives of its impact on child readers throughout the 19th century tells a different story. The educationalist Charles Kingsley and the scientist Gideon Mantell, were two of many who were impelled by it towards lifetime vocations. We can account for its popularity by seeing how it could be used by readers with many different agendas such as the need to promote the study of science in education, the explosion of interest in natural history, the reaction against Romantic introspection and the move away from elitist visual experience typified by the Grand Tour among others. The title alone became almost proverbial.

In the year which celebrates the bicentenary of his birth, John Ruskin's tribute to the radical dialogue by Anna Barbauld, 'Things by their Right Names', deserves to be specially highlighted. It first struck a chord with Ruskin who recalled how he as a child was always thinking to himself 'what words meant' encouraging him as an adult to raise fundamental question as a social critic of Victorian society regarding the language of public debate.

Foteini Lika (Hellenic Open University) The Insoluble Antinomies of Her Story: Writing and Difference in E. Martinengou's Autobiography

Panel / *Session 131*, 'Enlightenment Feminisms'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.12, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania)

Elisavet Moutzan-Martinengou (1801-1832) was hailed by criticism as the progenitor of modern Greek feminist thought and her Autobiography [1831] was dubbed the most important autobiographical text of the nineteenth century in Greek literature. Despite her solitary confinement in her paternal home in Zakynthos, Martinengou not only managed to complete a syllabus of studies (Ch. Rollin's *Histoire Ancienne*, Fr. Soave's *Novelle*, G. V. Gravina Della *Tragedia*, Mme Beaumont's *Magasin des enfants*) comparable to that designed for educated males at the height of Greek Enlightenment, but also penned at least twenty-two dramas within five years (1820-1825). Accordingly, regardless of fact that her Autobiography was edited and published posthumously by her son Elisavetios (as the first part of a volume that included his own poetry), it still offers access to an otherwise-silenced female consciousness and identity. Moreover, it combines in a unique double bind an Enlightenment-inspired emphasis on reason, virtue and literacy with a romantic-driven focus on the powers of imagination, sensibility and self-projection. As a result, adversarial relationships abound in Martinengou's work and tensions between God's providence and the rationality of the human subject, female nature and manly culture, writing and rewriting/editing are recurrent themes in her Autobiography, thus making it a challenging authorial testimony that resists rigid theoretical interpretations and classifications.

Jane Lim (Seoul National University) 'Lady Roxana was her Mother': Negotiating Turkishness and Englishness in Daniel Defoe's *Roxana*

Panel / *Session 216*, 'Private Women, Public Consequences: Domesticating the Enlightened Subject at Home and Abroad 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nancy Cho (Seoul National University)

If John Locke established the self-enclosed, paternal household as the basis of a new liberal state that fosters self-governing individuals, this idea is immediately disrupted in Daniel Defoe's *The Fortunate Mistress, or Roxana* (1724). Instead, Roxana refuses to submit to a conjugal relationship, moving from one identity to another, one household to the next. This paper interrogates her performance of Englishness through two distinct identities: her pseudo-Turkishness, constructed through a public display of Oriental fantasy, and motherhood, a name from her private sexual history that she must disown. When her daughter Susan attempts to prove that "[she] was really the Girl's Mother, and the Lady Roxana," the Turkish Roxana and the English mother become synonymous. That these two are both foreign ("Roxana") and extremely intimate ("mother") suggests an association between the two seemingly conflicting categories. This paper investigates how Roxana posits a tear in Locke's Enlightenment representation by inciting a secret affinity between an Oriental identity and a domestic one.

Shiru Lim (European University Institute) *Paradoxe du comédien, paradoxe du citoyen: Denis Diderot on art, artifice, the natural, and the political*

Panel / *Session 250*, 'The Arts of Politics and the Politics of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century French Thought'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ann Thomson (European University Institute)

One of the most striking attributes that some eighteenth-century authors proposed was natural to man was a capacity for art. By 'art', they did not mean the activity of producing visual, performing, or other kinds of artworks. Rather, a capacity for art was simply a capacity to do, to make, to create wholes out of parts. One who undertook this kind of art was not just an artist, therefore, but an artificer. Not only were 'art' and 'artifice' thus cognates; accepting that both those things were natural made a hard boundary between nature and artifice very difficult to establish.

In this paper, I examine the treatment of these themes in the writings of someone particularly exercised by the proximity between art and artifice, and by the relationship between aesthetics, ethics, and politics: Denis Diderot. My point of departure is his posthumously published *Paradoxe sur le comédien*, and his argument there that, in order to move his audience, the actor must himself remain unmoved and unflappable—the eponymous paradox. Scholars have long recognised the significance of such a position within the philosophy of acting, performance theory, and dramatic criticism. But the importance of Diderot's views in more explicitly political debates has yet to be adequately acknowledged. This is somewhat surprising, considering their obvious debt to, semantic overlap with, and implications for theories of representation and of the state. Here, therefore, I want to propose that, in trying to work out what

made some people's—e.g. actors'—capacity for art so extraordinary, and how that capacity was exercised in practice, Diderot was also thinking through some of the most intractable problems in Enlightenment political philosophy. Without the fictions of self-effacement and dispassion, Diderot suggests, representation, and with it politics, becomes altogether impossible.

Julie Chun Kim (first co-speaker) **Lina Jiang (second co-speaker)** (Fordham University) Decolonizing Plantation Poetics: A Counter-Edition of James Grainger's *The Sugar-Cane*

Panel / *Session 198*, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 4: Anticolonial Methods and Decolonising Practice'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Eugenia Zuroski (McMaster University)

At first glance, James Grainger's *The Sugar-Cane* (1764) appears to be anything but a promising site for anticolonial work in 18thC studies. A neo-georgic poem that explains how to cultivate and harvest sugar, *The Sugar-Cane* celebrates the Caribbean plantation. Nevertheless, the authors of this paper will discuss the work they did this past year on a project entitled *Digital Grainger: An Online Edition of the Sugar-Cane (1764)* to argue that the poem can be read for its depictions of the counter-plantation, as well as the plantation. The term "counter-plantation" is most commonly used to refer to elements of the plantation system that helped the formerly enslaved become independent cultivators after emancipation. And, in fact, *The Sugar-Cane* contains descriptions of numerous plants that were cultivated by the enslaved in provision grounds. At the same time, Grainger consistently avoided acknowledging the botanical and agricultural expertise of the enslaved. The authors, with the six other team members of *Digital Grainger*, built several features into their edition to help readers look beyond Grainger's omissions. For example, including over seven hundred editorial footnotes, many of which detail Afro-Caribbean uses of plants. Moreover, as well as a full transcription of Grainger's poem, it also includes alternative versions of the poem under the heading "The Counter-Plantation." This section presents excerpts from the poem describing topics like provision grounds, obeah, and marronage.. Designed to bring signs of black life, survival, and resistance to the foreground, these excerpts could be read as a kind of "counter-edition" within the edition. Building this counter-edition, we were inspired by Saidiya Hartman's call for scholars to create "counter-histories of slavery" via active re-imaginings of colonial texts. We will conclude by discussing the ways in which theories of decolonization coming from engagements with Caribbean slavery can inform both scholarship and editorial practice. Because our edition was designed for use in college and university classrooms, we also will discuss the ways in which pedagogy can contribute to decolonization.

Christina **Lindeman** (University of South Alabama) *Jupiter and Antiope: A Female Painter's Gateway into the Art Historical Canon*

Panel / *Session 389*, 'Beyond the Amateur: Reintegrating Women Artists into Eighteenth-Century (Art) History 1 (Co-chaired with Paris Spies-Gans, Harvard University)'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Hyde (University of Florida)

In 1767, the Prussian painter Anna Dorothea Therbusch was admitted into the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris. The *Mecre de France* noted that she was "a famous painter of history" and not a portraitist or a still-life painter. Few women of the eighteenth century became history painters since they were not educated in subjects associated with the genre nor did they study from the nude model. So how did the French journal come to identify the Prussian artist as a history painter? Perhaps the idea came from the secretary of the Royal Academy, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, who noted in a letter the *Directeur des Bâtiments du Roi*, "she paints history and the nude as a man would do". Scholars assume that Cochin is referring to the male nude, as history paintings typically focused on the nude male antagonist. However, in Therbusch's oeuvre the male nude is all but absent, and instead she painted sensual images of women from classical mythology and the female nude. In keeping with early eighteenth-century tastes, she created images that appealed to the male viewer and patron. This paper will focus on Therbusch's development as a painter of female nudes and mythological subjects specifically the theme of Jupiter and Antiope, which she returned to in numerous paintings.

Following conventions illustrated by Renaissance, seventeenth and early eighteenth-century artists, the nude reclining body of Antiope is fully on display for the admiring Jupiter, disguised as a satyr, and for the viewer. The fact that

Therbusch did not alter her representations of Antiope, suggests that the artist was not deterred by taking on subject matter deemed inappropriate for her sex. Therbusch claimed in a letter to Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, that she chose the subject since it was not exhausted in the visual arts. We should understand that Therbusch was promoting herself as the first female artist to paint this highly sexually charged subject matter, and by doing so inserting herself into the canon of art history and “Great Masters”.

Lindeman is Associate Professor of Art History at the University of South Alabama.

Harri **Lindroos** (University of Helsinki) Adam Ferguson and the Uses of Sparta

Panel / *Session* 340, ‘Masculinity and Sociability’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.10, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Rosamund Paice (University of Portsmouth)

In this paper I will examine the role and uses of Sparta in the thought of Adam Ferguson. Since the days of classical antiquity, the mirage or legend of Sparta (or Lacedaemon) has held a special place in the history of European thought. For the early Greek admirers, Sparta was an exceptional city-state known for its military power and valour of its citizens, and every time the interest on classical world and learning resurrected, this early form laconophilia gained new energy. In this regard, Eighteenth-century Europe is not an exception. It’s not surprising, that for a great part of self-consciously enlightened thinkers such as David Hume, Sparta and the model and culture of Spartan society looked obsolete, inhumanly cruel, and deeply contrary to human nature. This attitude was countered by laconophiles (Mably, Rousseau, and Brown, to name just a few), for whom Sparta offered an important example in a battle against the individualistic, effeminate, and dangerously luxurious cultural trends of refined, commercially active European societies. Scottish philosopher Adam Ferguson plays a prominent part in this discussion concerning the fate and validity of the much debated issue of Sparta. To a bewilderment of many of Ferguson’s colleagues and readers, Sparta holds an essential place in the pages of his famous *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). I will argue, that while Spartan themes of military valour and public spirit are nearly omnipresent in his thought, Ferguson carefully avoided the nostalgic radicalism of his contemporary laconophiles. For Ferguson the power of Spartan legend operates also on the area of institutions but, most importantly, on the level of subjective and collective imaginations. In this way he sees that the potentially dangerous aspects of Spartan legend could be turned into an antidote for an era when, in his own words, “the individual is everything, and the public is nothing”.

Stefanie **Linsboth** (Austrian Academy of Science) Empress and Emperor: Visualising Territories in the Portraits of Maria Theresa, Francis Stephan, and Joseph II in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 266, ‘Emperor and Empire’s Lands: Visualising Territory of the Holy Roman Empire and Russian Empire in the Eighteenth Century’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Elena Smilianskaya (National Research University Higher School of Economics)

After the death of Charles VI, Maria Theresa (ruled 1740-1780) became the first and only woman on the Habsburg throne. As Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, she ruled in her own right over a large number of different countries and territories. When her husband and coregent Francis Stephan was crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1745, she became empress as his wife. After his death, Maria Theresa ruled the Habsburg territories together with her son and the new Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Joseph II for the last 15 years of her life. During their reign, a wealth of portraits of Maria Theresa, Francis Stephan and Joseph II were produced. Starting from this extensive corpus of portraits of the three rulers, the lecture will deal with the question of how the claim to power over different countries and territories (Habsburg Hereditary Lands, Holy Roman Empire) was conveyed and propagated in paintings and prints (e.g. by depicting insignia). In this way, the lecture aims to contribute to a better understanding of the visualization of (female) rule in the 18th century.

Elena **Lioznova** (Lomonosov Moscow State University) Finding a Compromise between Religion and Science: The Views of Rev. Cotton Mather on the Future of New England Puritan Churches

Panel / *Session* 418, 'At the Confluence of Religion and Rationalism: The Enlightenment and Religious Identities'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Pavel Knyazev (Lomonosov Moscow State University)

Having been dissenters in Europe, Puritans became the religious mainstream in New England. The term "orthodox" came to be widely used to describe the first generations of American Puritans, with their spiritual centre in Boston, Massachusetts. Puritan ministers were typically the best educated people in the New England colonies and wielded significant influence in many areas of colonial life

At the turn of the 17th century, several different and opponent tendencies can be found in the intellectual development of New England. These tendencies, on the one hand, were connected with the dominant religious ideology and attempts to reform spiritual sphere of life and, on the other hand, were related to the spread of Enlightenment ideas and new science. Newtonian physics and the philosophy of Samuel Pufendorf and John Locke became a part of the intellectual background in New England just as they were in Europe. Under the influence of the European Enlightenment ideas the role of God in the formation of society and government came to be of less importance than it had been for seventeenth-century Puritans. In the eyes of many Puritan ministers, the late seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century was a time of decline in religiosity and spirituality. But from historical perspective this interim can be viewed as a period of the formation of new religious identity. In this specific period the Bible-based commonwealth coexisted in America with Enlightenment thought, faith in natural law and natural rights. This new science and its accompanying ideas became an integral part of the intellectual climate of Puritan New England.

The paper analyzes the views of Rev. Cotton Mather (1663-1728) on religion, science and the future of New England Puritan churches. He was one of the first in colonial America, who understood the importance of scientific discoveries and tried to show that the new science and philosophy were an incentive to religion.

Mao Liping (Qing Institute of Renmin University of China) Burying Qing Princesses—What Changed and Why?

Panel / *Session* 322, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 2 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

Because of Manchu-Mongol intermarriage policies, more than 50% of princesses of the Qing dynasty married Mongolian aristocrats. Through a close analysis of their marital practices and funeral rituals, this paper argues that Qing regime consolidation significantly affected royal family identity and political status. Specifically, early Qing princesses joined the family of their husbands (efu) in Mongolia and led a nomadic life. At death they were buried there with their in-law family conducting the funeral rituals. With the consolidation of the regime around the mid-18th century, however, princesses began to remain in Beijing even after marrying a Mongolian aristocrat. Furthermore, the royal court held a princess's funeral ritual following royal protocols through which they emphasized her royalty. If her husband pleaded to bury her in his family cemetery, he would receive a royal reprimand for showing political ambitions. Additionally, a married princess could not be buried in her natal family's royal cemetery because it contradicted both Confucian and royal funeral rules, but she was still buried in another place near Beijing. To uphold princess's special status, the court prevented in-law families from performing most of her funeral rites. These changes enhanced the political status of princesses but created gender power tension between princess and efu.

Giovanni Lista (Lichtenberg Kolleg, Georg-August Universität, Göttingen) 'The Two Lives of Andrew Fletcher': Making Sense of a Scottish Patriot

Panel / *Session* 440, 'Scottish Enlightenment Identities 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Loughlin (University of Edinburgh)

Considered as one of the forebears of the Scottish Enlightenment, the republican thinker and political activist Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1653-1716) has been subjected to different interpretations. From the analysis of his writings, historians of ideas emphasised his decisive role in promoting a distinctively European historical perspective, to be

picked up by following authors. In introducing the 'civic humanist' paradigm in Scotland, Fletcher's significance resides in his paving the way to the likes of David Hume, defining citizenship on social and moral grounds in a British, refined commercial society. Additionally however, Fletcher's parliamentary opposition to the Union of 1707 earned him a reputation as 'the Patriot' and constituted the focus of a parallel reading of his life, which primarily appreciated his political commitments. Fletcher's defense of Scottish independence offered the possibility to develop a nationalist narrative, where his classicism and preference for small republican governments made their way through successive Jacobites elaborations, to feed into the present debates on the union with England.

In my presentation, I will try to bring these two apparently inconsistent historiographic strands together, proposing my own understanding of Fletcher's importance. By integrating his many political battles with his intellectual vision, I will contextualise Fletcher's written production in the light of his activism, to reconstruct his radical, peculiar position. As he made use of an eclectic range of intellectual resources to advocate his ideas for reform in the midst of different controversies, I will show how Fletcher's multifaceted identity included distinctively Scottish, British and cosmopolitan dimensions, which often combined and overlapped. In the conclusions, I will argue that, once the dust settled, it is his radical political stance that should constitute his foremost legacy. Consequently, I will briefly sketch how my interpretation could have an impact in redefining Fletcher's role as a forerunner of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Lucy **Littlefield** (Independent Scholar) Catharine Macaulay, Protestantism, and National Identity

Panel / *Session* 415, 'Women Writers and History: Haywood and Macaulay'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.

Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Présidente* : Nicolle Jordan (University of Southern Mississippi)

Catharine Macaulay's *History of England from the Accession of James I (1763 – 1783)* was received by its contemporary readers as an important text, and had significant political influence both in England and in America, where it was eagerly read by supporters of the American Revolution. Macaulay's position as a woman writer of history in the later eighteenth century was unusual, and later historians have tended to focus on questions of gender identity when addressing the meaning of her work; more recently, scholars such as Karen Green have begun to explore whether Macaulay could be considered an "Enlightenment historian". Reading contemporary responses to Macaulay's historical writing, in the periodical press and elsewhere, however, suggests that Macaulay's arguments about the importance of England's Protestant belief and practice as central to the nation's development of political liberties, especially when contrasted with the violence and despotism of Roman Catholic nations, were some of the most important and interesting parts of her writing to her original readers, rather than the unusual fact of her gender, or the extent to which she embraced philosophical ideas associated with Enlightenment. The extent to which England's sense of shared identity as a nation in the later eighteenth century was formed around its Protestant faith has been discussed by Linda Colley, Kathleen Wilson, and J. C. D. Clarke. This paper will examine contemporary responses to Macaulay's *History*, and suggest that her historical writing was successful in its time partly because it served to bolster a narrative of England's national identity, and enjoyment of political liberty, as rooted in Protestant belief and practice. This supports arguments for the importance of Protestantism in the formation of English identity in this period.

Sarah **Lloyd** (University of Hertfordshire) The Women Voters of England's Subscription Charities in the Long Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 11, "Enlightened' Philanthropy in the Eighteenth Century'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30.

Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Présidente* : Kate Gibson (University of Manchester)

The subscription charities of eighteenth-century England were a distinctive development. They brought together many broader characteristics of the period: urban association, fashion, religious belief, pleasure and commercial services; they existed symbiotically with coffee-houses, newspapers, inventions and financial innovations in metropolitan and provincial centres; they cultivated polite company; they expanded the language of public benefit, utility and civic virtue. They promised economic productivity and the protection of property and social order. Elite supporters embodied prestige, but charities also offered middling-sort men, with moderate means, new opportunities to govern. Above all, they typified a vibrant urban scene where women, married and unmarried, formed a majority of

the population in towns and cities, lubricated the economy as workers, investors, entrepreneurs and consumers, were enthusiastic participants in sociable life, and above all visible in its public spaces.

This paper examines a lesser-known aspect of charity governance: balloting to decide ‘all Cases of Consequence’. Many charity supporters, the ‘subscribers’, had a right to vote in elections to appoint officials and servants, including doctors, matrons and secretaries. Women as well as men qualified to participate, but what practicalities were involved? To what extent did women exercise their right and what did they vote for? What triggered the controversies that occasionally erupted? Through subscription charity, a new group of women acquired a form of property rights and access to a system that was political in the broadest sense of the term. These practices had longer-term ramifications, which played out in later nineteenth-century debates about philanthropy, and indirectly in the campaign for women’s suffrage.

Elisabeth **Lobenwein** (University of Klagenfurt) Hieronymus Colloredo (1732–1812): The Life of an Enlightened Prince-Archbishop in Times of Radical Change

Panel / *Session 246*, ‘Religion and the Enlightenment: Secularisation and Toleration’. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

Hieronymus Colloredo, the last prince archbishop of Salzburg (1732–1812; time of reign 1772–1803/1812), was an internationally well-known and acknowledged enlightened cleric as well as secular sovereign of Europe. During his time of reign, especially in the 1770s und 1780s, he conducted a lot of reforms, e. g. he fought against baroque Catholicism, superstition, dogmatism and outdated ecclesiastical structures. In the 1790s, however, he had to face the beginning process of the secularization of the imperial church.

From this politically very turbulent time in European history, unique ego-documents of Hieronymus have been preserved in the state archive Zámrsk in the Czech Republic. The private correspondence of Hieronymus with his brother, the imperial vice-chancellor Gundakar Colloredo, consists of 655 letters (from 1772–1776, 1783–1784 and 1789–1801), which have been written in French. As both brothers were major and influential political figures of their time, they dedicated a great part of their correspondence to the exchange of topical news. In this paper I will analyze various aspects of these letters. The documents give us e. g. an insight into how Hieronymus saw himself as a sovereign and international political figure and how he surveyed and analyzed this time of radical change at the end of the 18th century.

Abigail **Lochtefeld** (Southern Utah University) Bad Christians, Dismembered Princes, and Lost Colonies in Aphra Behn’s *Oroonoko*

Panel / *Session 3*, ‘Aphra Behn’. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hilde Neus (IMWO/AdeKUS University of Suriname)

Readers of Aphra Behn’s *Oroonoko* consistently note her condemnation of English Christians as liars. Indeed, many scholars see Behn’s condemnation of Christian liars as evidence of free-thinking and even atheism. Anita Pacheco argues that the overall structure of Behn’s narrative supports *Oroonoko* in his condemnation of Christianity and assertion, following the notorious free-thinker Pierre Bayle that “you mistake, when you imagine that he who will violate his honor will keep his word with his gods.” Indeed, the narrative supports the claim that Christianity is powerless to enforce the oaths of its adherents or to punish their betrayals. But Pacheco’s discussion of Christianity and honor fails to consider what Behn’s readers would surely have noticed: that, especially from an English Protestant viewpoint, her liars are pretty bad Christians.

Behn’s supposed “failure” to punish her liars carries out the prophetic oath of the traitorous slave-ship captain, who swears “in the name of a great God, which if he should violate, he would expect eternal torment in the world to come.” *Oroonoko* dismisses this consideration, and his subsequent betrayal by not only the captain but the leaders of Surinam has been seen as a criticism of Christianity. But whatever her personal opinion of Christianity, Behn’s characterization of her Englishmen as either lying, swearing, oath-taking pleasure-seekers who never seem to take time for worship or well-meaning but impotent surely demonstrates her disapproval not of Christian virtues but practice. I suggest that, rather than serving as a deconstruction of Christianity, Behn’s narrative portrays her English

Christians as ideal candidates for the “eternal torment” her captain calls upon himself and demonstrates how unchristian behavior leads to the tragic end of a noble prince and the loss of an almost paradisiacal Suriman to the Dutch.

Ivana Lohrey (Universität Augsburg) Traverser les Alpes : Mademoiselle Bonne et La scuola delle fanciulle

Panel / *Session 399*, ‘L’identité italienne en jeu face à l’hégémonie du français : la traduction et la question de la langue 1 (Ouvrages bilingues et traductions d’œuvres littéraires)’. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Rotraud von Kulesa (Universität Augsburg)

L’étude de la traduction a connu un développement vaste et protéiforme. La traduction a bénéficié d’une forte reconnaissance en tant que phénomène culturel qui a permis la rencontre et l’imbrication des cultures. Toute traduction, comme l’a montré Umberto Eco, n’est jamais qu’une négociation entre le sens premier des mots, elle est aussi une négociation entre les valeurs que chaque civilisation inscrit dans sa langue et dans sa tradition littéraire. Le jeu complexe de décontextualisation et de recontextualisation que la traduction implique, sujet développé chez Peter Burke dans *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, est ainsi configuré comme un moyen privilégié d’identifier les disparités entre les cultures.

Marie Leprince de Beaumont s’inscrit dans ce contexte de recherche. Le grand nombre de traductions de son travail jusqu’à la fin du XIXe siècle, en particulier de ses Magasins, atteste de sa contribution à la circulation des idées. Nous connaissons plusieurs traducteurs italiens d’œuvres de Beaumont, pour la plupart des femmes. Parmi elles, Elisabetta Caminer Turra et une autre dame qui publie sous le nom de plume « una dama romana ». Les avant-propos de leurs éditions indiquent que leur travail de traduction a été confronté à un ensemble de contraintes concernant les différences culturelles entre la France et l’Italie. Ainsi, plusieurs belles infidèles renvoient à des passages de texte supplémentaires relatifs aux spécificités de la langue et de la culture italiennes. À travers ces insertions, les traductrices tentent d’actualiser l’œuvre pour un nouveau public cible et d’établir une histoire italienne universelle basée sur les prouesses du passé.

Nous souhaiterions montrer que les modifications incluses dans l’ouvrage traduit de Leprince de Beaumont en font un exemple contextuel de stratégies de traduction et d’une recherche identitaire face à l’hégémonie du français.

Elisabetta Lonati (Milan State University) Scottish Medical Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Buchan’s *Domestic Medicine* (1st 1769) in Italian and French Adaptations

Panel / *Session 306*, ‘Medicine’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gemma Tidman (St John’s College, Oxford)

The general aim of this study is the discussion of Scottish medical thought and expertise, as received and disseminated across Europe in the second half of the 18th century. The investigation is mainly focussed on the fundamental and well-known work *Domestic Medicine: or, A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines* by William Buchan. This was a novel work within the disciplinary field for the period considered, a kind of health guide, a handbook, with very practical functions, but dramatic epistemological outlook. It undermined established academic attitudes, particularly those aiming at preserving medicine only for a restricted audience of experts. Buchan’s main purpose was to share and disseminate practical medical knowledge, and prevent disease among the lay people. Buchan was a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. His thought, his work, and his attitude, in particular, made him one of the most interesting and influential personalities of his time, and one of the most enlightened in his disciplinary domain. The editions under scrutiny here are the 6th in English (1779, London), the 2nd in French (1780-, Paris) and the Italian edition issued in Milan (1785-), each of them explicitly based on the preceding ones (English > French > Italian), according to their front pages. The analysis is focussed on a close reading of some paratextual components, with specific reference to the prefatory and introductory sections in the English (Preface and Introduction), Italian (‘Prefazione del Traduttore Italiano’ and ‘Avvertimento del Traduttore Francese’) and French (‘Avertissement du Traducteur’) versions. This investigation, which also includes a partial but close examination of the main body, will exemplify and discuss disciplinary medical discourse: specific attention will be

placed on (meta)linguistic, (meta)textual, and (meta)discursive approaches, both in the original version and in the two translations, which made Domestic Medicine known and comprehensible to their respective audiences. The analysis highlights the central role of Buchan's Domestic Medicine as a source for further disciplinary elaboration.

Frances Long (University of York) The 'Dairy maid satt up': Night-Time Care for Ill Children in the Later Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 259, 'Children and Childbirth'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicole Garret (Adelphi University)

Children's sleep has always posed challenges to the adults who care for them, and never more so than when children are unwell. At these times, children's sleeping patterns, which rarely match adult rhythms perfectly, may be drastically altered. This paper will examine instances of serious illness in children, to understand how periods of sleep disruption were interpreted and managed. It will focus particularly on 'The Diary of Mary Ravenscroft, 7th Countess of Traquair', held by Traquair House Archives, which details the inoculation and subsequent smallpox infection of the son of Lord and Lady Traquair, in 1783.

The paper will argue that sleep quality, alongside other the non-naturals, was used as a measure of health, sometimes providing the only surviving clue that a child had been under the weather, as well as hinting at a gradual return to normal health. It will also explore who was responsible for nocturnal childcare, and the interpersonal relationships that underlay these arrangements. Ben Mutschler has shown that even respected members of the community could struggle to find adequate overnight care during prolonged bouts of illness. Although children were more likely than adults to have servants whose principal duty was to care for them, in the form of nurses, prolonged bouts of ill-health could put undue strain on carers and require the recruitment of a wider group of family and servant attendants. While parents were often directly involved in nocturnal care, even among noble families, paid help from servants or specialist nurses was also called upon. The paper will examine the ways that overnight care was arranged; how children responded to the nocturnal care that was offered to them, and question the power dynamics that underpinned some of the arrangements made to ensure that they were properly attended throughout the night.

Noelia López Souto (University of Salamanca) Wives of the Enlightenment: Female Subjects between José Nicolás de Azara and Giambattista Bodoni

Panel / *Session* 339, 'Marital Subjects'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sijie Wang (Justus Liebig University Giessen)

Taking as a documentary source the private letters between the Spanish diplomat José Nicolás de Azara and the Italian typographer Giambattista Bodoni, this work will study the image and presence given to women in this conversation between two enlightened men belonging to the European cultural elite of the moment. There are few female identities that appear in these papers and the predominant pattern among them shows that they are usually referred to and represented -from the male pens of Azara and Bodoni- only as "wives of". The present analysis will delve into the existence of rich female subjects, among those women mentioned briefly: charismatic ladies, enlightened and active members of the Republics of letters, although their attitude of autonomous identities in the social and artistic-cultural scene of the time it does not prevent them -in fact, they seek it- from continuing to depend on a link or support from men, to a greater or lesser extent and in different ways. It is men, after all, who grant and accredit the social identity to these women. Among the cases selected here, worthy of attention and analysis for their cultural aspect, are the poet Corilla Olimpica, the cultured Marquise of Santa Croce, the diligent wife of Bodoni Margherita dall'Aglio and the Marchioness of Matallana.

Giacomo Lorandi (Universite de Fribourg) Etre genevois au XVIIIe siècle. Le médecin Théodore Tronchin contre Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Panel / *Session* 312, 'Rousseau et les conflits'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Maiwenn Roudaut (Université de Nantes)

Le XVIIIe est pour Genève un siècle de Révolte : ici le système politique se base sur la distinction entre deux groupes : ceux qui bénéficient des droits politiques et civile (les aristocrates et bourgeois qui restent minoritaires), et ceux qui n'ont pas de droits politiques et seulement certains droits civils (habitants et natifs).

Dans le 1707, 1737, 1762 et encore en 1782 il y ont des révoltes, qui ont comme but obtenir l'égalité civile aux natifs, aux habitants et aux sujets de la campagne.

Aussi les savants participent au débat. Jean Baptiste Le Rond d'Alembert publia en 1758 l'article Genève sur l'Encyclopédie ou Jean Jacques Rousseau, avec ses oeuvres Emile et le Du Contrat Social (1762), propose une réforme du système politique genevois, a partir de son lien avec la religion, en élargissant les droits aux tous les habitants de la République.

Ma proposition analyse cette époque en partant du point de vue inédit du médecin et célèbre inoculateur genevois Théodore Tronchin (1709-1781). Sa correspondance avec d'Alembert, Diderot, Voltaire et Rousseau –en particulier sur les troubles du 1762 causé par les oeuvres de Rousseau– donne la prospective de l'élite social-économique et politique de la Ville, qui réaffirmait la centralité soit de la religion calviniste soit du système politique en vigueur.

Tronchin, dont la famille était une des plus important de la Ville, en soulignant les risques des idées des savants, proposait une "réforme" réactionnaire de la société a partir des jeunes, qui se déroulait de l'importance de réaffirmer les valeurs de la religion calviniste, qui caractérisaient l'identité plus profonde de la communauté et du gouvernement genevois.

Les historiens en étudiant d'Alembert, Voltaire, Rousseau ont donné le point de vue des "réformateurs", ici on propose l'autre, ce des "conservateurs".

Clare **Loughlin** (University of Edinburgh) Contesting 'Popery' in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: Liberty, Tyranny, and the Limits of Protestant Unity

Panel / *Session* 147, 'Religion in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King's College London)

Anti-Catholicism was pervasive in eighteenth-century Scotland. The revolution of 1688-90 had brought about the overthrow of the Catholic James VII, and had unleashed a wave of violence against Scotland's Catholics. The Church of Scotland, which was re-established as Presbyterian in 1690, was in the vanguard of subsequent efforts to eradicate 'popery'. However, the remnant Catholic community was not the only threat facing the Church. Episcopalians posed an equally potent threat to Presbyterian dominance in the early eighteenth century. Additionally, not all Presbyterians accepted the re-established Church's authority. This fractious religious environment had a significant impact on Scottish conceptions of 'popery', yet this aspect of anti-Catholicism remains largely unexplored. This paper remedies this neglect by examining how rival Protestant groups invoked accusations of 'popery' in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Presbyterians and Episcopalians had long depicted each other as 'popish', identifying the traditional anti-Catholic tropes of 'persecution' and 'arbitrary' behaviour in their respective actions. However, as the century progressed these two confessions began to experience considerable internal fragmentation. This prompted a shift in interpretations of 'popery'. Increasingly, 'popery' was associated with tyranny over individual conscience, trampling upon Christian liberty and Protestantism's supposedly inalienable 'right of private judgement'. This shift reflected emerging 'Enlightenment' ideas of tolerance and pluralism. Ranged against this vision, however, was determination to uphold Protestant unity and uniformity, amid fears that Catholics could exploit any Protestant divisions. By exploring the tensions between rival interpretations of 'popery', this paper calls into question how far anti-Catholicism was a unifying factor in Scottish Protestant identity.

Felicity **Loughlin** (University of St Andrews) Paganism, Christianity and Religious Identities in the Scottish Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 23, 'Religious Identities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Ahnert (University of Edinburgh)

The history of paganism fascinated the literati of eighteenth-century Scotland. For these thinkers, 'paganism' encapsulated the rich variety of religious cultures that lay beyond the Abrahamic traditions of Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Their fascination, shared by intellectuals across Europe, was by no means the product of disinterested scholarly curiosity. On the contrary, humanity's pagan past presented a tantalising opportunity to solve some of the most contentious religious and philosophical questions of the age: what were the boundaries between 'true' and 'false' religion? Were human beings able to discover religious truths without the aid of revelation? What was the relationship between religion and morality? And how distinctive was Christianity in global religious history?

This paper will demonstrate that in their efforts to answer these questions, Scottish investigations of paganism played an important role in forging contemporary understandings of 'religion' and thereby contributed significantly to shaping Scottish religious identities in the age of Enlightenment. Drawing on works by celebrities of the Scottish Enlightenment (particularly David Hume and William Robertson), as well as less well-known authors of the period (including Robert Millar, Andrew Ramsay and Thomas Blackwell), the paper will put forward two central arguments. First, it will show that, contrary to the links drawn by several scholars between the European investigation of paganism and the decline of Christianity, Scottish explorations of pagan religion tended to widen rather than diminish the perceived gap between 'true' and 'false' religion. Indeed, histories of paganism were central to the Scottish critique of deism, bolstering Scottish Christians' identities as the upholders of true religion. Secondly, it will stress that while strengthening Christianity against deism, investigations of paganism simultaneously contributed to the fragmentation of Scottish religious identities by fuelling heated debates over the scope and limits of natural religion. The paper will conclude by reflecting on how far David Hume's controversial discussion of paganism fits within this wider picture.

Jeff Loveland (University of Cincinnati) *Biographies of the Living in Encyclopedias and Historical Dictionaries, 1674 to 1750*

Panel / *Session 292*, 'Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Joyce Irwin (Princeton Research Forum)

Alphabetical compendia of biographies and other historical material flourished in Europe from 1674 onward. That year, in particular, saw the publication of Louis Moréri's *Grand Dictionnaire historique*, which was revised, translated, imitated, and corrected for the next hundred years. By the early eighteenth century, even a few general encyclopedias such as the *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon* (1732-50) were admitting biographical notices. Thanks in part to the influence of the Friedrich Brockhaus's "*Konversations-Lexikon*," a German encyclopedia inaugurated in 1796, biographies of living individuals had become unremarkable in encyclopedias by the early nineteenth century. Before 1750, they were not. While they had been collected and published in specialized compendia for some time already, they remained rare and controversial in general encyclopedias. In this article, focusing on the period in which alphabetical encyclopedias first burst onto the European literary scene, I will explore encyclopedists' motives to treating or not treating living people. Then, examining the period's most influential historical dictionaries as well as the one contemporary encyclopedia that whole-heartedly covered the living, I will show how and why encyclopedists' practices evolved in the period from 1674 to 1750.

Béatrice Lovis (Université de Lausanne) *L'âge d'or du théâtre en terre vaudoise dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, ou l'appropriation d'un divertissement si « étranger »*

Panel / *Session 336*, 'La Suisse dans les Lumières européennes'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Moret Petrini (Université de Lausanne)

Les brefs séjours de Voltaire à Lausanne en 1757 et 1758 provoquent une révolution durable dans la vie culturelle du chef-lieu vaudois. En faisant jouer ses propres tragédies et comédies sur le théâtre privé de Mon-Repos, le dramaturge insuffle un engouement sans précédent pour l'art dramatique auprès de la noblesse vaudoise. Or la pratique de ce divertissement, qui incarne si bien la nation française, n'est pas anodine en terres républicaines protestantes. Elle réinterroge en effet les valeurs auxquelles les Suisses se sont volontiers identifiés au cours du XVIIIe siècle. Suscitant à la fois fascination et méfiance, le théâtre fait l'objet de nombreux débats parmi les philosophes, pasteurs, militaires et hommes de lettres vaudois, débats qui soulignent l'importance de se démarquer d'un voisin si envahissant d'un point

de vue tant culturel que littéraire. Certains Français, à l'exemple de Louis-Sébastien Mercier en 1785, déploieront à leur tour le fait qu'une « grande partie de la Suisse a perdu son caractère national » en adoptant « les manières françaises et les folies parisiennes », et en transportant même « l'opéra comique sur des rochers où il n'y avait que des ours il y a cent ans ». Les troubles révolutionnaires de la fin du siècle accentueront cette volonté de se distancier du modèle français et le désir de se créer une identité, un « génie national » propre. Ces réticences finiront par occulter, dès le début du XIXe siècle, une part du riche passé culturel vaudois et faire tomber dans l'oubli pendant près de deux cents ans l'intense vie théâtrale vaudoise qui s'est déployée dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle.

Daniel **Luban** (University of Oxford) The French Moralists and the Birth of Homo Sociologus

Panel / *Session* 182, 'Rulers and Courtly Identity'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

Early modern France gave rise to some of the earliest systematic thinking about social norms. As monarchs succeeded in centralizing coercive power more than ever before, the once-independent nobility now found themselves drawn into the milieu of the court, where (as Norbert Elias described) success depended on one's agility in navigating a complex new set of social conventions, and men and women competed on newly intimate and newly equal terms. Disillusioned aristocrats like La Rochefoucauld anatomized these contests in cynical detail; in complementary ways, members of the austere Catholic dissident movement the Jansenists described how all forms of apparent human virtue could originate in self-love.

Such thinkers are often considered ancestors of homo economicus due to their insistence on humans' fallen and egoistic nature. Yet in many ways they should instead be considered ancestors of homo sociologus—for their focus was on how this underlying nature was shaped in a variety of surprising and paradoxical ways according to the specific norms governing different areas of the social world. Far from assuming an unvarying "self-interest," they sought to show how fallen human beings could nonetheless create a collaborative—or even outwardly altruistic—social order. In some ways they anticipated later sociological theories. In other ways, their vision—which stressed the plurality, variability, and messiness of norms—avoiding some of their pitfalls, notably the frequent tendency to depict societies as unified normative orders.

Brittany **Luberda** (University of Delaware) Displaying the Enlightenment: An Eighteenth-Century Ducal Collection

Panel / *Session* 244, 'Reconstructing Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Country Estate'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Taylor (The Open University)

In the 1760s, the future 2nd Duke of Newcastle began the construction of Clumber House, Nottinghamshire. The enormous estate served as the ducal seat from 1768 to 1938. Its interiors and gardens, newly analyzed in the archives, personify the characteristics bespeaking an enlightened lord of the midcentury. The estate included holdings from Nottingham Castle, the family's Renaissance residence, furnishings from the first Duke, Prime Minister of England, acquisitions from the Grand Tour, imported objects from Parisian marchand merciers, a Chinese pavilion, exotic trees, and local luxuries made in Midland factories. Over 170 years, subsequent Dukes refurbished and added to the estate, amounting to, by 1938, one of the greatest private collections in England. Research suggests objects were acquired from the Doge's Palace in Venice, the King's Palace in Bermuda, Stowe House (discussed in the preceding panel paper), and other English aristocratic estates. In 1937, this collection, like many others, was offered at auction and its paintings, sculpture, and furnishings dispersed. This paper showcases the efforts of art historian Brittany Luberda to reassemble the estate collection, inspired by two works now in the Saint Louis Art Museum: Piero di Cosimo's *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (c. 1481-5) and a Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory *Vase Lézard* (c. 1774). By searching the family papers and archives as well as tracing private sales and market records, it has been possible to reunite principal pieces of Clumber House lacquer, ceramic, painting, furniture, and glass. Equally, secondary sources describe exotic geological and cultural artefacts augmenting the decorative furnishing. Reunited for the first time, these works visualize how the Enlightenment was displayed in an eighteenth-century estate private collection.

Kathleen **Lubey** (St. John's University) Genital Property

Panel / *Session 237*, 'Personhood and Its Limits'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jason Farr (Marquette University)

This paper argues that sex scenes in eighteenth-century fiction provide a lucid critique of the concept of personhood—specifically, its non-extension to women. Illuminating a pattern of proprietary language used to describe women character's genital parts, I argue that authors draw attention to women's bodies as, theoretically, under the domain of the feminine subjects to whom they are attached. Their proprietary connection to their bodies, and to their hymens in particular, is stipulated by a culture that overvalues chastity and, in future brides and conveyors of pure bloodlines, virginity. But these bodies, and particular their genital parts, are under constant attempted appropriation by suitors, rapists, and husbands. Authors like Richardson and Haywood, I argue, pointedly deploy the language of property in rape scenes in order to note a crisis in women's (non)personhood: social pressure called for nearly impossible levels of self-governance for women, but dissolved the concept of that self-governance under the everyday practices of marriage, rape, courtship, and filial obedience. A grim picture emerges, in my account, of the core structures of heterosexuality in eighteenth-century Britain. The paper closes by suggesting how sapphic fictions, as Susan Lanser has also argued, envision alternative sexual economics in which penetrative sexuality proliferates in a world without men and the personhood they monopolize.

Dirk **Lueb** (University of Antwerp) 'Pourquoi il s'en permis de coopérer à l'importation de marchandises prohibés?' Interrogations of smugglers in the department of the Deux Nethes, 1798–1810

Panel / *Session 70*, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

Part of the French Wars, a whole set of French laws prohibited the import of British and colonial goods. This triggered smuggling to expand rapidly. Seen as a serious crime by French authorities, the contraband trade was countered with a fierce crackdown by douaniers that did their best to confiscate and apprehend as much contraband and smugglers as possible. In the subsequent trials, interrogation was an important instrument for authorities to uncover the truth. Highly standardized, these interrogations deviated somewhat from their ancien regime counterparts. Torture was no longer used. Furthermore, it was no longer the representatives of law enforcement such as the police or customs that interrogated. Instead, a directeur du jury presided over the interrogations. Most suspects being Flemish, sworn translators were used to translate to French. Finally, most interrogations were recorded using standard printed forms. As smuggling was a victimless crime, there was a general lack of witnesses. Therefore, the only details about confiscations came from either custom reports or from apprehended suspects during investigations. It therefore sets smuggling apart from a whole range of other crimes such as assault and murder in which there were other parties involved to corroborate the story. This paper will focus on the powerplay apparent in these interrogations. Not so much interested in confessions, interrogators usually focused on the origin of the contraband. Proving these goods were indeed British could ultimately lead to a conviction. Furthermore, it could also provide intel on networks. Suspects, on their part, did their best to prove these goods to obscure the actual origins of the contraband. This resulted in a highly evasive game of words that involved negotiation, power and a quest for truth.

Ula **Lukso Klein** (Texas A&M International University) Swift's Decomposing Women and the Queer Art of Disgust

Panel / *Session 380*, 'Queer Swift'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Declan Gilmore-Kavanagh (University of Kent)

In "The Lady's Dressing Room," Jonathan Swift, through the eyes of the imagined lover Strephon, surveys in disgusting detail the detritus of a woman's private dressing room. Strewn about the room are various components of Celia's beauty routine, including a "dirty smock" (l. 11), "puppy water" (31), "handkerchiefs forgot/ All varnished o'er with snuff and snot" (49-50), as well as Celia's very full and smelly chamber pot. The poem revels in the minute chronicle of

bodily functions and waste. The final lines of the poem remind Strephon—and all lovers—that such is the price to pay for Celia’s beauty, encouraging instead that we should admire “Such order from confusion sprung./ Such gaudy tulips raised from dung” (143-4). “The Progress of Beauty” and “A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed” likewise focus on the composition and decomposition, respectively, of women’s beauty as composed of makeup and other additives, such as mouse fur eyebrows. The dominant emotions in these poems are disgust, awe, and humor, which combine into an odd mélange of satire whose final object can be unclear. We understand that this is social satire of men and women and beauty standards, but the author’s desire to disgust his readers suggests another reading. In reveling and enjoying the figurative “decomposition” of these characters and their painted faces, the poems emphasize feelings of dissolution, decay, and disgust. Various queer scholars have theorized the feeling of disgust, including Lee Edelman, Heather Love, and Sara Ahmed, and revealing how this particular emotion has an important history for the queer community. In this presentation, I will explore how the queerness of disgust helps us re-read Swift’s poetry of decomposition as not just satire, but as a queer articulation of beauty and the body that challenges the heteronormative social order of Swift’s time.

Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Université de Sarre) Jacques André Naigeon (1738–1810) – un encyclopédiste pendant la Révolution Française. Trajectoire biographique, positionnements politiques et philosophiques, appropriations transculturelles

Panel / *Session* 134, ‘Hommes des Lumières, hommes politiques : positionnements et trajectoires à l’époque de la Révolution Française (1780–1804) 2’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Pauline Pujo (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

Jacques-André Naigeon, à la fois disciple et proche collaborateur de Diderot et gérant de son héritage (à travers notamment l’édition de ses oeuvres complètes), joua pendant la Révolution Française un rôle à la fois à la fois remarquable et marginal. Il n’occupa aucune fonction politique majeure, mais marqua l’histoire intellectuelle et politique de l’époque révolutionnaire par deux oeuvres importantes qui reflètent des positionnements très nets en faveur du principe de laïcité et de la liberté des opinions civiles et religieuses, et contre les dogmes de l’église et toute alliance entre l’État et la Religion: d’une part son Adresse à l’Assemblée nationale sur la liberté des opinions, sur celle de la presse; ou Examen philosophique de ces questions : 1 ° doit-on parler de Dieu, et en général de religion, dans une déclaration des droits de l’homme ? 2 ° la liberté des opinions, quel qu’en soit l’objet, celle du culte et la liberté de la presse peuvent-elles être légitimement circonscrites et gênées, de quelque manière que ce soit, par le législateur? (1790): et d’autre part trois volumes de l’Encyclopédie Méthodique (1791) consacrés à la Philosophie. Dans cette contribution il s’agira de mettre en lumière l’impact des événements révolutionnaires sur la pensée philosophique de Naigeon, de même que ses filiations transculturelles, mais également la réception de ses oeuvres pendant la Révolution Française.

Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (University of Saarbrücken) Decelerating Periodical Time: Encyclopedic Dimensions in Late Eighteenth-Century French and German Periodicals (Rubriques, Articles, Translations)

Panel / *Session* 32, ‘Writing Time: Temporalities of the Periodical in the Eighteenth Century 1’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sean Franzel (University of Missouri)

This contributions focuses on the presence of encyclopedic articles in the periodical press at the end of the 18th century in France and German-speaking lands, in treating the – apparent – paradox that encyclopedic texts that summarize knowledge, decelerate time, and are generally disconnected from the accelerated time of daily events can be found in significant numbers in periodicals. Starting from a general reflection on the relations between periodicals/periodical time and encyclopedias/encyclopedic time, this paper will first analyze the significant example of the Journal Encyclopédique and then turn to the disseminated presence of translated articles of the Encyclopédie Méthodique in German periodicals of the time, like the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, Magazin für das Neueste aus der Physik und Naturgeschichte, Französisches Museum, Europäische Annalen and Archiv der thierischen Chemie.

Hannah **Lyons** (Birkbeck College, University of London / Victoria and Albert Museum) Networks, Kinship, and Communities: Letitia and Elizabeth Byrne

Panel / *Session* 420, 'Beyond the Amateur: Reintegrating Women Artists into Eighteenth-Century (Art) History 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Hyde (University of Florida)

This paper will recover a number of the etchings and engravings made by Letitia Byrne (1779-1849) and Elizabeth Byrne (1784-1874), two sisters who pursued careers as professional engravers in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century London. As this was a transformative period, both for women and printmaking, my paper will use the case study of the Byrne sisters as a lens through which to explore the status of professional women printmakers in eighteenth-century Britain. It will focus on their role within the familial workshop, including their training with their father, the eminent engraver and publisher William Byrne (1743–1805), and their navigating of the London print market after his death in 1805. It will consider the place of Letitia and Elizabeth within the artistic establishment, and explore how their reproductive, topographical prints were viewed both by key institutions and their peers. Ultimately, this paper argues that the training that William provided, as well as the extensive artistic community the Byrne family was part of, ensured that Letitia and Elizabeth were able to earn a living in the overcrowded London print market. However, it also contends that, despite their extensive and unique training and their clear artistic talent, Letitia and Elizabeth were unable to pursue print publishing as a career, and instead earned their living by 'jobbing' for the large market for book illustrations and topographical prints.

Hannah Lyons is a doctoral candidate working on an AHRC-funded collaborative studentship between Birkbeck College, University of London and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Her thesis, 'Making an Impression: British Women Printmakers in the Long Eighteenth Century', concerns the role, status and output of amateur and professional women printmakers and draws upon the V&A's collection of prints by women printmakers. Prior to undertaking her PhD, Hannah was Curatorial Assistant at Christ Church Picture Gallery, University of Oxford, and Assistant Curator at Tate Britain.

Roland **Lysell** (Stockholm University) From the Eighteenth Century to Grillparzer: *Medea* and Human Identity

Panel / *Session* 212, 'Medea's Identities 1750–1800'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Katherine (Katie) Charles (Washington College)

Franz Grillparzer's *Medea* (1819–21) can be read as a commentary on the 18th century interpretations of the *Medea* story. Grillparzer's *Medea* is the third part of a trilogy treating the Golden Fleece. Already in the first scene *Medea* buries her magical objects and tries to liberate herself from her Colchian past and adapt herself to the Greek customs of Corinth. She has no chance of doing this, however, as Jason has already decided to marry Creousa, Creon's daughter. Also Jason is a refugee, but he can be accepted, whereas *Medea*, being guilty of a murder, is forced by the king to leave. Only at the very end of a drama she desperately resorts to the casket with her magical possession and completes her revenge.

This *Medea* tries to be a human being, not a demon or a demi-goddess, but is constantly despised as a refugee. She is the forerunner of 20th century *Medeas* and also puts the classical *Medeas* into question. Hans Neuenfels (* 1941) has interpreted both Mayr's *Medea* in Corinto and Grillparzer's *Medea* on stage, emphasizing the feminist and refugee themes.

Li **Ma** (Yangzhou University) La réception de « Hau-Kiou-Choan » en France au 18e siècle

Panel / *Session* 337, 'Les ailleurs des Lumières'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicolas Brucker (Université de Lorraine)

"Hau-Kiou-Choan" est le premier roman chinois traduit et publié en langue européenne. Il a été traduit en anglais par Thomas Percy en 1761, et en français par Eidous en 1766. Plusieurs périodiques littéraires, tels que la

“Correspondance littéraire”, la “Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux-arts”, la “Gazette littéraire de l’Europe” et le “Journal encyclopédique”, ont donné des comptes rendus de ce roman chinois.

En prenant ces comptes rendus comme objet de recherche principal, on va comparer et analyser les présentations, les extraits et les critiques du roman dans ces périodiques. On s’interrogera aussi sur les raisons de leurs interprétations différentes : dans quelle mesure, les politiques éditoriales des revues et les positions des rédacteurs ont-ils influencé leurs points de vue concernant “Hau-Kiou-Choan” ?

Jessica Maureen **Maaßen** (Universität Erfurt) Heinrich von Kleist’s ‘Michael Kohlhaas’. Between Novella, Chronicle, and Amendment: The Making of a (Historical) Case

Panel / *Session* 181, ‘Representations of Legal Practices and the Law in the Age of Goethe’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatiana Korneeva (Freie Universität Berlin)

Not only does Goethe’s definition of the novella as “an occurred outrageous incident” relate the genre to (legal) case stories: the German word “novella” (Novelle) itself can both indicate the literary genre as well as the amendment of a law (Gesetzesnovelle/-novellierung). This interconnection between literature and law, which is already inscribed in the name of the genre, is worth looking at from a scientific perspective.

The Goethezeit was not only a prime era for German novellas, but also a period in which the interest in the collection of historical legal cases (e.g. Friedrich Schiller’s “Pitaval”) as well as their revision and adaption (e.g. Schiller’s “Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehre”) flourished. This paper intends to raise the question of the novella as a genre on the interface of law and literature through an exemplary reading of Heinrich von Kleist’s “Michael Kohlhaas”.

Kleist incorporates contemporary legal issues and debates of his era into the narration of a historical law case of the 16th century. In the light of an outdated legal system, amendments of the law emerge in the text, and the variability of the law becomes the core problem of the novella. The Kohlhaas case begins with the uncertainty whether the required permission to pass a border is based on a new regulation the protagonist has not yet heard of or if the character is allowed to pass without such permission. After the question of the legitimacy of this new regulation has been cleared, a series of legal documents proliferate in the text: in almost every page of the novella the reader is confronted with circular letters, petitions, notarial documents, leaflets, reports and even occult notes. The file of the Kohlhaas case steadily grows and one could argue that it is still open today, as Kleist’s novella can be read not only as the description of a fictional legal case but rather as a debate on law and justice, and on the traps of legal bureaucracy.

J. Marc **MacDonald** (University of Prince Edward Island) ‘We could not possibly have suffered a greater loss’: Enlightenment Identity, Hybridity, and the Premature Death of Sir James Macdonald (1741–66)

Panel / *Session* 269, ‘Highland Identities 1’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Georgia Vullingsh (University of Edinburgh / National Museums Scotland)

Highland chieftain Sir James Macdonald died prematurely in Rome, eliciting regret across Enlightenment Europe. This was especially acute for Scots. David Hume wrote from London to Adam Smith in Paris: “Were you and I together Dear Smith we should shed Tears at present for the Death of poor Sir James Macdonald. We could not possibly have suffered a greater Loss than in that valuable young Man.” Macdonald earned their esteem in France but first wrote to Hume, in cosmopolitan Paris, from remote North Uist. Despite such distance, Macdonald recognized that Hume was more valued in France than Britain. In identity disputes Scots debated if they were Scotsmen, Englishmen, or citizens of the world. Macdonald’s hybridity further conflicted his identity.

My paper considers identity and hybridity by examining Macdonald’s life and early death. His youth was dominated by fallout from The 1745 Rebellion. His Jacobite father, Sir Alexander, wisely backed the Hanoverians but died unexpectedly. Macdonald’s mother, Lady Margaret, straddled an elite Edinburgh upbringing with a widowed mother’s duties in the unfamiliar north. Government agents clashed with her over Macdonald’s education—believing she was raising him with “Jacobite Principles” on the Isle of Skye—and feared he would develop “Disaffected Prejudices”

against the government. They desired that he “learn English modes and English ways of thinking,” and “Protestant Principles,” to fortify the monarchy’s position in the Highlands. Consequently Macdonald, a Gaelic-speaking chieftain, attended Eaton and Oxford with English nobility. Nevertheless, he adopted an Enlightenment identity and anticlericalism.

Macdonald’s conflicted identity grew as he advised English friends pursuing legal, political or church careers. He abandoned like ambitions and English opulence for a Highland “solitary hermitage,” and introduced reforms, but struggled against extreme poverty and limited resources. In 1765, his focus shifted to survival. A disorder plagued him for years and his Grand Tour became dominated by efforts to regain health. Despite Macdonald’s mixed identity and early death, he impressed major figures and impacted the Enlightenment.

Joanna Maciulewicz (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan) The Interliterary Process of Enlightenment Literature: The Rise of the Novel in English, Polish, and New Zealand Literature

Panel / *Session* 85, ‘Literary Precedents and Antecedents’. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

The question of Enlightenment identities provides an excellent opportunity to revisit the subject of the world literature that suggests the study of national literatures as a system, or, to use Even-Zohar term, polysystem, which, like international capitalism, is simultaneously one, and unequal: with a core and periphery. Knowing that a core literary system exerts a dominant influence on the periphery one, it is interesting to observe the emergence of the novel, long believed to be the eighteenth-century English creation, in diverse literary systems. As Franco Moretti, a proponent of world literature, argues, “in cultures that belong to the periphery of the literary system (...) the modern novel first arises not as autonomous development but as a compromise between a western formal influence (usually French or English) and local materials”. The process of the incorporation of the foreign literary model into national literature does not consist in a simple imitation but as a creative adaptation. It is the aim of my paper to analyse two widely diverse, both in terms of culture and in terms of geography, first novels from cultures considered as peripheral: a Polish novel by Ignacy Krasicki *The Adventures of Mr. Nicholas Wisdom*, written in 1776, and a New Zealand one *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman* published anonymously in 1778. The analysis of the two texts, which were clearly influenced by early English novels (‘core’ literature), should provide an illustration of the complexity of the relations between literatures or of what Dionýz Ďurišin, a Slovak theorist of comparative literature, dubbed interliterary process.

Emma Macleod (University of Stirling) Trying the State: Pitt, Dundas, and the Problem of Political Repression in Britain, 1793–94

Panel / *Session* 124, ‘The Enlightened State and Political Justice: Political Trials in Britain and France in the 1790s’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Munck (University of Glasgow)

The great majority of analyses of the state trials for treason and sedition in Britain in the 1790s have concerned themselves largely with the defendants rather than the politicians behind the prosecutions. Generally scholars have found it hard to avoid characterising judges and prosecutors in these cases as anything but monsters, and defence counsel as anything but shining knights on white chargers. Even those who have sought to understand government thinking have so sympathised with the radical defendants that they have often depicted ministers as instinctively reactionary without a great deal of probing of their reasoning. This paper explores reports commissioned by Henry Dundas in 1793-94 from special advisers such as Professor John Bruce and John Anstruther, to trace some of the the considerations and concerns weighing upon the mind of the key figure in the British government’s management of the trials and their outcomes in both Scotland and England.

Máire MacNeill (Royal Holloway, University of London) Taking the Waters: Cures, Resorts, and Fashionable Society on the Eighteenth-Century Stage

Panel / *Session* 390, 'Bodies, Disease, and Gender'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.05, 50 George Square.
Chair / *Président.e* : Montana Davies-Shuck (Northumbria University)

From the middle of the seventeenth century, spa towns like Bath and Tunbridge Wells developed as urban centres for men and women to gather, improve their health, and, inevitably, socialise with one another. While these spaces were initially developed with a focus on improving the health of the ill tourists who visited, they quickly became places for fashionable society to gather, evolving their own sets of social standards and expectations and becoming notorious for decadent parties and gatherings. Playwrights for the London stage quickly seized on the opportunity to show these places to the public, and throughout the eighteenth century highly popular plays from *Tunbridge Walks* (1703) to *The Rivals* (1775) showcased these fashionable urban cultures, satirising the fops and coquettes who flocked there against a backdrop of improving health.

This paper is concerned with the representation of sociability and health cures in urban society on the eighteenth-century stage, focusing specifically on comic plays set in spa towns. The primary goal will be to explore how fashion and function intersected within the context of medical treatments during this period. Using relevant case studies from theatre across the century and drawing on existing scholarship, it will consider the representation of these spaces and societies on the stage, particularly within the context of showcasing other urban environments to a London audience. It will also consider some other health treatments relevant to these societies that also had a dual association with fashion and function, such as taking snuff and wearing corsets.

Sandra Macpherson (Ohio State University) Numerical Identity and the Being of Literature

Panel / *Session* 112, 'Literature, Meaning, and the Unfathomable'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephanie Insley Hershinow (Baruch College, CUNY)

One of the categories of identity not mentioned in the description of the theme for ISECS 2019 is numerical identity, that which grounds the individuality or thisness of things. Scholars have of course been interested in Locke and Hume on personal identity, but less attention has been paid to the question of what makes objects, in particular literary objects, themselves. The paper I propose seeks to revivify an argument about the ontology of literary texts found in the New Criticism by routing it through ongoing debates in contemporary philosophy about what is called "Leibniz's Law," an account of the thisness or haecceity of substances that insists that no two substances exactly resemble one another. While Aristotle had distinguished between "specific" and "numerical" identity and argued that it was the latter, grounded in matter, upon which individuation rested, Leibniz claimed that it was not true "that two substances can resemble each other completely and differ only in number." If two things share properties, he concludes, then they are one and the same thing. This claim underwrites Leibniz' rejection of the atomism of Gassendi, which requires imagining that two things can possess identical properties and yet be distinct. "What is not truly one being," Leibniz asserts in a letter to Antoine Arnauld, "is not truly one being either." I am interested in how Leibniz' account of unity and identity—identity as a unity of simple, indivisible substance—comports with notions in literary criticism such as the heresy of paraphrase. Leibniz' Law is understood by philosophers to be an example of "mereological nihilism," the idea that nothing composed of parts can be one being, identical with itself. But as verbal objects, literary texts are necessarily composed and composite. What does it mean, therefore, to say that a literary object cannot be paraphrased, that it is always and everywhere manifest as itself? There is no natural philosophy of literature in the eighteenth century; but I conclude by arguing that eighteenth-century natural philosophy is an unacknowledged influence on formalist literary criticism from Cleanth Brooks's to Frances Ferguson's.

Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra) Miracles and Sanctuaries: The Constitution of the Believer in the Spanish Retablo and Camarín (c. 1700–1785)

Panel / *Session* 246, 'Religion and the Enlightenment: Secularisation and Toleration'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

For much of the eighteenth century, recently completed altarpieces and 'alcove-style' sanctuaries — camarines — across the Iberian peninsula and the Spanish colonies were eligible to be advertised in a published account paying homage to the newly housed relic or miracle-working image. With titles such as *oración panegyrica*, *poema heroico*,

desempeño or the more arcane noticia, such pamphlets offered accounts of miraculous foundational events. But they were also directed at the tangible infrastructure of devotion, the sanctuary, as well as the ephemeral inauguration acts that marked the creation of a new abode for worship. Analysis and comparison of a number of these texts yields valuable information on the shifting conceptions of the figure of the believer as a sentient and emotive persona. A rich metaphoric thinking on light, matter and corporeal contact, derived from a late-baroque visual culture, inscribed the new architectural décor or abode with the presence of an original miraculous body. Carlos III's Enlightened reformism brought on a secularization of the languages of faith. In 1785 Gaspar de Molina y Zaldívar, tercer Marqués de Ureña, prescribed a regime where light, rather than bring out the splendour of materials, would create landscapes of lights and shadows that would operate the emotions and moods of the faithful. As one of the reformers, Ureña hoped to remake the system of emotions visiting the believer via a new, post-Newtonian formulation of relationships between matter and light, but also with a new ideal of beholder distance that combatted the idea that sanctuaries replayed celestial realities with light and matter. As this paper sets out to demonstrate, the late eighteenth-century transition amounted only to a partial secularization, shifting meanings without entirely evacuating the possibility of a religious contact and affect.

Claire **Madl** (Czech Academy of Sciences) The Making of Enlightenment in Bohemia: Publishers and Booksellers between European Trade, Habsburg State, and Local Engagement

Panel / *Session 8*, 'Collections and Libraries'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Florutau (University of Oxford)

When observing cultural processes of the Enlightenment, historians tend to treat separately those occurring at the level of transnational exchanges involving the elites, those initiated by "enlightened" sovereigns and states and finally those occurring among common people. They nevertheless acknowledge that these three levels were actually interconnected, though their entanglement is difficult to analyse.

As books were one of the medias of those processes, booksellers and publishers often played on all three levels. This is particularly observable in Bohemia where a range of transformations occurred within a short period of time: the spread of the ideas and practices of the Aufklärung, the explosion of the book market, the organisation of local intellectual life and a series of reforms among which the introduction of compulsory schooling (1775) and a strong centralisation policy, both paving the way to the modernisation of the society and to movements of local assertion facing central authorities.

Following the parallel careers of two booksellers and publishers settled in Prague between 1770 and 1790, we shall show how they articulated several levels of activity, building what we can call Enlightenment in Bohemia.

Wolfgang Gerle and Michael Samm came from German Lands to Prague to benefit from the local hunger for foreign books. Both flexibly interacted with the authorities to benefit from and/or fight against their interventions. Both got soon involved in local intellectual projects, one among scholars, the other one around schools and teachers. Both publishers nevertheless struggled to enlarge their customer base, shaped strategies to reach out to more readers and hence fostered the transformation of an elitist matter into a common one.

Gaëtane **Maës** (Université de Lille) Représenter l'identité ou l'émotion ? Les portraits de gens du spectacle au Salon du Louvre

Panel / *Session 231*, 'Le corps sensoriel : sensibilité, émotions et identité(s) dans les expositions d'art au XVIIIe siècle'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marc André Bernier (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

Les interactions entre le théâtre et la peinture au cours du XVIIIe siècle ont fait l'objet de nombreux travaux récents, mais ceux-ci se sont essentiellement focalisés sur les sujets d'histoire, genre privilégiant l'expression des passions des grands héros. Dans ce contexte, la présente communication propose de reposer la question de la représentation des émotions à travers l'étude de quelques portraits de gens du spectacle qui ont été exposés au Salon du Louvre. Ces professionnels de l'expressivité ont en effet opéré des choix très différents pour affirmer leur identité et immortaliser leurs traits et on s'intéressera plus particulièrement à ceux qui ont été représentés « en action » dans leurs rôles

fétiches. Il s'agira alors d'observer si les émotions suscitées au théâtre par les acteurs et les chanteurs ont trouvé écho chez les visiteurs du Salon qui observaient leurs portrait ...

Florence Magnot-Ogilvy (Université de Rennes) *Peaux rouges : stéréotypes et variations dans les portraits de sauvages en Amérique*

Panel / *Session* 129, 'Couleurs et identités à l'époque des Lumières 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Aurélia Gaillard (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

À partir de quelques textes tirés d'un corpus de récits de voyage en Amérique du Nord datant de la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle (notamment : les Nouveaux Voyages de Lahontan, diverses Lettres de Jésuites, etc.), je voudrais explorer quelques aspects des représentations de la peau nue et colorée des Indiens et de ses effets dans les rencontres entre voyageurs occidentaux et Indiens.

Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar) *Picturing Thomas Carlyle's 'The French Revolution: A History' (1910)*

Panel / *Session* 157, 'The French Revolution from Afar'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

The paper reassesses the role of the French Revolution in the study of history by considering the ways in which this particularly momentous, inventive, creative and destructive time has been pictured in words and in visual imagery. An inspiration for Charles Dickens' 1858 novel, 'A Tale of Two Cities', Carlyle's history of the French Revolution, first published in 1837, avowedly sought lessons for the present in interpretations of the past. Taking this approach forward, the graphic artist Edmund J. Sullivan devised visual imagery to accompany the Carlyle text that is not merely illustrative of the historian's verbal poetics but, rather, raises significant questions about the nature of what Carlyle has represented and, in so doing, challenges what a re-presentation or, indeed, a re-representation might constitute. In gold on the spine of the embossed red vellum covers of the two volumes of the luxury 1910 edition of Carlyle's history, the name of E J Sullivan appears above a stylized three headed stem of fleurs de lys topped by a crown but with, for root, a worm-ridden bulb.

For Sullivan, following on from Carlyle, symbols can be used to convey complex, underlying ideas about process, system, reason, order and disorder. Exercising powers of fantasy and imagination prompted by the use of such imagery, the reader/viewer has to acknowledge knowingly the fictions as well as the facts of history. In the light of these demands, the first French Revolution thus also becomes a possible vehicle for considering latter-day British concerns about democracy, power, violence, the mob, good/bad government, monarchy, nobility and nationhood. It will be shown that whether in the light of our own times, the Reform movements of the 1830s, or the constitutional crises of 1910 and of Home Rule for Ireland, the absent phenomenon that is the French Revolution can continue to provide us with much profound, though possibly also unsettling, cause for thought.

Daniele Maira (Universität Göttingen) *Transformations et lisibilités éditoriales de La Henriade*

Panel / *Session* 46, 'Identités de l'éditeur : autour des Œuvres complètes de Voltaire'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

De La Ligue (1723) jusqu'à la dernière édition de La Henriade (1775), le poème épique de Voltaire ne cesse d'être enrichi et revu par son auteur. L'histoire éditoriale et le dispositif paratextuel de cette œuvre sont complexes et méritent ainsi d'être parcourus : paraît d'abord une première version (La Ligue, en 9 chants) avec des remarques de Voltaire, ensuite La Henriade avec un chant supplémentaire, les deux essais (sur la poésie épique et sur les guerres civiles), les notes de Voltaire, les variantes de Lenglet, les notes de Voltaire aux variantes de Lenglet, les nouvelles variantes de Voltaire, les préfaces de Marmontel et de Linant, les dédicaces, les illustrations... Comment rendre accessible cette œuvre protéiforme avec tous ses paratextes, sans en alourdir la lisibilité ? C'est comme s'il y avait un paradoxe insoluble : alors même qu'une mise en livre réfléchie souhaite restituer la lisibilité à ce texte, elle risque

de le rendre à nouveau illisible. Je souhaite étudier comment l'orientation de la lecture qu'engage le dispositif paratextuel s'inscrit, d'une édition à l'autre, dans les nouveaux choix d'un protocole éditorial qui ne cesse d'évoluer. La correspondance de Voltaire témoigne du lien entre écriture épique et « écriture éditoriale » (A. Réach-Ngô), mais également d'un contrôle sur son œuvre qui lui échappe progressivement. Enfin, comment intégrer et donner à lire une œuvre à l'intérieur d'une édition des Œuvres complètes ? Cette dernière question constitue le point de départ pour comprendre les transformations éditoriales du poème épique de sa première édition jusqu'à l'édition encadrée de 1775.

Elena **Makarova** (Lomonosov Moscow State University) At the Confluence of Faith and Reason: The 'Materialistic Theology' of Joseph Priestley

Panel / *Session* 418, 'At the Confluence of Religion and Rationalism: The Enlightenment and Religious Identities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Pavel Knyazev (Lomonosov Moscow State University)

Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) is primarily regarded today as a scientist. Like many thinkers of the Enlightenment, he had the universality of interests and the encyclopedic knowledge. However, at the same time Priestley was a clergyman, preacher and theologian and the most of his writings were theological treatises and sermons.

Priestley was one of the outstanding materialists of the 18th century, but his materialistic principles did not conflict with faith. The denial of the immortality of the soul, the proclamation of the universality of the principles of determinism were combined in Priestley's worldview with faith in revelation, in the resurrection of the dead, and the divine authority of Jesus Christ. The essence of Priestley's views was that materialism should become the main doctrine of "rational Christians".

Priestley did not see the contradiction between Faith and Reason. He emphasized that he scooped up his arguments from Reason and Scripture. The thinker argued the need for religion to every person and society as a whole. Priestley motivated this by the fact that religion "in each case creates an additional motive for the good behavior". The ethical criterion was important to him.

At the same time, Priestley defended the principles of broad tolerance. He wrote about the inherent right of every person "to worship God in any form" or not to profess any religion. According to Priestley, religion is "useful" to all, both rich and poor, but it is a personal matter. Individuals should be free of any encumbrance to inquire into matters of religious belief and to form a pattern consistent with their own conscience. The goal of the religion according to Priestley is "people's happiness".

Thus, it is possible to talk about the creation by Joseph Priestley of a kind of "materialistic theology", in which his natural-scientific discoveries were a means of proving the truth of religious beliefs.

Joanna **Malecka** (University of Glasgow) 'Written epitomised synopsis of Rumour': Carlyle's Challenge to the Eighteenth-Century Historiography

Panel / *Session* 242, 'Questions of History'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Kevin Berland (Pennsylvania State University)

Thomas Carlyle re-examines eighteenth-century historiography in his early texts as well as in his masterwork, 'The French Revolution: A History' (1837) from the standpoint of his native Scottish Calvinist tradition which has so far merited little critical attention. This paper addresses this critical lacuna by looking closely at some of Carlyle's most innovative textual and narratorial experiments in The French Revolution and elsewhere and by locating them within his Presbyterian imagination.

Carlyle draws heavily from biblical imagery channeled via his studies in the eighteenth-century German Higher Criticism to produce narratives in which contemporary and past voices are mingled and juxtaposed in what ultimately constitutes a meditation on historiography as a 'written epitomised synopsis of Rumour'. By stressing the unpredictability and unreadability of history, as well as its dark and mysterious character Carlyle challenges some of the key Enlightenment concepts of clarity, progress, and improvement of human nature. These are in turn juxtaposed

with a his Gothic depictions delivered in the language of a Presbyterian sermon which both draw on the chief moral concepts of the Scottish Enlightenment and challenge Enlightenment's facile dismissal of superstition and idolatry (which for Carlyle are endemic to human nature).

The crucial imagery around which Carlyle's historiography is built is taken from the Book of Job. Historiography as a meditation on the Divine Providence and its complex and largely illegible ways of acting is juxtaposed with the human tendency to usurp the divine position and construct fraught explanatory stories which Carlyle addresses with Enlightened scepticism.

Ramesh Mallipeddi (University of Colorado at Boulder) Race and Ecology in the Eighteenth-Century British Caribbean, 1627–1765

Panel / *Session* 198, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 4: Anticolonial Methods and Decolonising Practice'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Eugenia Zuroski (McMaster University)

Plantation agriculture was a hazardous enterprise. Tropical plants, sugar in particular, are vulnerable not only to pests, droughts, hurricanes, and wildfires but also to loss of soil fertility. In his 1729 *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered*, the Quaker merchant Joshua Gee observed that "the island of Barbados is very much worn out, and does not afford the quantity of sugar as heretofore" (45). Gee's concern over declining yields was shared by several contemporary Caribbean planters and agricultural reformers, including Reverend Robertson and Samuel Martin. Planters recognized that, as fertility declined, additional slave importations and new uncultivated lands would be necessary to produce enough sugar for the world market. They endeavored, in other words, to counter the irreversible effects of environmental degradation by making African bodies and colonial landscapes replaceable. The acquisition by Britain of the Ceded Islands (Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago) from France at the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) opened up a "new field of speculative investment" for planters concerned with declining profits in older, long-settled colonies like Antigua and Barbados. At the same time, tracts such as John Hippisley's *On the Populousness of Africa* (1764) provided a fillip to speculative enterprise by arguing that the reproductive capacities of African women could be harnessed indefinitely for supplying British plantations with laborers. In focusing on the links between race and ecology, my paper examines how the plantation complex transferred risks or uncertainties entailed by speculation to its most vulnerable groups: African migrants and Caribbean slaves. Drawing on Samuel Martin's plantation manual, *An Essay on Plantership* (1762), James Grainger's *West-India Georgic The Sugar Cane* (1764), and the testimonies before the select committee of the House of Commons, I show how the subjugation of slaves and soil, labor and land, and bodies and landscapes was a social and environmental disaster—one with lasting consequences for African Caribbean slaves and their emancipated descendants.

Erica Mannucci (University of Milan-Bicocca) Between Italy and France: Political Identities in Poetical Translations

Panel / *Session* 445, 'Translating Radical Identities in the Revolutionary Period'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexei Evstratov (University of Lausanne)

The poet Giovanni Fantoni (b. 1755) was an Italian democratic patriot. A political and cultural protagonist of the Cisalpine Republic, he was arrested more than once by the French because of his radical activities. In exile in Grenoble, from May 1799, he was connected to former Babouvists: there, he translated an earlier pamphlet attacking Bonaparte, by Babouvist Sylvain Maréchal, adapting it to the Italian situation. He translated Maréchal's chosen pseudonym as well, *l'Homme-sans-Dieu*, becoming *U.S.D.* (*Uomo senza Dio*).

This paper focuses on Fantoni's work as a militant translator of poetry, both from French into Italian and redefining his own Italian verse for a mixed Franco-Italian audience. Two compositions will be examined in their different phases: the Italian translation of Marie-Joseph Chénier's *Hymne à l'Être suprême*, first published in Paris in year III, then turned into a topical paraphrase during the Italian 'Jacobin' Triennio in 1797 and yet again in 1799; and the ode *Il fanatismo*, addressed to Vittorio Alfieri in late 1791, then adapted and re-addressed to revolutionary poet Lebrun in October 1799, when Fantoni read it at the *Lycée des sciences et des arts* in Grenoble. This second version was reprinted during the insurrection of 1831 in Bologna, to reactivate Italian republican memory.

These poems highlight the issues implied in the translation of revolutionary ideas, not only as a strictly linguistic, metrical, (trans)cultural – or even cognitive – problem, but as the ability to displace and relocate contents and sentiments between nations experiencing revolution and its living memory asymmetrically, both because their reciprocity was not between equals and because of a temporal gap. In France, Chénier wrote in year II ‘ta puissante égide couvre au loin le Peuple français’ and ‘notre liberté, planant sur les deux mondes...’. In 1797, in a weaker sister Republic, Fantoni ‘translated’ this as: ‘I cannot sleep...I will support in arms the world’s liberty’.

Elena Marasinova (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

Moratorium on the Death Penalty in Eighteenth-Century Russia: Influence of the Ideas of the Enlightenment or Orthodox Faith

Panel / *Session* 261, ‘Crime and Punishment’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jeanne Clegg (University of Ca’ Foscari Venice)

It is rather well known, that not a single execution took place throughout two decades of the reign of the Russian Empress Elizabeth, from 1741 to 1761. This royal decision met very different reviews. According to the French diplomat and man of letters Joseph de Maistre, Elizabeth’s “abolition” of the death penalty was nothing, but “false philanthropy and a sign of national inferiority.” The Italian philosopher Cesare Beccaria, however, took inspiration from the “remarkable example of the Empress of Moscovia” and, very soon after her death, published his work “On Crimes and Punishments.”

According to memoirs, in the early morning 1741 before seizing the throne, Elizabeth prayed before an icon of the Saviour. She vowed that if she were successful, she would abolish capital punishment. The revolt met with success, and so the debt had to be paid.

In the mid-eighteenth century Russian Empire, an unproclaimed moratorium on the death penalty was observed for over two decades due to the pledge of the Empress.

The decision of the Empress to forbid taking death sentences without the confirmation of the monarch, was related to her own relationship with her God.

The Empress concerned herself not at all with the fates of the pardoned convicts. They would all die anyway, whether under the blows of the knout or due to backbreaking penal labour. Meanwhile, coming twenty years before the publication of Beccaria’s work the religious reflection of the Russian Empress made a reality of the philosopher’s dream.

However, Elizabeth and the Italian thinker were separated by more than two decades. They were contemporaries, but lived in the different epochs.

No enlightened ideals were embodied in her moratorium, but rather a combination of mediaeval religious feelings and the autocrat’s believes that the law of the state and her own will were one and the same.

Sophie Marchand (Sorbonne Université, CELLF) Les genres ont-ils un genre ?

Panel / *Session* 61, ‘Théâtre et Identités 1 : Identités des genres dramatiques dans le théâtre du XVIIIe siècle’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Renaud Bret-Vitoz (Sorbonne Université, CELLF)

Cette communication interroge la recomposition générique (drame, comédie, tragédie) et l’imaginaire « genré » dans la pensée théâtrale du XVIIIe siècle.

Matteo Marcheschi (Fondazione Collegio San Carlo di Modena/Université Paris-Nanterre)

L’araignée dans sa toile entre continuité et contigüité : identité et universalité dans la philosophie de D. Diderot

Panel / *Session* 300, 'Identité personnelle et universalité 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alex Bellemare (Université d'Ottawa)

La question de l'identité traverse toute la philosophie diderotienne, configurant une tension entre ce que l'on est au niveau biologique et physiologique et ce que l'on devient historiquement. Elle est thématifiée de façon explicite dans *Le Rêve de d'Alembert*, qui tourne entièrement autour la question « pourquoi suis-je tel ? » que le géomètre se pose pendant son rêve. Dans l'interaction polyphonique entre les personnages elle prend la forme d'une réponse qui s'articule autour des catégories de continuité et contigüité : je montrerai en effet comment chaque plan de la réalité (l'individu, l'organe, l'organisme, le contexte) négocie ses limites avec tous les autres, en réalisant un mouvement qui se situe au croisement entre la parfaite continuité entre soi-même et le monde et une discontinuité accomplie (contigüité).

Deuxièmement, je chercherai à montrer comment cette tension entre continuité et contigüité naît, dans la philosophie diderotienne, à partir de la récupération d'une image philosophique bien déterminée : celle de l'araignée dans sa toile. Je montrerai comment cette image se relie à différentes traditions philosophiques : de façon schématique, d'un côté, celle « cartésienne », qui la fait coïncider avec l'âme individuelle ; de l'autre côté, celle stoïque-spinozienne, qui l'élargit jusqu'à la faire coïncider avec l'anima mundi. L'homme diderotien se constitue donc entre les deux traditions : il oppose à la contigüité de l'araignée-individu la continuité de l'araignée-anima mundi, en changeant chacun dans un sujet variable, dont les limites changent en chaque instant.

En dernier lieu, je montrerai comment, dans le mouvement de l'araignée qui se tend vers les autres et puis se contracte en elle-même, Diderot découvre un moyen pour dire l'universel dans le particulier, faisant du particulier et du fragment le lieu d'un universel métaphorique.

Maxime Margollé (Université de Poitiers) « L'opéra-comique révolutionnaire » : genre, exception ou une identité singulière ?

Panel / *Session* 20, 'Opéra-Comique and Identity During the French Revolution'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

Depuis le début du XIXe siècle, la question du genre de l'opéra-comique pendant la Révolution est mise en débat dans l'historiographie autour d'une expression : « l'opéra-comique révolutionnaire ». Thurner écrit par exemple que « Méhul [...] est énergique quelques fois comme une motion jacobine ». Plus proche de nous, Patrick Taieb parle sans détour « d'opéras-comiques révolutionnaires ». Dans le même temps, des opéras-comiques inspirés directement par l'actualité révolutionnaire se multiplient, brouillant un peu plus la dénomination des œuvres créées entre 1789 et 1799. La cohabitation de plusieurs esthétiques et de termes peu précis pour les désigner obscurcit la compréhension de l'évolution du genre pendant la décennie révolutionnaire et on peut s'interroger sur la pertinence de l'expression d'« opéra-comique révolutionnaire » : en quoi est-il un opéra-comique ? en quoi est-il révolutionnaire ? en quoi est-il différent des opéras-comiques inspirés par la Révolution ? ne serait-ce pas davantage un qualificatif d'une identité esthétique propre à la décennie révolutionnaire ? D'un autre côté, les interprètes de ces œuvres influencent également, par le biais de leurs engagements dans les événements révolutionnaires, l'identité de l'opéra-comique et de sa dramaturgie. Ainsi, en croisant l'esthétique musicale du répertoire de l'opéra-comique pendant la Révolution avec une approche dramaturgique des œuvres et des interprètes, cette communication tentera de déterminer si ce que l'on désigne sous le terme « d'opéra-comique révolutionnaire » est un genre, une exception ou une identité singulière.

Sylvia Marks (New York University Tandon School of Engineering) Eighteenth-Century Young Adult Fiction: Definitions and Examples

Panel / *Session* 73, 'Enlightenment and Education'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

When one thinks about children's literature of the long eighteenth century, one usually recalls the ABCD books, fairy tales, instructive collections of dialogues, perhaps Goody Two-Shoes. However, Sarah Trimmer, editor of *The Guardian*

of Education (1802-1806), identifies books appropriate for various age groups, including what we would identify today as the young adult reader, aged fourteen to twenty (1.66).

Many of these works are contemporaneous with Frances Burney's late works and Jane Austen's works and perhaps owe a debt to Ann Radcliffe. They also owe a debt to the early conduct book tradition. The stories can be compelling. But, until the age of digitization, these books have resided in rare book rooms, and their place in the history of the novel has not been recognized.

I propose to examine a sampling of these young adult novels, to look for the connecting threads, themes, and influences, and, in the case of at least one author, Elizabeth Sibthorpe Pinchard, to show how her earlier more obviously instructive novels bear fruit in her mature works of young adult fiction.

Anna **Markwart** (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń) Trying to find Adam Smith's Perfect(?) Man

Panel / *Session* 193, 'Adam Smith and Masculinity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Breashears (St Lawrence University)

Adam Smith (1723-1790) has never provided us with a systematic characteristic of a human being. There were attempts made to propose a catalogue of universal features that would be common to all the people. People can be altruists, but as well seek to follow their self-interest. We are able to use our imagination and we sympathise, we have a tendency to truck and barter, we wish to live a comfortable life. We want to be praiseworthy as much as we wish to be praised. In fact – since the porter and the philosopher are so similar in childhood, we initially share intellectual and moral qualities that are only later conditioned by education we receive, instruction and professional work. In Smith's quite descriptive theory we all have flaws and positive features. There are virtues we can obtain and moral value to gain.

As Fonna Forman has stated in her Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy: "...Smith described how a person's conscience can mature over time. The most important point, however, is that a failure to attain perfect wisdom and virtue in this process of self-perfection did not condemn a person to complete moral failure, according to Smith" (p.108). But this strive for perfection – in area of morality – requires hard work and proper influence of the society. It can be affected by education (since it is rather an individual's development than society's wealth that education system has set as a goal).

The question remains, what kind of perfection we are to aim at to never be able to achieve? Does Smith give us a goal we should strive for? I believe he at least shows a way: apart from the discussion of virtues, his remarks on institutions, education and, most of all, impartial spectator can serve as a clue for searching the ways of self-improvement.

Francien **Markx** (George Mason University) Enlightenment for Young Ears: The Invention of the Children's Song and Its Consequences

Panel / *Session* 363, 'Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tanvi Solanki (Yonsei University)

Children's literature is closely linked to the philosophy of the Enlightenment and to significant changes in the social structures during this period. Developments such as the rise of the middle class and of a literary market contributed to its emergence. The two "godfathers" of the idea of "childhood" were John Locke (1632-1704) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). While Locke rejected traditional authoritarian educational practices such as memorization and corporal punishment, he believed that one must reason with a child early on and introduce it to books. Such books, however, should be written explicitly for children and made enjoyable to a child's mind. Rousseau, however, insisted that up to age 12, children should not be given books for reading, rather they should develop their senses. The evolving views on education led to the founding of an experimental boarding school in Dessau, Germany, the Philanthropinum (1774).

The teaching methods of the philanthropists were revolutionary: rich and poor were to be taught together as equals and learning should be made enjoyable and student-centered, featuring storytelling, travelogues, puzzle games, stage plays, and Singspiele.

Philanthropists shared Rousseau's insight that children's minds cannot be reached by intellectual discourse. In contrast, poetry and music, particularly when combined in songs, were considered much more effective. Between 1770-1800, a large number of collections of this new genre appeared.

The texts and compositions by other prolific authors and composers such as J.H. Campe, and Mozart illustrate the significance of singing songs with children in a family setting for helping to shape human beings, and advance Enlightenment ideals such as charity and tolerance. However, while the educators engaging with the children originally were men, poems by female poets increasingly became part of the repertoire, as seen in the example of Caroline Rudolphi (1753-1811). Through this new genre, women gained a voice in areas previously dominated by men. Thus, the children's song can be interpreted as one of most forward-looking inventions of the age known for its focus on the light of (male) reason.

Alice **Marples** (University of Oxford) Approaching the History of Science and Medicine through Museum Collections

Panel / *Session 206*, 'Innovations in Teaching the Long Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

This paper demonstrates the importance of using contemporary museum collections to the teaching of histories of science and medicine in the long eighteenth century. It argues that teaching the history of object-based research and pedagogy helps students break down the historical construction and representation of scientific knowledge and national narratives, allowing them to chart their influence through to the present day.

This approach further helps to generate a broader appreciation of participation in the history of science and medicine, and also a greater awareness of the challenges (and opportunities) facing Higher Education and the museum sector today. Making links between historical practice and current political or social debates in this way alerts students to the processes of contemporary research and teaching, and helps to show how these processes may shape knowledge.

Jean **Marsden** (University of Connecticut) Affect as Argument: Mrs Kemble and the Embodiment of Slavery

Panel / *Session 383*, 'Slavery and Identity 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

My paper would explore the means by which a dramatic piece deliberately manipulates the affect produced by another drama to induce a very different end regarding the increasingly emotional issue of slavery in the late 1780s. The piece in question is *The Benevolent Planters*, a dramatic interlude by Thomas Bellamy first staged in August 1789. Bellamy's short play draws its emotional impact from a very different play, George Colman the Younger's *Inkle and Yarico* (1787). The two works are linked by the popularity of actress Elizabeth Kemble who played the plaintive Yarico in Colman's comic opera; Bellamy's play was advertised as written for her benefit. As Yarico, Kemble became an popularized emblem of the evils of slavery, however, in Bellamy's interlude, her pathos is directed toward a very different end: the defense of a paternalist model of enslavement practiced by three benevolent planters (at the end of the piece, the slaves on the plantation fall at the feet of the planters while exclaiming that "slavery is but a name").

The presentation would begin by discussing the qualities that distinguished Elizabeth Kemble's performance as Yarico in *Inkle and Yarico* and then focus on *The Benevolent Planters*, tracing the means by which Bellamy makes use of Kemble's ability to arouse emotion in her audience (songs, lost love, etc). As Bellamy's Selima, however, Kemble represents not the pathos of slavery but the embodiment of the happy slave. The disjuncture between the affect generated by these two works demonstrates the tensions surrounding the issue of slavery in Britain in the late 1780s and 1790s and the role of performance in revealing these tensions.

David **Marsh** (The Gardens Trust) 'The feete of the Body Politique?' Gardeners and their Identity and Identification in the Long Eighteenth-Century

Panel / *Session* 35, 'British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dana Arnold (University of East Anglia)

Early modern gardeners were, with few exceptions, usually seen as little more than labourers, however the later 17thc and early 18thc saw the emergence of more specialised sub-trades within their ranks: "some being simply called gard'ners, others taking the name florists... Botanists and ..Market Gard'ners besides those that apply themselves only to the raising and maintaining of Nurseries." Many were highly skilled plantsmen, wrote books, carried out experiments, improved technology, sponsored plant hunting expeditions, or ran successful businesses. This group were able to lead a comfortable "middling sort" of existence, and there were even a few wealthy "plums" who capitalized on the growing elite interest in horticulture. and landscape. However the trade [or profession?] had a very static base and even by the early 19thc most gardeners seem still to be undervalued both intellectually and financially, and often to have accepted that undervaluation, so that the bulk of gardeners remained firmly fixed in their place as part of "the feete of the Body Politique."

Charles **Marsh** (University of Kansas) Humean Identity and the Multidisciplinary 'Problem of Cooperation'

Panel / *Session* 270, 'Humean Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatsuya Sakamoto (Waseda University)

The philosophy of David Hume is enjoying a renaissance within a multidisciplinary fusion of evolutionary biology, neurobiology, economics, and marketing. Oddly, this new appreciation focuses on Hume's complicated notion of human identity. Hume's ultimate confession of being hopelessly muddled regarding identity might surprise scholars in these disciplines, who increasingly cite Hume's conclusions as they address the 'problem of cooperation' within the human species. More important for 18th century studies is the growing validation of Hume's assessment of human identity by 21st century natural and social sciences.

The 'problem of cooperation' addresses the mystery of why social organisms assist others at an initial cost to themselves. Evolutionary biologists and neurobiologists have come to view cooperation as a survival strategy for social species, and economists and marketers see it as reaping comparatively advantageous monetary and status rewards. Modern explanations for cooperation increasingly find antecedents in Hume's 'Treatise of Human Nature' and 'Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals'. For example, Hume's notion of empathy born of 'resemblance and contiguity' is a prescient assessment of mirror neurons, which lead us to fuse our mental image of ourself with that of another. Hume's concept of the economic rewards of what he terms 'disinterested benevolence' forecasts what biologists have termed 'indirect reciprocity,' in which Party A helps Party B with no expectation of return – and is rewarded by Parties C. And Hume predated modern scholars in showing that indirect reciprocity is driven by reputation acquisition and built by habit.

As modern scholars study why humans cooperate, at every turn they discover Hume and his analysis of human identity. To show validation of Hume's antecedent concept of identity by natural and social sciences, this paper will divide Hume's concept into shared identities; developed identities; and perceived identities.

Mary Clare **Martin** (University of Greenwich) 'Thrown upon the waves': An Education on the Principles of Jean-Jacques Rousseau near Epping Forest, 1760–1790

Panel / *Session* 7, 'Child-Rearing, Education, and Enlightenment Identity: The Influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

Emile ou l'éducation (1762) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau has been regarded as having a seminal influence on eighteenth century and subsequent child-rearing. However, most well-publicised accounts of children brought up on his principles

stress their disastrous consequences. Moreover, most texts consider only the experience of Rousseau's "age of nature" (0-12) in which the child was supposed to roam freely in a natural environment, with tasks devised by a tutor. Transition to the subsequent stages in Rousseau's scheme has barely been examined.

This paper will consider the relationship between Enlightenment identity and child-rearing, in the context of three generations of males in one family living on the edge of Epping Forest, on the borders of London, England, between the 1760s and the 1790s. Drawing on complex autobiographical material, and republished family letters, this paper will document the vivid memories of childhoods conducted on Rousseauian principles. Despite the oft-debated problems of retrospective memory, such sources are striking in their evocation of the excitement of scientific experimentation and discovery in childhood and youth, facilitated by such an education .

Intergenerational change will also be analysed. Edward Forster the elder (1730-1812), a merchant and banker, was said to have cultivated every known plant in his garden, and had a close circle of literary and scientific friends. Although his grandson characterised his education on Rousseau's principles as being "thrown upon the waves", their history demonstrates, how the "age of nature" could be followed by intense and productive scientific and intellectual activity. Moreover, Edward Forster's circle, provided opportunities for sociability and scientific development, even for children, which complicate Rousseau's imperative of withdrawal from society.

Christophe Martin (Université de Paris IV / Sorbonne) Rousseau et le flambeau de Prométhée

Panel / *Session* 283, 'The Contribution of Images to the Enlightenment Agenda / L'apport des images au programme des Lumières 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Fulda (Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

La communication va traiter des différents frontispices au premier discours de Rousseau représentant la figure de Prométhée tenant dans sa main droite un flambeau, symbole des Lumières, avec lequel il effleure la tête d'un jeune homme. Un satyre semble vouloir s'emparer du flambeau. Il existe un dessin de J-B. Marie Pierre, ainsi qu'un frontispice de Gravelot et un frontispice de Cochin. En replaçant ces différentes versions dans la tradition iconologique de la représentation de Prométhée, il s'agirait de s'interroger sur l'ambivalence de la cette représentation des Lumières, l'image de JBM Pierre ayant pu être récupérée par les anti-Lumières, tout en proposant une identification possible de Prométhée et Rousseau lui-même.

Felix Martin (RWTH Aachen University) The Quarrel of Ancients and Moderns in Sir William Chambers' 'A Treatise on Civil Architecture'

Panel / *Session* 77, 'History and the Architect: Shaping Identities through Publications and Design'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Hague (Rowan University)

For the first plate in his *A Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1759), Sir William Chambers chose to illustrate his designs for Lord Charlemont's Casino at Marino, which follow the main body of text. Hence the reader assumes that these plates are meant to resemble theoretical positions formulated by Chambers on numerous pages beforehand.

Chambers and his *Treatise* are often seen as late exponents of a traditional, Palladian approach to architecture. However, the Casino at Marino strongly bears on contemporary or modern architectural stances. Assuming a strong relationship between the Casino designs and the *Treatise*, Chambers' text cannot merely be seen as a summary of the Franco-Italian tradition of rule books on the five orders. Indeed, it features manifold theoretical positions which reflect modern influences on the writing architect. This leads to the question how traditional or ancient stances on harmonious proportions and dogmatic rules were combined with more recent assertions on aesthetics, most notably the shift from absolute to relative beauty.

This paper analyses the measurements, proportions and decoration of Chambers' Casino designs and compares them with his written stances from the *Treatise*. Furthermore, the dialectics of ancient and modern aesthetic theories is traced in both the Casino's architectural language and Chambers' writings.

Eventually this paper deals with the question if Chambers' intention for his *Treatise* was not to merely reaffirm traditional architectural doctrines for British architecture. Quite the opposite, and especially when considering Chambers' more polemical publications like his 'Dissertation on oriental Gardening', he seemingly summarises and

finishes this chapter of architectural theory, in order to offer architects, builders and connoisseurs a traditional or ancient foundation and likewise to open up their minds for more contemporary and modern theories.

Nevena Martinović (Queen's University) **The Age of Adaption: Manipulations of Age and Gender in the 1786 Benefit Performance of Frances Abington**

Panel / *Session 1*, 'Adaptation and Emotion'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace (Boston College)

Theatrical criticism from the eighteenth century describes a femininity that is imagined as youthful and temporary. The sexuality of aging women was viewed as being threatening because it was without reproductive purpose. This was detrimental to the careers of comic actresses whose careers were concerned with portraying youthful and desirable characters. In my paper I will consider Frances Abington's benefit performance on 10 February 1786, when she played the travesty role of Scrub in *The Beaux Stratagem* and *Lady Racket* in the afterpiece, Arthur Murphy's *Three Weeks After Marriage*. In response to criticisms that the then-forty-year old actress was no longer fit to play the young fashionable lady, Abington performed the role of a bumbling male servant. The public condemned the performance and reviewers decreed that Abington should return to the fashionable female roles that suited her, those same cross-age performance they had previously critiqued. I argue that this negative response was Abington's desired outcome, and that throughout her decades-long career she successfully manipulated the narrative of her aging body in order to circumvent ageist critique and extend her portrayal of youthful, desirable characters. My paper builds on Shearer West's and Judith Fisher's work on the representations of aging actresses, and connects the growing field of age studies with eighteenth-century theatre studies.

Cayetano Mas-Galvan (Université d'Alicante) **Climat et identité nationale. « La Historia Crítica de España » de l'abbé J. F. Masdeu (1783)**

Panel / *Session 267*, 'Environment'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

Le climat est devenu un facteur de pertinence dans la construction des identités nationales au XVIII^e siècle. Mais contrairement à la Grande-Bretagne (Jankovic, Golinski), dans le cas espagnol ce processus s'est compliqué de grandes controverses sur la nature même de « l'être » national et des contributions apportées par l'Espagne à l'acquis universelle (affaire Masson de Morvilliers, 1782). La réponse en fût un ensemble d'apologies, parmi lesquelles la *Historia Crítica de España y de la cultura española*, de l'abbé (et ancien jésuite), Juan Francisco Masdeu et de Montero, d'origine catalan. Cet ouvrage a commencé à être publié en 1781 en italien et en 1783 en espagnol, jusqu'à atteindre 20 volumes imprimés et cinq manuscrits. Au-delà de l'apologie nationale, le travail de Masdeu nous intéresse surtout parce qu'il est précédé d'un "Discurso preliminar" sur le climat de l'Espagne. Il s'agit d'une approche basée sur des arguments historiques et philosophiques, conçue pour décrire le "climat" de l'Espagne (concept que, chez Masdeu, inclut la nature de l'air, de l'eau, de la nourriture, des plantes, des animaux et des productions terrestres), mais il s'attache surtout à décrire le type d'influence du climat sur les individus et les nations. Sur cette question, Masdeu se sert d'un large éventail de sources classiques et modernes, d'Horace à Cicéron, en passant par Marineo Sículo, De Vayrac, Duchesne et Huarte, pour arriver à Robertson, Feijoo, Du Bas et Tiraboschi, entre d'autres, pour finir avec la critique des idées de Montesquieu, qu'il considère "superficielles et simplistes". Sur ces sources, en comparant en particulier les positions des trois derniers auteurs, Masdeu formule sa propre proposition pour expliquer l'influence du climat sur les caractères nationaux et individuels combinant un ensemble de facteurs (capacité intellectuelle, organisation, génie ou "caractère dominant", moyens, ressources et volonté). Bien entendu, sa conclusion est toujours favorable aux climats tempérés, dont l'espagnol serait, à son avis, particulièrement favorisant de l'industrie et la littérature.

Johannes Mattes (Austrian Academy of Science) **Accelerating or Braking: Spatial Dynamics and Control in the Organization of Scientific Societies in Vienna (Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century)**

Panel / *Session* 408, 'Resilience of Eighteenth-Century Science in the Habsburg Monarchy 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Marianne Klemun (University of Vienna)

Accelerating or Braking – Spatial Dynamics & Control in the Organization of Scientific Societies in Vienna (late 18th and early 19th century)

By establishing common cultures of exchange, scholarly societies represent the dominating form of institutionalized science throughout the Enlightenment period. Frequently listed in publications under the author's name, they not only underlined the reputation of a scholar, but also created specific geographies of communication and accelerated scientific exchange.

While learned institutions were founded all over Europe during the 18th century, Vienna counted among the few capitals to largely lack scientific societies. Recent research has explained these spatial dynamics by the low support of the Sovereign, reactionary politics and multiple-speed implementation of Enlightenment reforms in the Habsburg monarchy. In particular, the interaction of mutual state, civil and scientific interests in the empire led to different foundations (respectively founding attempts), which are due to either governmental, state's authorized or private initiatives. Although these factors both accelerated and/or braked the efforts to develop learned institutions in different parts of the Habsburg monarchy, some societies as the "Societas Incognitorum" (1746) in Olmouc, the "Bohemian Society for Sciences" (1784) in Prague or the "Agricultural Society" (1812 reorganized) in Vienna were finally founded.

Disentangling the different layers of argumentation, the paper examines the political, social and epistemic circumstances for the establishment of scientific societies in Vienna towards the end of the 18th century and their enduring influence on the public perception of research. Particular attention will be given to the different forms of resilience and adaptation in scholarly organization as well as the simultaneousness of change and continuity that aimed to integrate science and policy.

Patricia **Matthew** (Montclair State University) Kara Walker's Regency-Era: Objects, Protest, Race

Panel / *Session* 198, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 4: Anticolonial Methods and Decolonising Practice'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Eugenia Zuroski (McMaster University)

In this paper I am interested in how Kara Walker recovers regency-era abolitionist culture with her 2014 sugar exhibitions "The Subtlety" and "Afterword." With explicit references to sugar and the transatlantic slave trade, the art installation and gallery show that followed it offer homage to the workers of the Domino sugar factory and their ancestors along with a history of the commodity. Placed within the context of eighteenth and nineteenth-century abolitionist culture, they not only offer homage and history but reveal the beginnings of a practice of protest feminism. It is during the abolitionist movement that white women shifted from using slavery as a metaphor to describe their own status as second-class citizens towards utilizing black figures in their writing to forward their political ambitions. I show this shift by placing Walker alongside Mary Wollstonecraft, Amelia, Opie, and male abolitionists to offer a critique of modern feminism's protest habits.

Anton **Matytsin** (University of Florida) The Antecedents of Hume's 'Natural History of Religion' at the Académie des inscriptions

Panel / *Session* 413, 'The Cosmopolitan Identity of an Enlightenment Philosopher: David Hume 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Nicoli (Lichtenberg Kolleg, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

David's Hume's Natural History of Religion (1757) has been frequently identified as an important source for Charles de Brosses's *Du culte des dieux fétiches* (1760), part of which translated sections of Hume's treatise into French. Hume's notion that "polytheism or idolatry was, and necessarily must have been, the first and most ancient religion of mankind" proved to be an important influence on French critiques of organized religion during the second half of the eighteenth century. However, similar analyses of ancient myths, cults, and ceremonies had been presented in the

meetings and published in the *Mémoires* of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (of which de Brosses was a member) throughout the early 1700s.

This paper explores various antecedents to Hume's and de Brosses's studies of so-called primitive religions in the research conducted by members of the Académie des inscriptions. It examines how the academicians interpreted and rationalized ancient myths and beliefs, showing how their antiquarian research anticipated (and possibly informed) Hume's thesis. The Académie's studies of ancient cults and religions offer insight into how eighteenth-century scholars, most of whom were religiously devout, tried to make sense of alien belief systems. While the academicians generally explained what they saw as superstitious and erroneous beliefs of the pagans through psychological reductionism (citing a combination of fear, ignorance, and superstition), their analyses showed how those beliefs informed people's behaviors and contributed to the functioning of ancient states. By comparing and contrasting the analyses of ancient religions in Hume's famous treatise with the lesser known research of the Académie des inscriptions, this paper sheds light on how Enlightenment scholars gradually transformed their views of the origin and role of religion in society.

Guilherme Matzenbacher (UFRGS - Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul) Adam Smith's
Cosmopolitan Identity of Mankind in the Commercial Societies ((Co-presented with Luis
Fernando Barzotto, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul))

Panel / *Session* 193, 'Adam Smith and Masculinity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 5,
Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Breashears (St Lawrence University)

Local and national identities have always been an obstacle to the institution of a global association. The present article aims to depict how Adam Smith's depiction of human agency in the context of the commercial society shares the same use of impersonal and impartial patterns of behaviour that characterize the demeanour of a cosmopolitan individual.

Matthew Mauger (Queen Mary University of London) The Stretham and the Kent: Maritime
Perspectives on the British East India Trade at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 219, 'The East India Company and the Production of Knowledge'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 –
18.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Markman Ellis (Queen Mary University of London)

In August 1704, the *Stretham* and the *Kent*, two frigates commissioned by the United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies, arrived at the deep water anchorage near Canton. This 'United Company' – a hybrid of the 'New' and 'Old' East India Companies that had briefly competed with each other on the maritime routes to Asia – represented the future of the British East India trade. The journeys of these two ships, among the first United Company vessels to reach China, were occasioned by the outward commercial ambitions of the Company's Managers to drive open undeveloped markets, and to invest in exciting new commodities.

The experimental nature of their trading mission is made clear in the instructions that they carried for 'investments' in Chinese goods; whereas the *Stretham* was to procure an exotic range of commodities including porcelain, wrought metals, valuable minerals, and fragrant, the *Kent* – by contrast – was commissioned to buy tea in quantities so vast that the Company's Managers acknowledged that 'there is not a certainty of meeting with so great a quantity'.

In this paper I will be telling the stories of these ships, thinking about how the process of recovering and piecing together the various manuscript and print sources that attest their journeys not only makes evident the many practical, technological, and political challenges occasioned by long distance trade, but can also enrich our understanding of the ongoing ramifications of the corporate ruptures within the Company around the turn of the eighteenth century. In particular, I will focus on the journals of the *Stretham* and the *Kent* (part of the under-used 'Ships Logs and Journals' archive within the India Office Records' 'Marine Department' series) to reflect on what these remarkable manuscripts can offer us as cultural historians interested in the emerging narratives of the East India Trade.

Lucas **Maximiano** (Federal University of São Paulo) Friedrich Schiller and the Concept of Nonidentity: A Reading of Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*

Panel / *Session* 34, 'Being Human: Self, Soul, and Individualism'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh)

The objective of this text is to present a reconstitution a fictional historical happening through Montesquieu's *Persians' Letters of 1721*: the encounter between the Persians and the French, on the threshold between East and West; identity and singularity. This could explain this historical happening by means of the concept of human being presented by the philosopher Friedrich Schiller, as this concept comprises of a dual nature: the nonidentity of the unit itself and its determination; and turn around back to be able to, thereby also historicize the concept of nonidentity through this same historical happening. There's something interesting that arises in the interstices of the reciprocal meeting of social communities among its singularities. It is exactly in this way that philosophy in the Mediterranean arose, with the Ionians pre-Socratic and their junction of differences. The purpose of my following remarks is to show that identity, whether it be: ethnicity, nationality, religion, etc; are not categories of truth in *Persian' Letters*. The novel *The Persian Letters* of Montesquieu presents the meeting of the Persians Usbeck and Urik and the French. The narrator-editor also discovered through the letters these foreigners, and it is able to guide the reader into the point of view on intimacy of body and soul of the Persians, enabling the French to see with the eyes of Persian travelers the praxis of their own society. The author-translator while an unit disappears or pretends to disappear on plurality of many letter writers. The human being is considered a mixed structure, but unitary. The permanent in human nature is called person, and the mutable is called state. To Schiller, it is this unity between State and Person that is a nonidentity. The empirical self-consciousness, from this non-identity, presupposes a non-I, an exteriority that acts on the sensitivity. Schiller based the unity of human nature on the mixed concept of reciprocal action, without removing your irremediably antagonistic character. He was betting on the creation of an Estate, which at the same time, the Estate could considered the universal without the Suppression of individuality.

Mariana **Mayor** (University of São Paulo) Insurgency, Enlightenment, and Anti-Colonialism in the Portuguese American Theatre: The Case of the Performance of *Zaira*, by Voltaire, in 1793, in Vila Rica

Panel / *Session* 477, 'Voltaireiana'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Linda Gil (Université de Montpellier Paul-Valéry)

On 14th July 1793 the doors of the Vila Rica's Opera House were opened to the performance of *Zaira*, by Voltaire, one year after the public celebration of Tiradentes' hanging – one of the most symbolical person in the anti-colonial revolt knew as 'Inconfidência Mineira' that had happened four years before, in 1789.

For the first time a Voltaire's opera was presented in the Opera House, a place that was attended by participants of the insurgency, such as the poet Claudio Manuel da Costa and the contractor José Alvares Maciel and members of the illustrated local elite. Moreover, the theatre building was inaugurated with a opera written by Claudio Manuel da Costa, called 'São Bernardo' and in that moment, 1793, the theatre had returned to activity with a text from one of the main french philosophers who was forbidden in portuguese lands: Voltaire.

The day chosen draws attention because of the direct association to the French July 14: the storming of the Bastille prison. Coincidence or not, the political culture that leded to the colonial uprising against the Portuguese Crowd was ideologically aligned with enlightenment principles. To make a reference to some of those, it's known that in the political local elite libraries there were a number of french authors from de the XVIII century and there are documents which can prove the relation between the 'mineiros' to the north-american revolutionaries.

What would be behind this opera performance? Would it be a kind of affront against the portuguese crowd agents in the colony as a recalling of a revolt that occurred shortly time ago, emphasised by the chosen day? Or it would simply carry out an updating role in a colonial theatre with regard to an European repertory?

These are some of the questions that will be developed by this work, which still aims to reconstruct some cenical aspects of the performance presented by actors and actresses 'mestizos'. The analisys of an opera episode in Vila Rica, soon after an anti-colonial rebellion, which had an influence of enlightenment principles will be the motto to the develop an investigation of the political culture of one of the most important cities from Portuguese America.

Emilio **Mazza** (Università di Lingue e Comunicazione, Milan) 'The exercise of the day and the meditation of the night': Beccaria, the École de Milan, and Hume's Profound Metaphysics

Panel / *Session* 441, 'The Cosmopolitan Identity of an Enlightenment Philosopher: David Hume 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Gianni Paganini (Università del Piemonte)

On the 26th of January 1766, three weeks after Hume's departure and eight months before arriving in Paris, Beccaria writes to Morellet: "The profound metaphysics of Mr. Hume, the truth and novelty of his views astonished me, and enlightened my understanding. Not so long ago I read [...] his history [...]. I found in it a politician, a philosopher and an historian of the first order". Hume's works, Beccaria declares, are his "continuous reading", "the exercise of the day and the meditation of the night". Is really Hume one of his philosophical "masters", as he acknowledges? Mutual acknowledgement is an intricate affair: Helvétius, for example, celebrates Hume but considers him "a better historian than a philosopher" and the *Dissertation on the Passions* "a very superficial work"; Hume celebrates Helvétius but deems *De l'Esprit* worth reading "not for its philosophy", which he does not "highly value", but for its "agreeable composition". Alessandro Verri tells his brother Pietro that the Parisian philosophers are "so far surpassed in logic" by Beccaria: they do not have his "precision" and, Alessandro "modestly" adds, "nor yours, and perhaps [...] not even mine" (in particular, Morellet is incapable of arguing). What does the école de Milan think about Hume as the author of the first *Enquiry*? We know that Alessandro (he could read English) takes notes from the first *Enquiry*; that Biffi (he could read English too) collects passages from the French translation of both the *Enquiries*. Beccaria accounts for the union of the ideas as "the cement which forms the entire fabric of human understanding"; he calls Locke "an exact geographer of human mind"; and asserts that morals, politics and criticism are all derived from "the science of man". Is he meditating on the profound metaphysician, or in reality he confined himself to the author of the *Political Discourses*, which he quotes in the early essay on the Monetary Disorders?

Tim **Mc Inerney** (Université Paris 8) *Thoroughbreds: Horses and Genealogical Hierarchy in Eighteenth-Century Britain*

Panel / *Session* 139, 'Man and Beast'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephanie Howard-Smith (Queen Mary University of London)

In the British noble tradition, few animals have rivalled the horse in terms of status and prestige. Its strength, grace and beauty not only connoted military glory and faded chivalric virtues in early-modern Britain, but also embodied a certain idea of natural excellence that underpinned contemporary paradigms of hereditary privilege. In the mid-eighteenth-century, however, the rising fashion for rearing so-called 'thoroughbreds' lent a new dimension to this relationship. The practice, which sought to perfect a race of equine 'elites', endeavoured to isolate and document horse lineages in the manner of noble genealogies. It explored, in a word, the tradition of noble blood purity through the medium of animal husbandry – and, consequently, provides a fascinating insight into understandings of genealogical hierarchy at this time.

This paper considers how the rearing of thoroughbreds was used to justify or denigrate traditional notions of noble excellence, and how these comparisons influenced changing understandings of sexual generation in eighteenth-century Britain. It looks at representations of the horse as a symbol of blood purity in satirical texts such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), but also at contemporary breeding manuals such as Richard Wall's *Dissertation on the Breeding of Horses* (1758) and Thomas Bewick's *General History of Quadrupeds* (1792). It highlights the curious colonial subtext that often permeated early-modern equine culture, such as in William Cavendish's *General System of Horsemanship* (1672, published in English in 1743) wherein the natural splendour of 'high' middle-eastern breeds was seen to be civilised by hand of rational Englishmen. Finally, the paper follows on to consider how the obsessive 'pure' breeding of thoroughbreds (often resulting in sickly or small specimens) provided a touchstone reference for critics of a degenerate and 'inbred' nobility in the Revolutionary pamphlets of the 1790s.

Mary **McAlpin** (University of Tennessee) Diderot's Dream: Théophile de Bordeu and the Masturbating Girl

Panel / *Session* 414, 'Women and Sexual Agency in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Karen Harvey (University of Birmingham)

The final section of Denis Diderot's *Le Rêve de D'Alembert* (1769) opens as two characters based on historical personages, 'le médecin Bordeu' and 'mademoiselle de Lespinasse', are finishing their afternoon meal. As the two drink their coffee—the servants having left the room—Lespinasse launches a conversational bomb: 'What do you think of interspecies breeding?' Bordeu takes a circuitous route to answering this query. He begins by expatiating on the Horatian *utile dulci* in relation to solitary sex acts, and then sets his interlocutrice a pedagogical 'supposition' in which he is the attending physician, and she the concerned mother: 'You have a virtuous daughter, too virtuous, innocent, too innocent; she is at the age at which temperament becomes fixed. Her mind is disturbed; nature does not come to her aid: you call me. I realize immediately that all of the symptoms frightening you are the result of the overabundance and retention of seminal fluid; I warn you that she risks developing a madness that is simple to prevent, yet at times impossible to cure; I indicate the remedy. What do you do?'

Like any loving mother, Lespinasse will help her daughter 'release' this dangerous excess of seminal fluid by masturbating, an act that Bordeu has just declared both useful (because purgative) and pleasurable. This defence of autoeroticism is to say the least unusual for its time, but the most remarkable aspect of Bordeu's case history is the diagnosis behind his prescription of masturbation: the cause he assigns to the excess seminal fluid that threatens his young patient with madness and death. Somehow, a tenacious ignorance of her own desires is suppressing her body's self-regulating processes. After exploring the medical historical aspects of Diderot's masturbating girl scenario, I argue that the same gendered economy of knowledge underlies Bordeu's relationship to Lespinasse. The most telling link between Bordeu's young patient and 'mademoiselle de Lespinasse' is the latter's comically tenacious inability to comprehend that she has witnessed an act of nocturnal masturbation by D'Alembert. Only inches away when her sleeping (and talking) patient experiences a wet dream

Karen **McAulay** (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland) Reading Between the Lines: Paratext in National Song and Fiddle Tunebooks of the Georgian Era

Panel / *Session* 119, 'Paratextual Identities in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sharon Young (University of Worcester)

Whilst paratext is much discussed in literature studies, it receives less attention in music. However, the paratextual material in late eighteenth and nineteenth century national song and tune collections – from title page to preface, subscribers and contents lists, and footnotes – reveals much about the compilers' intentions.

It is significant that paratext is most evident in national song collections, and less so in more functional dance-tune collections. The lyrics alongside the musical settings give an added richness of context often referenced by compilers, and national identity features strongly in much of the paratext – highlighting the nationality of the songs and their compiler; revealing the way they viewed their national heritage; and (certainly in Celtic collections) alluding to bards, minstrels, and a vanishing heritage. Authenticity and origins are much discussed, and compilers contemporary with Sir Walter Scott draw upon similar tropes, such as the idea of buried treasure in *The Antiquary*, and the artifice of fakery recognised only by the few.

Another theme is, conversely, the long-running idea that England was a land with no music – an argument promoted both by Scots and Europeans, whilst the English compilers vehemently defended themselves.

This level of paratext is less common in instrumental music. A classical trio sonata stands unadorned with little or no commentary, and even in national dance music, it's unusual to find much prefatory preamble. However, paratext is still to be found in the dance tunebooks in lists, short footnotes, ascriptions and so on. Collections of reels and strathspeys by the famous Gow family reveal the same preoccupation with authenticity and maintaining the accuracy of the repertoire.

Musicologists and cultural historians should ignore this paratext at their peril, for much is to be learned by close perusal of these collections.

Louis Kirk **McAuley** (Washington State University) The 'sweetness of flora': Capitalism, Gender, and the Botany of Desire in Henrietta Marchant Liston's *West Indian Travel Journal* and Leonora Sansay's *Secret History*

Panel / *Session 37, 'Caribbean Connections'*. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : April Shelford (American University)

Drawing upon Enlightenment ideas about agriculture, political economy, and identity, including Crèvecoeur's Physiocratic claim, that, "men are like plants," this presentation will explore the significance of gender and human-non-human sympathies in Henrietta Liston's travel diaries and Leonora Sansay's novel about the Haitian Revolution, *Secret History*; Or, *The Horrors of St. Domingo*. That Sansay chooses to not make Haitian independence her primary object of study, but focuses upon the horrifyingly misogynistic, amorous intrigues of Europeans invites readers to reconsider the brutal nature of Capitalism in the Caribbean. Instead of avarice, the passion whose rehabilitation by Enlightenment philosophers coincides with Capitalism's rise, Sansay relies upon non-human metaphors to link European agribusiness to gender injustice: a sexual violence towards women that (not unlike the history of sugar cane) knows no geo-political, racial, ethnic, or religious boundaries. It is a distinctly gendered botany of desire (Pollan) that Sansay posits as the 'secret history' of Capitalist exploitation in the Caribbean. Not only does Sansay's narrator, Mary, compare her sister's appeal to the 'sweetness of flora,' anticipating Sidney Mintz's efforts to showcase the "special significance . . . of sugar in the growth of world capitalism." She also claims that, "St. Domingo was formerly a garden," which is important because the garden here is emphatically not one of the Edenic islands featured in the propaganda of American settlement, but one distinguished by libidinous excess and horrifying violence. Furthermore, that Sansay implicitly compares women's struggle for survival in a plantation economy designed to satisfy particular masculine desires to the land crab's arduous reproductive migration to the sea establishes a troubling connection between Capitalism and evolutionary biology. The point of the land crab migration scene may be to inspire women to rise up in multitudes against structures of oppression, but it may also be to situate cycles of Capitalist exploitation (boom / bust, birth / death) in the web of life. My presentation will examine such problems.

David **McCallam** (University of Sheffield) From the Lisbon Disaster to the Terror: Geocentric Challenges to the Concept of 'Humanité' in Eighteenth-Century France

Panel / *Session 267, 'Environment'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

The late eighteenth century in France is often characterized as the moment in which a modern concept of universal 'humanité' emerges, albeit with its attendant blindspots regarding gender, race, class, mental health and age. This then culminates, according to the same narrative, in the 'Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen' of 1789. However, in the same period this dominant anthropocentrism is challenged and revised by geocentrism, that is, by thinking about geological events or processes which decentres humankind's centrality to narratives of nature and the universe. In the wake of the devastating Lisbon earthquake of 1755, this geocentric thinking may be illustrated by three key examples: by Buffon's master narrative of unilinear global cooling in his *Époques de la nature* (1778); by the new aesthetics of the natural sublime; and by what Mary Ashburn Miller has called the radical 'naturalization of politics' in the French Revolution, specifically in the so-called Terror. In each of these instances, geocentrism rejects and even mocks traditional Christian theology, although it wavers between a deist and an atheist interpretation of nature in its stead. What this paper thus attempts to show is the extent to which geocentric thinking checks and inflects the predominant anthropocentric narratives of 'humanité' emerging in this period. In other words, it is a paper about the Enlightenment identity of humankind itself.

Sarah **McCleave** (Queen's University Belfast) The Biographer and Questions of Identity

Panel / *Session 331, 'Facts and Fictions: Biographical Imperatives in Researching the Eighteenth-Century Dancer – The Oxford Dance Symposium'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurel Zeiss (Baylor University)

The issue of identity is arguably of central importance when writing the biography of a public figure. To what extent does the subject create her own identity; how do we attribute deliberate acts of identity formation; how do we measure their relative success? To what extent is individual identity portable, to what extent does it mutate according to circumstance or context? Can the biographer determine the identity of their subject without any evidence of how others perceived them? How important is posthumous identity to biography? Whose version of 'identity' is most important? This panel contribution will consider these questions with regards to two dancers existing at the same time, Marie Sallé (1709-1756) and Robert Francis Smith (fl. 1729-1735). Sallé was a theatre dancer; Smith taught dancing to the elite and the bourgeoisie. Both of these dancers were active in London; Sallé was also active in Paris, while Smith travelled within England to teach at his pupils' houses. We have a few documents (some contemporary, some posthumous) that reveal Sallé's professional standing or identity; for Smith, practically the entire evidence base for the researcher is a detailed account book covering a mere six years of his life.

Cathy McClive (Florida State University) 'A Secret with Apples and Seeds': Gendering Love Magic in the Claudine Rouge Cause Celebre of 1767.

Panel / *Session 429*, 'Gendering Bodily and Medical Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century France'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennifer Germann (Ithaca College)

In the midst of the criminal trial for the alleged rape and murder of Claudine Rouge in Lyon in 1767, allegations emerged that the main defendant, femme Forobert was involved in a triangular love magic ring. Questioning the sexual morality and character of women in particular is a familiar pattern in ancien regime trials, especially if, as in this case, evidence connecting the accused to the initial crime was insufficient to convict. Here, however, Forobert, and her co-accused Prunier, offered up extravagant tales of fortune tellers and love magic themselves, as a distraction from the accusation of murder perhaps. An official charge of superstitious practices was added to the original indictment. The murder case was thrown out of court, but the charges of libertinage and superstitious practices stuck.

Historians largely agree that whilst elite beliefs in magic declined in Europe from the second half of the seventeenth-century onwards, magical practices and superstitions persisted well into the eighteenth, even nineteenth centuries. Others have argued that magic became more interesting 'beyond the witch-trials' as a direct result of judicial re-framing which removed threats of torture and demonology from ordinary stories of magic. In this paper I will explore the meanings of love magic charges, almost a century after the affaire des poisons and the repeal of the statute on witchcraft in France, in the context of a high-profile murder trial. The detailed narratives of love magic from 1767 Lyon reveal a spectrum of everyday magical practices and the interpersonal power dynamics around the ownership and gendering of knowledge of body magic, including one unexpected twist: the purveyor of the 'secret with apples and seeds' was a man.

Matthew McCormack (University of Northampton) Shoes and the Body in Georgian Britain

Panel / *Session 443*, 'The Material Body'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Berry (Newcastle University)

This paper will focus on shoes from early eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century Britain, in order to suggest some potential approaches to the histories of gender, embodiment and material culture. Shoes reveal a great deal about gender, given the contrasting designs and functions that have historically been ascribed to male and female footwear. Furthermore, they tell us much about the body. Issues such as the height of the heel, the flexibility of the sole and the shape of the last can impact upon the posture and motions of the body. As well as altering the visual shape of the body, footwear can affect the ability of the wearer to perform tasks such as walking, riding, dancing and physical labour. They therefore relate in important ways to the social roles that have historically been ascribed to men and women: given that the eighteenth century is often regarded as having witnessed important shifts in gender relations and understandings of the body, the changing design of shoes can help to explain this. Shoes enable historians to think about embodiment in other ways too. There is much to be gained from studying shoes as material objects, since the materiality of the shoe can reveal what it would have been like to wear, and what impact it would have had on the wearer's body. Shoes are unusual among garments in that they affect the whole body: their role in absorbing shock, bearing weight and enabling mobility impact upon body parts higher up such as the spine and the neck, as well as

upon the feet themselves. This paper will therefore argue that shoes offer a unique insight into the bodies of historical actors.

Kirsteen **McCue** (University of Glasgow) The Romantic National Song Network

Panel / *Session 422*, 'British Music'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Patricia Debly (Brock University)

The RSE funded 'Romantic National Song Network' has been running since March 2017 and will complete in August 2019. Bringing together literary scholars, musicologists, historians, performance historians and collections specialists from across Britain and Ireland, the network has been exploring the songs printed with musical notation for performance and clearly labelled as National Songs between 1750 and 1850. It has been mapping these individual national traditions, through a series of meetings, blogs and song 'stories' from the four nations alongside the rising interest and publication of a new brand of 'British' songs. The outputs are looking at similarities and differences between the nations, linking the publication and performance culture of individual songs across this period of significant historical and political upheaval. This paper will share some of the findings of the network with the ISECS participants.

Iain **McDaniel** (University of Sussex) Echoes of Enlightenment in Karl von Rotteck's *Allgemeine Geschichte* (1812–1827)

Panel / *Session 187*, 'The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 3'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hiroki Ueno (Hitotsubashi University)

Karl von Rotteck (1775-1840) is best remembered today as the co-editor of the *Staats-Lexikon*, the famous South German liberal encyclopaedia of the 1830s. But before his participation in this project, Rotteck authored a multivolume *Universal History* (9 vols., 1812-1827), a work which had deep roots in the intellectual culture of Enlightenment historiography – or so I shall argue. Appointed to the Chair of History at Freiburg in 1798, Rotteck is perhaps best seen as part of a broad European generation whose careers spanned the period between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – a generation which also included Benjamin Constant, with whom Rotteck corresponded. My purpose in this paper is to consider Rotteck's treatment, in his *Allgemeine Geschichte*, of many of the key preoccupations of eighteenth-century historiography: with the emergence of Europe as a system of sovereign states, and with the eighteenth century as an age of war, commerce, public debt, and empire. I will also track Rotteck's engagement with eighteenth-century German and Swiss historiography, notably the work of the Swiss republican historian, Johannes von Müller. My broader claim is that German historians of Rotteck's generation did not decisively break with the insights of the philosophical histories of civil government developed during the Enlightenment. Rather, they reshaped them and extended them in the context of post-revolutionary Europe.

Ciaran **McDonnell** (Independent Scholar) 'Zeal and Patriotism': Forging Identity in the Irish Militia, 1793–1802

Panel / *Session 201*, 'Eighteenth-Century Ireland 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

The Irish Militia, formed in 1793 to defend Ireland from French invasion, represented almost two thirds of the British garrison in Ireland during the French Revolutionary Wars. All across Britain and Ireland (and indeed most of Europe) society became militarised in this first age of 'total war'; never before had so many men been under arms, in both professional and amateur forces, and this had a dramatic effect on society. The Irish Militia was also significant as it was a coming together of the upper-class Anglo-Irish Protestant military tradition, represented by the officer corps, and the Catholic majority, who filled the ranks and had only recently regained the right to bear arms. As a case study this paper will explore how successfully or unsuccessfully these competing 'Irish' identities came together in the Donegal Regiment of Militia, examining how the officers overcame challenges and fostered a regimental identity that was capable of weathering the violence of the 1798 Rebellion and forging links with a wider British military identity.

This in turn shows how mutable and dynamic Irish identity was in the 18th century, adapting to both internal and external situations and pressures.

Katie McDonough (The Alan Turing Institute) **Counting the Ways They Differ: Speech Patterns of the Montagnards and Girondins** (Co-presented with Dan Edelstein, Stanford University)

Panel / *Session* 303, 'Les Archives parlementaires and Revolutionary Data'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Keith Baker (Stanford University)

Computational approaches to the Archives parlementaires (AP) provide a new pathway to examine questions about political discourse, revolutionary behavior, and the packaging of that history in the nineteenth century. In the French Revolutionary Data Project, we experiment with textual analysis methods in collaboration with political scientists. We explore polarization in political discourse during the Terror (September 20, 1792 to June 2, 1793). Making use of n-gram frequency and predictive analysis methods, we examine the degree to which certain utterances can be associated with Girondins and Montagnards. Such an approach not only helps us to sift through 4,525 speeches over about 8 months, it also provides an opportunity to test the associative bonds of these two groups. Using different metrics to determine "belonging" in the Girondins and Montagnards (and comparing these to historians' lists of these groups), we tease out the distinctive characteristics of each and how these evolved until the expulsion of the Girondins.

Zoe McGee (Queen Mary University of London) **'Her shoes were full of blood': Narratives of Rape in the Old Bailey Proceedings and their Application to Courtship Novels**

Panel / *Session* 113, 'Literature, Politics, and Gender in 1790s Britain'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Mauger (Queen Mary University of London)

Talking about rape is always difficult – and the difficulty only increases in a society which stigmatises female sexual experience, and asserts that sex itself is an unfeminine and inappropriate topic. But looking at the way real rapes were talked about (through examining court transcripts at the Old Bailey 1750-1802) highlights some key trends, which in turn offer important consideration for the way in which we approach the period's courtship novels. This paper pays particular attention to the levels of violence present in guilty-verdict cases, and the type of language used in relaying this. It will also suggest that the courts accepted factors other than physical force as limiting the capacity to consent. Finally, it will suggest that courtship novels occupy a vital role in disseminating narratives of victim solidarity and rapist culpability, thereby functioning as something akin to the eighteenth-century's #MeToo.

Lyndsay McGill (National Museums Scotland) **Knights of the Thistle: A Royal Quest for Loyalty and Identity**

Panel / *Session* 335, 'Jacobite Material Culture'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vicky Coltman (University of Edinburgh)

On 29 May 1687 James VII 'revived' the Most Ancient & Most Noble Order of the Thistle: two years later the Scottish Parliament declared that the Stuart King had forfeited the Scottish crown and thus invited William and Mary to accept the crown in his place. However, the Order did not cease with the exiled king, instead it continued with a growing members list and became a tool, used by the Stuarts, for fostering loyalty. This paper will look at Stuart propaganda through the Thistle Orders, the associated material culture and how this functioned in an exiled court.

Martha McGill (University of Warwick) **Porous Bodies and Selfhood in Enlightenment Britain**

Panel / *Session* 390, 'Bodies, Disease, and Gender'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Montana Davies-Shuck (Northumbria University)

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the body was understood to be porous. Natural philosophers taught that the body was governed by the flux of the four humours: blood, black bile, yellow bile and phlegm. These humours were themselves influenced by the climate, the season, and the motions of the planets. Fluids and vapours traversed the permeable boundary of the skin, making for a constant process of interchange between internal and external. This was not merely an abstract physiological principle: it fundamentally shaped how people envisaged themselves. Selfhood could not be securely vested in an unstable body. Identities were constructed through the environment, and were correspondingly fluid.

According to one line of argument, concepts of the porous body were most prominent during the Renaissance. Thereafter, there was an increased emphasis on the importance of controlling the body, and constraining its process of interchange with the external environment – for Norbert Elias, the ‘civilizing process’. Other scholars have argued that the importance of humoral medicine – and, by extension, the porous body – persisted into the nineteenth century. This debate is important to the question of when and how conceptions of a modern, individualist self arose.

This paper will argue that this question can be best addressed by looking at Enlightenment discussions of physiology in conjunction with a much broader range of sources. Literary works, popular pamphlets and folkloric stories reflect on understandings of the body. Spiritual writing is also an underused resource: in experiencing the influence of God or the Devil, individuals created alternative narratives of bodily porosity that both complemented and challenged contemporary medical discourses. In revisiting the debate about how body and environment interacted, this paper will reflect more widely on how eighteenth-century men and women constructed their own identities.

Elaine **McGirr** (University of Bristol) *Injur’d Husband or London Cuckold?*

Panel / *Session 138*, ‘Making Stars: Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Nora Nachumi (Yeshiva University)

Theophilus Cibber’s career is an endless series of mistaken identities. The young actor, celebrated for his comic turn as Ancient Pistol in *Henry IV*, misrecognised himself as Prince Hal and expected to inherit his father’s kingdom. He was shocked when he failed to inherit his father’s mantle and continued to be Ancient Pistol. Nor did Theophilus learn from this experience. After his disastrous attempt to stage a revolution and seize the theatrical crown denied him, Theophilus returned to Drury Lane with a new wife and tried to forge a new identity. When the marriage failed, Theophilus attempted a new role. Taking his cue from amatory fiction, Cibber published a series of letters, *Four Original Letters*, purporting to be between himself, his wife and her lover. Cibber cast himself as the injured husband, an innocent whose only sin was his blind faith in his wife, and whose only desire was reconciliation. But Cibber fatally undercut this narrative by also suing William Sloper for criminal conversation, and when that failed to return a profitable judgement, for detaining. Cibber’s fictional correspondence was widely read, but read in dialogue with the proceedings of the trials. These two biographies – the legal and the amorous – combined to confirm Cibber’s identity as a villain rather than a victim; his tone-deaf foray into print established him as simultaneously vicious and pathetic.

Wendy **McGlashan** (University of Aberdeen) *Demons of Discord and Illustrious Martyrs: John Kay and the Rhetoric of Radical Reform in Enlightenment Edinburgh*

Panel / *Session 56*, ‘New Directions in the Study of Caricature (Eighteenth-Century Literature and Visual Culture Research Network)’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

In late eighteenth-century Scotland, political representation was extremely limited. Efforts towards burgh reform proved unsuccessful and in 1792 a wave of new reform societies emerged across Britain and Ireland, influenced both by the French Revolution and Thomas Paine’s *The Rights of Man*. In July, the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People was instituted in Edinburgh, which became an important centre for radical reform. Between 1792 and 1793, four radical conventions were held in the city – the last of which was styled the ‘British Convention’ and included leading English radicals amongst its delegates. Edinburgh was also the seat of the Scottish establishment and home to the High Courts of Justiciary and between 1793 and 1794 the infamous state sedition trials of the radical reformers Thomas Muir, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, William Skirving, Maurice Margarot, and Joseph Gerrald – or the ‘Scottish Martyrs’ – were staged in the city.

Diana Donald suggests that ‘with few exceptions one searches in vain for representations of the unfolding history of working-class radicalism in Britain ... its leaders and the prosecutions brought against them’ while John Barrell questions ‘why the movement seems to have been so little interested in developing a visual culture commensurate with its varied and voluminous literary culture.’ However, the studies of Donald and Barrell focus on the London context and thus the vital contribution of the Edinburgh barber-turned-printmaker John Kay (1742-1826) is overlooked.

Through an analysis of Kay’s frontispiece portraits to the printed accounts of the trials of the Scottish (or more appropriately, British) Martyrs, this paper will demonstrate that Kay’s portraits formed an integral part of the rhetoric with which the radicals challenged the authorities and asserted their own identity: rhetoric played out across title pages and frontispieces, which mobilised visual language in conjunction with literary references to the works of Shakespeare, William Cowper, Jean Louis Delolme, Ovid, Horace, and the Comte De Mirabeau.

Aaron **McGregor** (University of Glasgow) Revival or Reinvention? A Multidisciplinary Approach to Eighteenth-Century Scottish Dancing and Its Music

Panel / *Session* 225, ‘Eighteenth-Century Arts Education Research Network’. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leonie Hannan (Queen’s University, Belfast)

Since 2015, Concerto Caledonia’s project ‘Nathaniel Gow’s Dance Band’ has been exploring the range of music and choreography which would have been familiar to 18th-century Scottish dance musicians, teachers, and their audiences. Whilst there is a wealth of relevant and largely unexplored historical material, its realisation has depended on a multi-faceted approach, bringing together scholars and performers across traditional music, historically-informed performance, and social dancing. This paper will reflect on the project and consider its wider implications in teaching and performing 18th-century dance and its music in the 21st century.

Brian **McInnis** (Christopher Newport University) Identities and Otherness

Panel / *Session* 104, ‘“Enlightened” Vagabondage and Nostalgic Chauvinism: Eighteenth-Century Exiles, Derelicts, and Émigrés’ Reflections on Regional and National Identity’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gabor Gelleri (Aberystwyth University)

In his story “Inkle and Yarico” (1711), Richard Steele asks how contact between cultures shapes the question of identity. His brief story explores a spectrum of engagement with another people that spans from curiosity to conquest to self-preservation. His text asks questions such as how should I or my country engage the other? In what ways can one compare cultures? In what ways can personal and societal ethics achieve or fall out of equilibrium? How do women and men interact, and how do they rationalize the ethics of their choices? Enlightenment travelers and readers were eager to discover other civilizations on the ground or on the page. In the preface to his *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, Immanuel Kant underscored the importance of traveling and reading travel accounts in order to better understand other cultures.

In this paper, I will compare fictional texts and essays such as Johann Gottlob Benjamin Pfeil’s “The Savage” (1757), Christoph Martin Wieland’s “Koxkox and Kikequetzel” (1770), Samuel Gotthold Lange and Georg Friedrich Meier’s moral weekly articles “Notes on the Indians from Quito” (1751), or Johann August Unzer’s “Medicine of the Americans in de la Houton” (1762). I will ask questions like how do German authors imagine European encounters with Native peoples of the Americas? What does one learn about European views of themselves? How do they reflect on the ethical ramifications of these encounters? To what extent are the Native Americans imagined or reported on with intersubjectivity? Do German writers view other peoples from the perimeter, like the vicar in Rousseau’s *Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar* (1782), acknowledging all people have a common humanity, or do they place themselves at the center? To what extent does Steele’s “Inkle and Yarico” live on in German texts that feature the meeting of different cultures? Through consideration of these and other questions I will analyze some of the layers that shape Enlightenment German and European views of native North Americans and of Europeans.

Maurie McInnis (University of Texas at Austin) Virginia Luxuries at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello
Panel / *Session 229*, 'Identity and the Interior'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Christina Lindeman (University of South Alabama)

In the young United States, most houses were seen as private spaces, that is, other than the White House, they rarely served as the site of official functions. Yet the houses of famous men became "public" in that Americans saw their homes as surrogates of the men themselves. They even served as surrogates of nationhood where nationhood was rhetorically and metaphorically explained through architectural metaphors. Architects of Democracy. Founding Fathers. Framers of the Constitution. Lincoln understood the power of the house as a metaphor for nation when he famously said in 1858 "A House divided against itself cannot stand."

No home and individual were as intimately intertwined as Monticello and Thomas Jefferson. Perhaps anticipating the public role that he would be expected to play even after retirements from the presidency, Jefferson designed the architecture of Monticello to have a powerful separation between public and private. In a trio of public rooms, Jefferson's purchases in France created a didactic display of art and maps, to which he added native American artifacts, geological and natural history specimens, and other curiosities that were intended to instruct his visitors on America's national character and its role in the westward march of civilization. These rooms functioned as the public face of Jefferson.

But there was also a very private Monticello. Hidden stairs and transverse hallways helped to hide the presence of the enslaved. On one end of the house, Jefferson's "sanctum sanctorum": his library, greenhouse, office and bedroom, were rooms that few were permitted to enter. The private Jefferson was, in fact, so private that for decades most historians refused to believe the rumors that circulated even during his lifetime about Jefferson's long-term relationship with Sally Hemmings. This paper will explore the tension between the public and the private Monticello and the "Virginia Luxuries" hidden within.

Gerard McKeever (University of Glasgow) The Conundrum of the Local: Humphry Clinker in Dumfriesshire

Panel / *Session 93*, 'Smollett and Enlightenment Identity'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 2, Crystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Phineas Dowling (Auburn University)

In the third volume of Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), Matthew Bramble's touring party are heading south from Glasgow on their anticlockwise perambulation of the British mainland, when they opt to divert 'some miles out of our road to see Drumlanrig, a seat belonging to the Duke of Queensberry, which appears like a magnificent palace erected by magic, in the midst of a wilderness'. It is the start of a passage through Dumfriesshire that highlights something of the role played by Scotland's southwest in the travel literature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, legible here primarily as being 'different from [...] the Highlands'.

This paper explores the negotiation of this region in Smollett's novel against the background of early domestic tourism. Recent scholarship has reclaimed a fuller sense of this history and, with regard to Scotland, has tended to focus on the Highlands, which was reimaged in the eighteenth century as an ideal locale to rival classical Europe or the South Seas. However, I suggest here that there is much to be learned from the comparatively inconspicuous milieu of Dumfriesshire. The strange effects registered by Humphry Clinker reflect universal aspects of the local: idiosyncratic, formed by association, tending to disintegrate under observation. And yet Dumfriesshire offers a distinctive example of the subjectivity of looking, in the dialectical interactions between instance and idea, or space and place, that structure the art of travel – not least because it could be both foreign and overfamiliar to visitors, lacking touristic inscription. It thus reflects the conundrum described by Penny Fielding: 'it is impossible to think the local or particular without some form of conceptual generality'; or in John Stoddart's 1801 terms, any 'fixed point' in 'the constant stream of mind' is entirely 'tinged' with other sources of meaning.

Andrew McKendry (Nord University) 'We have for the Feeble, as for the Strong': Illustrating Disability in *The Pilgrim's Progress*

Panel / *Session* 217, 'Representing Disability'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Ryan Hanley (University of Bristol)

A scene of brutality and jubilation, the fete that follows the defeat of Despair has long been a favorite subject for illustrators of *The Pilgrim's Progress, The Second Part* (1684): the motley band of pilgrims—warriors, women, valiant, vulnerable—gather about the severed head of the giant, Christiana playing her viol while the disabled “Ready-to-Halt,” his impairment signaled by his solitary crutch, dances to the best of his ability. Even though it is “Great-Heart” and his stout soldiers who have bested Despair, prominence was traditionally given to Ready-to-Halt, an arrangement that is theologically deliberate; the exaltation of this conspicuously incapable pilgrim (along with the cognitively-impaired “Feeble-mind”) marks the capaciousness of Reformed theology, based as it is on a repudiation of performance, capability, and earthly merit. This is why, this paper argues, the decline of Reformed theology—displaced by a conditional soteriology more congenial to liberal values—generates a shift in illustrations of disability. As salvation became tied more decisively to condition and capacity, it is the heroic triumph of Great-heart that becomes the focus of this scene, the weakness of the disabled pilgrims becoming an occasion for accommodation and charity—rather than a radical repudiation of human ability itself. Leading us through the various ways in which this episode has been depicted, this paper explores how representations of disability are underpinned by assumptions about merit that changed decisively throughout the Enlightenment.

Andrea **McKenzie** (University of Victoria) 'Subtly drawn so that he might die a Papist or a Protestant': The Confessional Politics of Edward Fitzharris's Last Dying Words, 1681

Panel / *Session* 41, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

One of the final acts of the Exclusion Crisis (1679-81) was the contest over the confession of Edward Fitzharris — an Irish Catholic court spy who “flipped”, becoming a star witness for the Whig opposition but who, at the gallows, seemed to authenticate a loyalist paper recanting his previous Popish Plot evidence. The controversy over the various iterations of Fitzharris's testimony, private correspondence and last words broke down not only along partisan (Whig-Tory) but along confessional lines: had Fitzharris died “Papist or Protestant”? The communion professed by Fitzharris at the place of execution had profound implications for the way in which his confession was read — not least because Catholic truth claims were widely rejected by English Protestants as casuistical and deceptive, supposedly compromised by papal dispensations and clerical oaths of secrecy. Thus, Whigs who had embraced the earlier testimony of the Catholic apostate Fitzharris now questioned his dying confession as a “papist” equivocation or a forgery; Frances Hawkins, the Anglican minister of the Tower who published the paper, attempted to claim Fitzharris as a Protestant convert while critics castigated Hawkins as a crypto-Catholic. Using both printed and manuscript sources (including George Treby's shorthand notes of Fitzharris's examination and early drafts of the pamphlet published by Hawkins), this paper explores both the political and performative dimensions of confession. To what degree was religion – and truth — demonstrated by public acts (such as solemn vows and gestures) and relational (with whom and to whom did one pray, receive communion, etc.)?

James **McLaverty** (Keele University) The Identities of Middle Age: Pope's Works of 1735

Panel / *Session* 436, 'New Perspectives on Editing Pope'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Marcus Walsh (University of Liverpool)

A new edition of Pope requires attention to the books he created, as well as the texts. Although the ways in which a modern edition can imitate its copy are limited, illustration and commentary can be used to reflect some of the meanings Pope designed for his books. This paper considers Pope's second volume of collected Works of 1735, contrasting it with the first, published eighteen years earlier. When he planned his first volume of Works, to be published before his thirtieth birthday, Pope's conception of himself was relatively simple: he was a brilliant young man, in the tradition of Homer and Virgil, modest but famous, worthy of a volume like Dryden's Virgil or his own translation of Homer. Producing a second volume of Works eighteen years later, without having written an epic to rival Homer's or Virgil's, was more problematic. The 1735 quarto and folio volumes had to attempt the integration

what had become a diverse literary identity. The artistic success of the *Odyssey* translation was to be reflected in the reuse of its illustrations; an initial conception of the volume, in which Pope was to emerge as his age's great teacher, was to be expressed through its organization; a newly developed identification with Horace was to position the poet in relation to the social and political conflicts of his time; and the *Dunciad* was to present a contrast to the dignity of that Horatian world. To Arbuthnot, published only a few months before the *Works*, identified what Pope saw as his own contexts, and was designed to pin the volume together, offering the key to the meaning of its illustrations. Virtue and friendship were to be celebrated in the construction of the book, but vacillation and parsimony impaired Pope's achievement. The final confusions of *Works* (1735) make it all the more authentic perhaps as an expression of Pope's situation at this stage in his career.

Mark **McLean** (The National Trust for Scotland) *Scotch on the Rocks: Literary Identity and Anxiety in the Scottish Enlightenment*

Panel / *Session 49*, 'Language and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

The Scottish literati of the latter half of the eighteenth century, as well as punching above their weight in the intellectual life of Europe, were also prone to tensions and antagonisms within their own circle. Contributing to this internal friction was an anxiety to conform to English standards of speech and language without seeming ashamed of their unique patrimony and bruising their national pride: Scots frequently attacked one another for having failed on one or other of those accounts. It is not too much to suggest that this need for conformity – and associated disagreements concerning the extent to which this necessity should be considered an evil one – constituted a crisis of identity for Scottish men of letters. One symptom of this anxiety was the scrupulous detection and expunging from their works of "Scotticisms" engaged in by so many of the Scots literati. Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes (1726-1792) was a Scot schooled at Eton and as such was recognised as an unimpeachable guide to flawlessly idiomatic English prose by his compatriots. In this paper an examination of correspondence between Hailes and certain other prominent literary figures of the day, including David Hume and James Boswell, will throw some light on the neuralgic matter of Scots achievement, pride and identity in the face of a demanding and critical English audience.

Genevieve **McNutt** (University of Edinburgh) 'A publication so valuable to the antiquary, the philologist, and the poet': Robert Southey and Medieval Romance in the *Annual Review*

Panel / *Session 179*, 'Poetic Past, Poetic Present'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Liz Bellamy (City College Norwich / The Open University)

Among the many contributions Robert Southey made to the *Annual Review* and *History of Literature* between 1802 and 1808 were a series of reviews of works on early vernacular literature, including the editions of medieval romances by Walter Scott, George Ellis and Joseph Ritson. Although these reviews vary considerably in length and quality, cumulatively they outline and promote a complex, deeply intertextual reaction to changes in taste and scholarship. Southey uses these reviews, particularly the review of Ritson's *Ancient English Metrical Romanceës* (1802), to argue that literary history and literary taste were in the process of changing. Southey links these works with other editions and studies of early vernacular literature, past, present and future (both forthcoming and simply desired), to advocate for a renewed appreciation of medieval poetry, one which might influence contemporary poets.

Southey's contributions to the *Annual Review* provide a suggestive case study of the possibilities and challenges offered by periodical literary criticism, as the short-lived *Review* attempted to provide an account of the previous year's publications that was both comprehensive and systematic, identifying and tracing significant trends. Southey's reviews of the editions of medieval romances often varied considerably from those found in other *Reviews*, reflecting complex interactions between factional controversy and the political and religious commitments of different publications.

Heather **McPherson** (University of Alabama at Birmingham) Image/Counter-Image: Contesting
Celebrity in Graphic Satire

Panel / *Session* 138, 'Making Stars: Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Tuesday /*Mardi*
10.00 – 11.45. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Nora Nachumi (Yeshiva University)

This paper examines the multivalent role caricature and graphic satire played in fueling celebrity and bringing public personalities down from their lofty pedestals by ridiculing their appearance, private lives, and personal foibles. As recent scholarship has shown, celebrity is a complex sociocultural and psychological phenomenon grounded in a complex dynamic of personal identification, verging on idolatry, and vicious denigration and desecration. While biography played a key role in chronicling celebrity, caricature emerged as a potent weapon for reifying and attacking public personalities in a society increasingly dominated by visual media and the press. Like theatrical biographies, caricature was propelled by the desire for a sort of “publicity intimacy,” that democratized culture and empowered individual readers and spectators. Isaac Cruikshank’s *The Strollers Progress* (1809), a series of 6 plates exposing the ignominious origins and flawed character of John Philip Kemble serves as a lens for exploring the complex relationship between biography and celebrity and agency of graphic satire in the long eighteenth century. Although Kemble was caricatured throughout his career, this intertextual series stands out because it attacks Kemble’s career and professional reputation, reframing it as a negative progress. It references events from his life in dense, episodic caricatures that make extensive use of text, undercutting his public image and rewriting his dramatic biography. The key negative traits addressed, including his lowly lineage, crypto-Catholicism, drunkenness, and flawed character, are the sorts of flaws and stereotypical behaviors that figure prominently in popular biographies. Similarly, caricature typically relies on a shorthand language of exaggerated distortion and visual signs. The six scenes chronicle the great actor’s impoverished origins, crypto-Catholicism, violent disposition, hypocrisy, and drunkenness, culminating with his riding to the devil and culpability for the O.P. Riots. What particular interests me in this series is its extensive matrix of references to other caricatures and the broader political and cultural context.

Susan **McReynolds** (Northwestern University) Enlightening the Enlightenment: Russian Identity as
Dialectical Critique

Panel / *Session* 176, 'Oppressive Enlightenment? Discourses and Practices of Knowledge/Power 1'. Tuesday
/ *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexei Evstratov
(Université de Lausanne)

I compare two prominent eighteenth-century articulations of national identity based in what we would now, after the publication of Horkheimer and Adorno’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944), call dialectical criticism of Western modernity: the writings of Denis Fonvizin (1745-92) and Mikhail Shcherbatov (1733-90). Authors and public servants who attempted to influence a nascent discourse of national identity, Fonvizin and Shcherbatov offered sharply different opinions of how well the West fulfilled its own professed conception of enlightenment, and about what constituted true enlightenment. Through their contentious arguments over the extent and limits of enlightenment—which I show bear striking similarities to contemporaneous Western works such as *Letters On The Aesthetic Education of Man* (Schiller, 1795)—I trace their reactions to Kant’s call for emancipation from external tutelage, conceived on a national scale.

John **McTague** (University of Bristol) Collapsing Historical Distance in Behn’s *The Roundheads* and
Dryden and Lee’s *Duke of Guise*

Panel / *Session* 98, 'Aphra Behn: Page, Stage, Canvas'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

For Mark Salber Philips, historical distance is not simply ‘a natural feature of our relation to time’ but an effect created by writers of history, one flexible in its application, and carried out through various techniques: made, not found. The offhand collapsing of historical distance is a feature of much of the political writing provoked by the popish and protestant plots. As one anonymous poet writes in 1681, ‘Some say that 41 that fatal year | Doth like a frightful Ghost again appear.’ As well as making a straightforward historical parallel, the poem gives expression to what it claims is a

widely-distributed feeling of *déjà vu*, a felt resonance of '41 in '81: historical distance has already been collapsed, it claims, in the wild.

This paper explores how this kind of thing plays out on the stage, in two 'history plays': Behn's *The Roundheads* and Dryden and Lee's *Duke of Guise*. Both re-enact recent political events in locations removed from 1680s London in space and time. Both pretend that the parallel they set up is found, not made. Both periodically collapse historical distance through tactical anachronism and pointed emphasis of the proximity of player and audience, downstage and pit. In both plays, collapsing historical distance also denies historical difference. Behn is not coy about the fact that her Roundheads *are* Whigs. Dryden and Lee's Guisards are just as clearly avatars for contemporary figures, and their protestations that any parallels are 'general' can only be read as the most gestural of prophylactics. The parallels in these plays are not made so that their audiences can draw sobering lessons from history. If so, they wouldn't be so deliberately flimsy, and so readily ruptured by the energies of performance. Behn capitalises on the energies of farce to accomplish this. Dryden and Lee, unable to baldly state that the Duke of Guise is really the Duke of Monmouth, communicate this to their audiences by *staging* the collapse of historical distance, thrusting the Duke to the front of the stage, removing the scenery, and killing him for the second time.

Jon Mee (University of York) From Amiable Collision to National Controversy: The Materialism debate in Manchester 1783–1798

Panel / *Session* 398, 'Knowledge in Transit: Romantic Print Networks and the Public Circulation of Knowledge'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Russell (University of York)

After its formation in the early 1780s, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society engaged in a project of improvement through debate and publication that drew in members from across the globe. Among the issues it debated were topics relating to materialism and vitalism. Participants included Unitarian minister Thomas Barnes, the physician John Ferriar, the manufacturer Thomas Cooper, and the young Robert Owen. It sparked discussion within Unitarian networks across the region and was even known to Samuel Taylor Coleridge down in Somerset. Although there were resignations from the society over religious differences in the 1780s, especially Anglican members who feared the society was a front for Socinians, amiable collision was the dominant tone of their exchanges. This tone did not always readily translate to readers in print, however, especially when its public transactions were available to national and international readers. This paper examines the content of the exchange, the wider issues it raised, its reception in the anti-Jacobin press, where its complexities were quickly rendered in binary terms once it entered the Revolution controversy.

Natania Meeker (University of Southern California) 'Les mâles se résolvant en mâles, les femelles en femelles': Vegetal Materialisms and Sexual Difference in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 357, 'Botanical Identities 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Benharrech (University of Maryland)

This paper will explore the way in which eighteenth-century investigations of vegetal life forms and vegetal life serve at once as an anchor for materialist ontologies and as an invitation to speculation about the nature and effects of sexual difference. The vegetal societies of the eighteenth century—including the plant-inhabited planet of Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) and the lush botanical allegories of Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802)—often privilege feminine and female subject positions in their descriptions of a plant-inspired social order. But other attempts to posit a vegetal basis for life more generally—or a vegetal intervention in the production of human life forms—also imagine a breakdown in the seemingly "natural" order of sexual difference or sexual dimorphism. (Diderot's 1769 *Rêve de d'Alembert* is conspicuous in this context.) This paper will examine eighteenth-century theories of vegetal matter as a transitional yet uniquely animating mode of life that slips from femininity into a kind of intersexuality. It will ask how the association of plants with femininity—and the significance of plant life for theories of vital materiality—might in certain instances enable a critique of fixed forms of sexual difference (albeit not necessarily to the benefit of actual women). Ironically, the feminized plant societies of thinkers like Darwin and Holberg, which eschew the radical materialist positions of an author like Diderot, might see themselves more easily incorporated into proto-feminist

arguments in favor of social and political transformation. What potential, if any, does a Diderotian vitalism, with its frequent turn to plants as an animating force, hold for the critique of sexed norms as a set of claims about the ontological difference of bodies from one another?

Franz **Meier** (Universität Augsburg) L'influence de la traduction du français vers l'italien dans les écrits de la presse scientifique italienne au siècle des Lumières

Panel / *Session* 433, 'L'identité italienne en jeu face à l'hégémonie du français : la traduction et la question de la langue 2 (Textes philosophiques et scientifiques)'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Silvia Tatti (Sapienza Università di Roma)

La naissance des périodiques savants à partir de la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle constitue un bouleversement en Europe non seulement pour les outils utilisés pour la création et la transmission des savoirs, mais aussi pour l'histoire des genres textuels de la communication scientifique. Au siècle des Lumières, ces périodiques savants ne sont pas encore spécialisés, ils accueillent des auteurs et des champs disciplinaires différents et publient des genres textuels très variés, comme des extraits de livres récents, des comptes rendus ou des récits d'expériences scientifiques. Les périodiques savants contribuent à une diffusion large et rapide de nouvelles découvertes scientifiques parmi les chercheurs de la République des Lettres européenne et ils rendent ces savoirs accessibles à un public de plus en plus intéressé à la science. Si ces périodiques savants existent en France à partir de la fondation du Journal des savants en 1665, les giornali letterari-scientifici naissent plus tard en Italie, où ils sont surtout publiés à Venise. Dans ces giornali letterari-scientifici, les traductions de textes scientifiques français occupent une place importante et certains giornali ne constituent qu'une simple traduction de périodiques français. Dans de nombreux traités et préfaces de traduction, le français est souvent considéré comme une langue scientifique modèle et les traductions du français vers l'italien représentent souvent pour les érudits italiens un vrai exercice de style scientifique.

Dans cette communication, nous nous intéressons au Journal des savants et à sa traduction italienne, le Giornale de' Letterati Oltremontani (1722-1759). À partir d'un corpus composé de textes originaux français et de leurs traductions italiennes respectives, seront identifiés des paramètres qui permettent de mesurer l'influence des textes scientifiques français sur les textes traduits.

Mariselle **Meléndez** (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) Peripheral Identities: The Case of Two Black Female Slaves in the Port City of Buenos Aires, 1764–1773

Panel / *Session* 177, 'Peripheral Identities in the Hispanic World 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia)

Kathryn J. McKnight and Leo J. Garofalo define "slave and free black agency" within the history and cultures of African communities in Spanish American colonial society, as "the actions people took against the structural and circumstantial forces arrayed against them" which ranged from flight to rebellion and negotiation with owners (2009, xiv). Legal documents of the late colonial period enable us to understand how this agency was negotiated in domestic and public spaces and how black women in particular, became key protagonists in their struggle for respect and survival. This essay examines the case of two female slaves who lived in the port city of Santa María de los Angeles de Buenos Aires who were victims of physical abuse by two male acquaintances; resulting in death in one case and in a state of comma in the other. An important aspect to be discussed is how the recollection of events by both female slaves and their respective assailants transitioned from the public space to the official legal space of power. I analyze how both women, prior to the end results of the physical abuse they suffered, fought for their right to be believed and respected especially when it came to their material bodies.

Helder **Mendes Baiao** (Chercheur indépendant) Voltaire au prisme des Mélanges : l'éclat du philosophe.

Panel / *Session* 46, 'Identités de l'éditeur : autour des Œuvres complètes de Voltaire'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

C'est en 1756, alors qu'il prépare la publication de la Collection complète (Collection complète des œuvres de M. de Voltaire, Genève : Cramer, 1756, 17 vols.) que Voltaire commence à faire référence à ses 'petits chapitres'. Ces textes très courts – parfois seulement cinq pages – foisonnent dans la dernière partie de la vie de Voltaire. Progressivement, les 'mélanges' deviennent une vitrine pour la vente des œuvres de Voltaire. Diffusés largement, ils sont un amusement pour les lecteurs, trompent la censure et stimulent l'esprit critique.

En 1765 paraissent les Nouveaux mélanges publiés par les frères Cramer à Genève. Cette édition entreprise initialement à l'insu de Voltaire se révélera au fil du temps d'une incroyable complexité déployant, volume après volume, des textes dont l'attribution à Voltaire apparaît de plus en plus douteuse. Comment les Nouveaux mélanges ont-ils infléchi les réflexions de Voltaire alors de plus en plus engagé dans la lutte contre l'Infâme ? Quelle a été l'histoire éditoriale de ces textes ? Les démarches entreprises par les frères Cramer pour éditer des textes inédits ont-elles incité le patriarche de Ferney à écrire de plus en plus vite et à moduler ses voix dans une production de plus en plus multiforme ? Finalement, quel a été l'héritage de ces 'mélanges' ? Textes d'opinion, missiles contre l'Infâme et donc faciles à travestir, les 'mélanges' brouillent plus encore l'image de Voltaire et accentuent la complexité de sa pensée et de son action.

Edmilson **Menezes** (Federal University of Sergipe) Descartes dans le Dictionnaire de Trévoux : à propos de l'article « Mémoire. »

Panel / *Session* 103, 'Dictionnaires et Encyclopédies'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Eick (Grand Valley State University)

Selon Hemmi, écrire un dictionnaire n'est pas un travail aussi neutre qu'il y paraît. À l'époque moderne en particulier, les dictionnaires ne sont plus une simple somme de descriptions savantes, ils servent souvent de « pamphlets » polémiques et sont le reflet de leur époque. Chaque article est un lieu d'écriture où le « je » du scripteur exprime – parfois trop – librement ses positions philosophiques, foi religieuse, appartenance à une école ou à une secte. Dans le présent travail, nous avons l'intention de présenter l'une de ces positions philosophiques, à partir de l'article mémoire enregistrée dans le Dictionnaire de Trévoux (1752) et de sa référence à Descartes. Le Dictionnaire de Trévoux consacre au mot mémoire, pris au féminin et au singulier, plusieurs rubriques circonstanciées qui en évoquent successivement les différentes facettes. Il rapporte la mémoire « au souvenir actuel », évoquant ainsi l'opération qui fait resurgir un passé vécu ou connu dans l'immédiateté de l'actualité. D'après le Dictionnaire, Descartes prétend que les esprits animaux, qui ne sont que les parties les plus délicates du sang, excitent un mouvement sur les fibres les plus délicates du cerveau et y laissent des vestiges, qui sont le souvenir. La signification que Descartes confère au terme mémoire, et dont le Dictionnaire peut être le moyen d'une diffusion élargie au-delà des cercles académiques, résulte d'une élaboration que s'interroge sur la place de cette faculté dans le processus de connaissance et dans l'édifice entier des sciences. En effet, La Compagnie de Jésus, qui reste fidèle, en principe, à l'enseignement d'Aristote dans les collèges, est en fait ralliée au cartésianisme, au moins dans le dictionnaire. La restitution de ce contexte nous permettra de montrer contre qui étaient dirigés ces textes de Descartes sur la mémoire.

Marco **Menin** (Università degli studi di Torino) Jean-Jacques Rousseau et la subversion des sujets: remarques sur les premières traductions italiennes du *Contrat social*

Panel / *Session* 433, 'L'identité italienne en jeu face à l'hégémonie du français : la traduction et la question de la langue 2 (Textes philosophiques et scientifiques)'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Silvia Tatti (Sapienza Università di Roma)

Le but de ma communication est d'analyser les implications philosophiques et politiques des premières traductions italiennes du Contrat social de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, datant du triennat révolutionnaire de la fin du XVIIIe siècle.

Ces traductions – à commencer par celle de Giovanni Mennini de 1796 (Del contratto sociale, o Principi del diritto politico, Parigi, F. Honnert) – ont joué un rôle exemplaire dans la « censure » de certains thèmes problématiques de la

réflexion politique de Rousseau, notamment la notion de «sujet». Rousseau avait en fait développé une critique, y compris terminologique, de la notion unitaire de sujet qui s'était affirmée très prudemment à partir de Descartes. En revanche, dans le Contrat social ou principes du droit politique, «sujet» a deux significations politiques opposées: d'une part, suivant le sens courant dans les sociétés d'ancien régime, il désigne une personne sans droits politiques, assujettie au souverain ; d'autre part, en tant que référé à la cité du contrat social, il désigne les sujets investis de certains droits politiques.

Pourtant les innovations politiques introduites par Rousseau par le biais de termes à double sens n'ont pas été perçues par les traducteurs du Contrat social en italien, qui ont ignoré les deux manières de rendre le mot «sujet». En se débarrassant des sujets mêmes, les traductions italiennes du Contrat social ont fait du «droit politique» un simulacre qui cache l'abolition des droits politiques, contribuant à forger le préjugé historiographique du «Rousseau totalitaire», ennemi de l'autonomie, politique et morale, du sujet.

Rarement la tâche du traducteur a pu apparaître donc aussi profondément politique que dans les œuvres de Rousseau.

Ruth **Menzies** (Aix-Marseille Université) 'The Ties that Bind': Images of Gulliver in Twenty-First-Century Cartoons

Panel / *Session* 184, 'Swift and Satire'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Cook (University of Dundee)

In a twist of literary history that might well have appealed to Jonathan Swift, Lemuel Gulliver – a clearly fictional construct serving as both the satirist's mouthpiece and his target – has become part of the collective consciousness, moving beyond the confines of the text in which he first appeared. In terms of popular culture, Lemuel Gulliver is arguably more famous and unarguably more instantly recognisable than Jonathan Swift. Although the original edition of Gulliver's Travels contained only one head and shoulders portrait of the traveller, other images and representations of Lemuel have, over time, become ubiquitous, not only in adaptations and editions of the work itself but also, for instance, in marketing and advertising, to the extent that they have sometimes become almost entirely disconnected from their original context.

This paper will examine recent cartoons from newspapers and other sources which depict Lemuel Gulliver, looking at the links between the satiric comment expressed through these portrayals of Swift's character and his own use of textual satire, as well as the ways in which such images are at times far removed from Gulliver's Travels. The cut and thrust of Swift's humour is frequently aimed at the emerging ideas that would come to define the Enlightenment, whereas cartoons produced in a post-truth 21st century are clearly set against a radically different backdrop, with equally different targets. Perception and analysis of these cartoons, with their various forms and layers of often ironic meaning, can frequently differ quite considerably, according to the viewer's knowledge of the source text.

Leigh **Mercer** (University of Washington) Joan Ramis and the Exaltation of a Nascent Catalan Identity in *Lucrecia o Roma libre* (1769) and *Arminda* (1771)

Panel / *Session* 144, 'Peripheral Identities in the Hispanic World 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Enid Valle (Kalamazoo College)

Researching the question of Catalan literary production and cultural identity in the 18th Century can at times seem like a lesson in futility, when, according to Joan Mas I Vives, "tradicionalment, més de atorgar-li cap mena de valor propi, hom ha considerat aquesta època como una mena de desert cultural, final d'una mal anomenada Decadència" (9). And yet, in Menorca, even under two periods of British rule during the 18th Century, Catalan remained the official language on the island, and cultural societies such as the Societat Maonesa de Cultura promoted humanistic and social scientific writing in Catalan up until three years after the Spanish reconquest of the island in 1782.

Joan Ramis I Ramis, a Menorcan poet, playwright, and historian, was one of founders of the Societat Maonesa and advocated tirelessly for the Catalan language through his legal, historical and literary writing. This talk will examine Ramis I Ramis's two Enlightenment era plays, *Arminda* – the least known of his three plays – and *Lucrecia o Roma libre* – said to be the greatest 18th-Century literary work in Catalan – to show how the author mines the

landscape of an imaginary medieval Catalunya and the legends of the Roman Republic to promote the dignity and rights of his own present-day autochthonous culture. In doing so, I will search out the signs of a nascent Catalan identity in the darkest times of the so-called Decadència, an era more than 60 years before the linguistic and identitary revival of the *Reinaxença*.

Anne-Marie **Mercier-Faivre** (Claude Bernard-Lyon 1, IHRIM, PRALIJE) Le lecteur et la lectrice des journaux pour enfants

Panel / *Session* 51, 'Les identités du lecteur de journaux'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Universität des Saarlandes)

La presse pour les enfants propose plusieurs miroirs à ses lecteurs, soit à travers des courriers d'enfant abonnés (réels ou fictifs), soit à travers des portraits d'enfants censés guider le lecteur réel dans ses interrogations (réelles ou fictives) sur le monde et la manière dont il devra s'y comporter. D'autre part, à travers les sujets qu'elle traite, les mots qu'elle emploie et le savoir qu'elle suppose à ses lecteurs, elle trace un portrait de son lecteur ou de sa lectrice modèle.

On se propose d'analyser ces figures d'enfants lecteurs dans le *Courrier des Enfants* de J.-L. [Louis-François] Jauffret (Paris, Leclère, 1794-1799) (cf. *Gazetier révolutionnaire* : <http://gazetier-revolutionnaire.gazettes18e.fr/periodique/courrier-des-enfants-1796-1799>). Ce travail pourrait, selon les résultats obtenus, être étendu à d'autres journaux pour enfants afin de déterminer si ce périodique offre une originalité particulière par rapport à ses devanciers, notamment en ce qui concerne la caractérisation des lecteurs et des lectrices et le rôle supposé du périodique auprès de son public.

Amyas **Merivale** (University of Oxford) David Hume on Irreligion and the Party of Human-Kind

Panel / *Session* 23, 'Religious Identities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Ahnert (University of Edinburgh)

This paper will argue that the notion of religious identity plays several important and interconnected roles in David Hume's moral and intellectual critique of Christianity, as well as in his own positive secular moral philosophy.

On the one hand, Hume presents the opposition between Church parties as a difficulty for the theist, and a tool for the sceptic to help sustain their doubt. Division and intolerance, he argues, are the natural upshot of the belief in the unity of God. And the prejudices instigated by rival superstitions also help to explain away potential counterexamples to his utilitarianism. On the other hand, Hume places the party of human-kind—the antithesis of Church parties—at the centre of his mature moral theory, and at the heart of his response to the threat of moral relativism. Morality for Hume demands a 'philosophical' and detached position, an enlarging of our view beyond the various conflicting forms of superstition. From this perspective, the calm and universal passion of humanity wins out over religious zeal, 'the most furious and implacable of all human passions'.

The paper will draw on several of Hume's works, but with a particular emphasis on the *Natural History of Religion* and the *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, highlighting a number of important and previously overlooked links between these two texts.

Jenni **Merovuo** (University of Eastern Finland) Politics of Belonging on the Russo-Swedish Borderland

Panel / *Session* 171, 'Identities, Belonging, and the Prospects of Participation in Local Communities in the Swedish Realm'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Johanna Ilmakunnas (Åbo Akademi)

In this paper, I study the politics of belonging on the Russo-Swedish borderland. Belonging – understood as the questions of location, identification and social connectivity – provides an interesting perspective on the late-18th century periphery. The boundaries of belonging are not fixed by the state borders but in a perpetual process of becoming, spatially and temporally. I investigate the dynamics between the border-crossing local community and the

state by an example of a no-man's land between the two states. The area in between two rather different early modern states developed because of a border dispute in 1743 and existed for over six decades. By studying the no-man's land as part of the parish yet free from the state, I study belonging to a state. Sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis introduces the politics of belonging as building and bordering spatial and mental 'home'. The no-man's land as the "third space" defined the inhabitants' spatial field of communication and political prospects, produced from within as well as from outside. The process of negotiating belonging is especially enlightening in the borderlands, because of its relation to spatial understanding.

Markus Meumann (University of Erfurt) Building an Enlightenment Identity: The Practice of Essay Writing within the Order of the Illuminati (Co-presented with Olaf Simons)

Panel / *Session 24*, 'Secret Societies'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

Questions of identity and their gravitation around a concept of the Enlightenment were core issues of the – short lived – Order of the Illuminati. This began with the name to be chosen: "Perfectibilists" was the first choice on the agenda of perfecting the members as human beings in 1776. The move towards the "Illuminati" shifted the focus only two years later towards the century that was coming to terms with its own epochal identity – the *Siècle des Lumières*. Understanding itself as explicitly "enlightened", the order and its members assured them-selves at various opportunities of their engagement with the Enlightenment and its real or assumed goals. Thus, the enlightened identity of the members was of highest concern to the superiors. Long lists of character markers had to be observed in potential candidates and circulated on the higher levels of the hierarchy to steer the head hunt. New members had to hand in "character tables" and accounts of their lives. Once on track they had to exchange letters with the "Unknown Superiors" and to engage in courses of guided compositions to be discussed in the local Minerval gatherings, in the correspondences with the Superiors and among the Superiors. In our recent research project we examined about 130 of these compositions. The texts are usually written by young men – members of the lodges, students, intellectuals. The topics were chosen to enforce character developments and to trigger confessions that would allow the superiors to draw their own character conclusions. Accordingly, they gravitated around identities to be reaffirmed and the Enlightenment as perhaps the one and only unifying force to refer to.

Our contribution will shed light on explicit occurrences of the word "Enlighten-ment" and its potential to create identity. What topics could work on this agenda? What happened in moments of conflict when authors happened to disappoint the superiors? These and others questions will be addressed.

Annette Meyer (University of Munich) The Social Dimension of the Enlightenment: Karl and Ernst Man(n)heim

Panel / *Session 10*, 'Enlightened Identities in the Weimar Republic'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Avi Lifschitz (University of Oxford)

Karl Mannheim and his lesser-known cousin Ernst Manheim are remembered today, if at all, as formative figures of sociology as a specialised discipline. Both had studied with the most important representatives of early sociology (Simmel, Lukacs, Alfred Weber, Hans Freyer) and shaped the progress of the discipline. They are also considered to have laid the foundations for the sociology of knowledge in their writing and teaching in exile. While the important contributions made by both authors to the study of the Enlightenment are nearly forgotten, their works have pioneered a pivotal strand in later interpretations of Enlightenment, especially by Anglophone scholars. Most notably in his book "Aufklärung und öffentliche Meinung" (Enlightenment and Public Opinion, 1933), Ernst Manheim anticipated a scholarly perspective now commonly associated with the name of Jürgen Habermas. The historically founded sociology of knowledge, i.e. the view that thinking is not an abstract process but rather takes place in social contexts, did not only reveal a new aspect of the history of 18th-century ideas. The Enlightenment became a test case in the search for a political antidote to an ideologically charged age, thereby functioning as an instance of possible identity-formation.

Marie **Michlova** (Charles University, Prague) The Transitioning Generation: To Enlighten the Romantic Darkness?

Panel / *Session* 411, 'Scottish Enlightenment Identities 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Paul Tonks (Yonsei University)

The paper focuses on the generation of people who were born in the 1770s and witnessed a major, yet rapid, changes in Scottish culture. It is surprising how the Enlightenment co-existed with the new Romantic and Gothic trends for decades and this fusion inspired the most respected people in the world – even in distant places such as Russia and Northern America. The paper explores how some of the “lighter” and “enlightened” themes were often replaced (or rather enhanced) by “darker” and “gothic” motives in a press, science, fiction, and arts. The most influential Scottish journals were founded during a glorious period of the Scottish Enlightenment and still flourished in the late Georgian times, however, their style and diction altered because of the new Romantic influences – while the editorial boards didn't change as dramatically. This particular generation was able to fuse Enlightenment and Romanticism and prove that these movements were not necessarily contradictory, but rather complementary. Sir Walter Scott and his works give us some prime examples of this fusion, his fiction fits the Romantic category better, however, his own mind was largely enlightened. Francis Jeffrey is a lesser-known enlightened writer, who – as an editor of *The Edinburgh Review* – significantly shaped Scottish Romanticism. James Gillespie Graham designed both neoclassical and Gothic houses and was able to combine both trends very successfully too. Dr. Andrew Ure was an enlightened man of science and a Romantic dreamer. The paper would like to stress the importance of this 1770s generation, which truly built a foundation for a modern, present-day Scotland.

Marc **Mierowsky** (University of Melbourne) 'The True Riches of a Nation': William Paterson on Naturalization

Panel / *Session* 14, 'Everyday Identities'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

William Paterson (1658-1719) is principally remembered as a projector: a man who helped found the Bank of England, one of the engineers behind the failed attempt to establish a Scottish colony at Darien, and a polemicist and financial advisor for the Anglo-Scottish Union. What is often overlooked is that in each of these undertakings Paterson showed a concerted interest in the question of naturalization – reflecting on the concept in both his published writings and manuscript letters. As he put it, 'people and their industry are the true riches of a prince or nation.' By providing the first systematic overview of Paterson's efforts to extend the bounds of British citizenship through naturalization, this paper brings to light an important aspect of his intellectual legacy. It argues that the connections Paterson promoted between naturalization, free trade and liberty of conscience influenced the development and passage of *The Foreign Protestants Naturalization Act 1708* (7 Anne c 5): the first in a series of Acts to lay the foundation for immigration law in Britain and the Empire.

Beginning with the plan to induce aliens to subscribe to the Bank of England on the proviso that they would be naturalized, the paper then traces Paterson's scheme to naturalize all foreign Protestants living in England and all merchants who made England their base. The paper concludes with a discussion of the naturalization provisions Paterson set out in the constitution of Darien, showing how he developed upon these provisions to argue for the reciprocal naturalization of Scottish and English citizens after 1707 – an argument that carried through the drafting of the 1708 Naturalization Act. Because Paterson was so keenly focused on the everyday experiences of naturalized citizens, his body of work bridges the gap between citizenship as an aspect of identity and the concept's legal operation. In this way his writing provides an important vantage on a concept at the heart of all immigration systems, giving us a clearer picture than most of how notions of collective identity shaped the development, extension and denial of citizenship rights at home and throughout Britain's colonies

Ileana **Mihaila** (Université de Bucarest / IITL-Académie Roumaine) La culture française des Lumières et l'éducation des Roumaines au XIXe siècle

Panel / *Session* 350, 'The Influence of the Long Eighteenth Century upon Balkan Identities in the Feminine 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University)

L'éducation des Roumaines Moldo-Valaques pendant le XIXe siècle a été fortement marquée par la francophonie qui dominait la culture des deux Principautés Roumaines. La plus sommaire des présentations du long et important processus qui assura l'intégration des femmes dans la société roumaine de l'époque moderne passe sans nul doute par l'analyse de leurs lectures littéraires, réservoir inépuisable de modèles mais aussi source d'inspiration pour une carrière littéraire à envisager comme modalité de dépasser le statut domestique que le monde patriarcal roumain leur réservait généralement. Faute, à l'époque, d'une littérature roumaine apte à leur offrir matière suffisante aux appétits de lecture et d'instruction, la connaissance de la langue française, langue dont l'autorité culturelle n'avait fait qu'augmenter depuis le XVIIIe siècle dans l'enseignement et la société des Principautés Danubiennes (devenues à partir de 1859 la Roumanie) sera la voie royale d'accès pour les Roumaines à la littérature européenne. La traduction des œuvres littéraires, pour les scènes des théâtres, les pages des magazines, voire même pour les toutes premières maisons d'édition, fut une des modalités trouvées, mais pas l'unique. Certaines d'entre elles eurent même le courage d'exprimer leurs propres jugements à ce propos, dans des articles publiés dans la presse. Peut-être en vertu de ses propres qualités éducatives, peut-être comme suite de l'immense prestige littéraire dont les Lumières jouissaient encore au siècle suivant, la littérature française du XVIIIe siècle est souvent présente parmi leurs choix. L'inventorier et l'analyser dans le contexte roumain de l'émancipation par l'éducation des femmes du siècle suivant est le sujet que je me propose dans cette communication.

Ileana **Mihaila** (Université de Bucarest) Une idée politique franco-roumaine et ses architectes : une union des Principautés Roumaines en 1770–1774

Panel / *Session* 105, 'Hommes des Lumières, hommes politiques : positionnements et trajectoires à l'époque de la Révolution Française 1 (avant, pendant et après la Révolution)'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gérard Laudin (Lettres Sorbonne Université)

L'idée d'une union des Principautés Roumaines a été portée entre 1770 et 1774 par deux personnalités, tout d'abord par l'économiste et politologue lorrain Charles-Léopold Andreu de Bilistein, intégré aux réseaux des Lumières françaises dont font partie Bourguignon d'Anville et Guinement de Kéralio, chez qui on la retrouve. Bilistein fut également en contact à Bucarest avec l'historien et homme politique valaque Mihai Cantacuzino (ou Michel Cantacuzène, 1723 – 1793), qui assumait cette proposition au congrès de paix de Focsani, en 1772, au nom des représentants valaques.

La guerre russo-turque s'acheva en 1774 et les Moldo-valaques furent, comme toujours, parmi les perdants. Michel Cantacuzène dut s'exiler en Russie pour échapper aux représailles des Turques et le moins prudent Bilistein fut assassiné en 1777, à Iassy, probablement par les Ottomans de la délégation venue à tuer par trahison le prince régnant Grégoire III Ghica et à le remplacer par quelqu'un de plus fiable à leurs yeux.

Ce sont les écrits de Bilistein et Cantacuzino à ce sujet et leurs activités politiques qui seront présentés, dans le contexte historique qui les vit naître – et disparaître.

Laura **Miller** (University of West Georgia) Scale and Exchange in Early American Scientific Reading

Panel / *Session* 150, 'Scaling Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rivka Swenson (Virginia Commonwealth University)

Scholars have long known that British scientific ideas were popular in early American culture, and works by scholars such as Susan Scott Parrish, James Raven, and James Delbourgo have advanced our understanding of transatlantic factors in the advancement of knowledge. However, questions of scale in transatlantic exchange persist: we must explore the variations in distance and perspective between British scientific institutions and the developing American infrastructures that could not fully accommodate them. The British scientific knowledge that circulated among early American readers (in libraries, at universities, and in private collections) was asymmetrical in scale and tied to colonial imprints and influences as well as complex transatlantic trade factors. In order to more fully understand early

American scientific reading, this presentation considers these asymmetries in scale that affect what we misleadingly call “exchange” in transatlantic scientific knowledge, when in fact these relationships are uneven and unstable across different reading communities.

Amelia Mills (Loughborough University) Aphra Behn’s Response to French Influences: *La Montre; or The Lover’s Watch* (1686) and its Cultural Influences.

Panel / *Session 3*, ‘Aphra Behn’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hilde Neus (IMWO/AdeKUS University of Suriname)

Aphra Behn’s *La Montre; or The Lover’s Watch* (1686) is a merged translation of Balthasar de Bonnacorse’s separate works, *La Montre d’amour* (1666) and *La Boîte et le Miroir* (deuxième partie de *La Montre d’amour* (1671). Behn’s *La Montre* was completed during the reign of King James II – a turbulent time for French and English relations. This is echoed in the comments made by the English literary figures who wrote its dedicatory verses.

Although published as a translation, this categorisation is debatable due to the substantial alterations and extensive additional material that are in Behn’s version. Through an examination of Behn’s adjustments this paper will explore her methods as she adapts a text written for the Catholic French culture of the 1660s and 1670s to appeal to the Protestant English culture of 1686.

I will demonstrate that despite Behn’s alterations, her decision to publish the text as a translation referring to Bonnacorse by name, suggests that rather than wishing to eclipse his voice, she attempts to preserve favoured parts of French culture, whilst adding English accompaniments, to infuse ideas into a combination of the two. Behn looks to John Denham’s claim here, that ‘Poetry is of so subtil a Spirit, that in pouring out of one Language into another, it will all Evaporate; and if a new Spirit be not added in the transfusion, there will remain nothing but a Caput Mortuum’. I shall argue that Behn saw the silencing of aspects of the original author’s work as an unavoidable outcome of translation and hence believed, like Denham, that it was necessary to add her own ‘new Spirit’. I will show that Behn’s methods of translation empowered her to present her own voice whilst merging cultures, genders and time-periods.

Elizabeth Mjelde (De Anza College) Henry Salt’s ‘perfect tropical scene’: Landscape Production as Political Economy in Colonial Sri Lanka

Panel / *Session 435*, ‘Merchants and Merchandise’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

This paper considers the early career of English artist Henry Salt, who, despite his best efforts to become a professional portrait painter in the late eighteenth century, emerged as an important producer of colonial landscape imagery. Upon completing his education, Salt accepted a position as private secretary to George Annesley, Viscount Valentia, who was planning extensive travel outside of Great Britain. Often referred to as the first travelers to visit South Asia for purposes of tourism, Salt and Annesley each made impressive contributions to the history of travel literature. Salt would publish a volume of landscape aquatints, *Twenty-Four Views taken at St. Helena, the Cape, India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia & Egypt*, as well as imagery for Annesley’s three-volume account of their journey, *Voyages and Travels*.

The focus here is an aquatint, “View Near Point de Galle, Ceylon,” the single image to represent Sri Lanka in Salt’s *Twenty-Four Views*. Formally this image adheres in significant ways to principles of the picturesque popular in the metropole, yet the artist’s attentiveness to a specific site on the island associated with the transport of valuable timber gleaned from Sri Lanka’s interior calls attention to the potential of trees as a useful natural resource within a colonial economy. When examined in conjunction with Adam Smith’s concept of political economy, an approach to government embraced by Sri Lanka’s colonial governor, Frederic North, Salt’s aquatint may be understood as a determination to see the island as Smith had once deemed North America: a “waste country” with the potential to develop “to wealth and greatness”. What were the ramifications of viewing—and governing—a populous South Asian polity as if it were American “wilderness”? This question is explored by means of travel literature, works by Adam Smith, and documents produced by or for Britain’s early colonial government in Sri Lanka.

Jean Mondot (Université Bordeaux Montaigne) Montgelas et le nouveau lexique de la réforme politique

Panel / *Session* 134, 'Hommes des Lumières, hommes politiques : positionnements et trajectoires à l'époque de la Révolution Française (1780–1804) 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Pauline Pujo (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

Montgelas (1759-1838) est un cas classique de ministre éclairé tel qu'il s'en est présenté beaucoup tout au long du XVIIIe siècle. Mais sa trajectoire personnelle possède une certaine originalité du fait notamment de sa formation politique. Montgelas a été en effet membre des Illuminés de Bavière – ce qui retarda son ascension politique après la dissolution de l'Ordre – et son vocabulaire politique a été marqué par « l'enseignement » illuministe.

Il en porte une double empreinte perceptible dans le renouveau des contenus politiques programmés et en même temps dans le nouveau modèle d'homme politique projeté. La notion de vertu occupe une place centrale dans ce discours et cette ambition. Montesquieu n'est sans doute pas non plus étranger à cette conversion à la vertu. Elle était à l'ordre du jour dans les discussions politiques des années 80 et 90. Songeons au Posa de Schiller.

Mais le parcours de Montgelas est influencé non seulement par Montesquieu et les Lumières radicales de l'illuminisme mais aussi par la Révolution française et plus tard l'Empire napoléonien qui comme on le sait bouleversa/révolutionna les territoires du Saint Empire.

Il s'agira de repérer ces accents nouveaux dans les écrits politiques de Montgelas en particulier dans son Ansbacher Mémoire qui date de 1796 et dont il sera intéressant de retravailler la version française pour mieux suivre les emprunts aux textes des auteurs français. Ce sera aussi l'occasion d'approfondir certains aspects de la personnalité de Montgelas.

H. K. Moon (Korea University, Seoul) Fantasy and Public Causes in the Novels of Sarah Scott, Mary Hamilton, and Clara Reeve

Panel / *Session* 180, 'Private Women, Public Consequences: Domesticating the Enlightened Subject at Home and Abroad 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nancy Cho (Seoul National University)

The exclusion of women from "public" life, the stigma attached to women going "public" and the fear of encroaching upon "male" domains and thus appearing "unfeminine" discouraged women writers from taking up broader public issues in their novels. Consequently, women have confined themselves mostly to writing about matters that belong to the domestic private sphere, a sphere to which women are properly thought to be at home in. Yet not all women novelists have kept silent on public issues. From education to philanthropy, from slavery to national identity, women writers such as Sarah Scott, Mary Hamilton and Clara Reeve have addressed various public causes. But what is common to these writers is that, in doing so, they have eschewed the novel's commitment to realism and resorted to fantasy. In this paper, I will examine the ironic implications of this and discuss how women novelists have used fantasy to speak out in real and pragmatic public causes, thus challenging and extending the boundaries of gender identity in a male dominant culture.

Fabienne Moore (University of Oregon) On Linking 'Histoire des deux Indes' to the First French Empire: Staël, Chateaubriand, Napoleon, and Lucien Bonaparte Readers of Raynal

Panel / *Session* 347, 'Slavery and Identity 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hilde Neus (Anton de Kom University of Suriname)

My presentation will examine ways in which Raynal's "Histoire des deux Indes" was read by the generation who lived through the French and Haitian revolutions, and their aftermath, the building of the First French Empire. The era saw slavery's initial abolition (1794), its reinstatement in French colonies (1802), and the abolition of the slave trade (1815). Superimposed on abolitionist debates are France's continued colonial and imperial ambitions vis-à-vis England. The impact of Raynal's work on Germaine de Staël (1766-1817), Chateaubriand (1768-1848), Napoleon (1769-1821), his brother Lucien Bonaparte (1775-1840) is tremendous: tracing this filiation allows a clearer understanding of the link

between French Enlightenment thought and the eventual emergence of the First Empire. I argue that Raynal's treatment of "la question coloniale" shaped the new generation's own vision of the colonial question. What resonated with their respective political and literary sensibilities? and how might their early reading of Raynal have evolved over time? Napoleon's cult of Raynal is fascinating and begs the question of whether he noticed or skipped Diderot's interventions and how to theorize the lessons he learned from the "Histoire des deux Indes." Lucien Bonaparte's first novel "La Tribu indienne" (1799) fictionalizes Raynal's chapters on the history of Portuguese, then Dutch, then British commerce in India as a metatext for its sad tale of colonial exploitation. Chateaubriand's father, temporarily involved in the slave trade, owned Raynal's volumes, which inspired Chateaubriand in the writing of his colonial fiction "Les Natchez". A young Staël met 60-year old Raynal in her mother's salon, penned two colonial fictions, "Mirza and Histoire de Pauline" in 1786, and was more vocal than Chateaubriand regarding colonial slavery and politics.

My research question is whether this generation's "libéralisme tourmenté" might not derive from the polyphonic voices of "Histoire des deux Indes." In other words, the ideological ambiguities at work in "Histoire des deux Indes," a history of colonial trade ventriloquizing Diderot's anticolonial and anticlerical eloquence, are mirrored i

Nicolas **Morel** (Berne Universität) Identité de l'auteur et travail de l'éditeur : le libraire Lefèvre et le Voltaire de Beuchot

Panel / *Session* 46, 'Identités de l'éditeur : autour des Œuvres complètes de Voltaire'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

D'après le libraire-éditeur Edmond Werdet (1793-1870), deux noms marquent l'édition au début du XIXe siècle : « Ladvocat et Lefèvre, voilà les éditeurs par excellence de cette époque : le premier pour les auteurs naissant à la renommée, le second pour les écrivains d'une réputation faite. » (Werdet 1860, p. 100) La distinction rappelle l'ambiguïté sémantique du terme d'éditeur dans la langue française. Pourtant, si le nom de Ladvocat, prolongé par la figure qu'en dessine Balzac dans les Illusions perdues, évoque aujourd'hui encore l'histoire des écrivains romantiques, qui connaît encore Lefèvre ? A l'initiative d'une grande collection des classiques français, ce dernier s'appuie sur les travaux de savants lettrés pour publier les œuvres tombées dans le domaine public. Ainsi Beuchot rappelle-t-il qu'« il a fallu le courage de M. Lefèvre pour mener à fin une lourde entreprise, que tout autre libraire que lui aurait, sinon abandonnée, du moins ajournée ». Présenter Lefèvre et sa collaboration avec Beuchot pose la question de la répartition des rôles dans et autour de l'édition du Voltaire de Beuchot. Mais elle soulève également des interrogations quant à la portée du geste éditorial sur le sens de l'œuvre : dans quelle mesure le fait de réunir les œuvres de Voltaire à celles de Racine, Molière ou même Pascal dans une collection de classiques, qui plus est sous la Restauration, contribue-t-il à en modifier la portée ? A la fois technique, économique et juridique, la question prend ainsi une portée herméneutique, et questionne la façon dont l'image de Voltaire est travaillée au sein d'une équipe éditoriale.

Elia **Morelli** (University of Pisa) Racial Discrimination and Stereotypical Construction of African Identity in Edward Long

Panel / *Session* 80, 'Jamaican Connections'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tom Rodgers (University of Portsmouth)

The main aim of my contribution to this conference is to examine the eighteenth-century debate about race, slavery and British Jamaica, where Edward Long had a crucial role. Long (1734-1813) was an English gentleman, a plantation and slave owner in Jamaica, a judge of the Vice Admiralty Court, and he wrote many articles, pamphlets and books about the British imperial policy, the colonial rights and the trade relations between colonies and mother country during the age of the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution. I intend to analyze two works: a pamphlet entitled Candid Reflections on the Negroes (1772), and a monumental book in three volumes, The History of Jamaica, published in 1774. These works are really interesting in order to understand the arguments of Long in defense of slavery, and in particular the construction of the racial categorizations and discriminatory practices in the age of Enlightenment.

Edward Long had to reply to Lord Mansfield's verdict in Somerset Case (1772), and to the abolitionist theses of Granville Sharp, who wrote: "The Negro must be divested of his humanity, and rendered incapable of the King's protection, before" such people can pretend the "private property" on him.

For that reason, Long revised the eighteenth-century treatises of scientists, anatomists, and naturalists in order to sustain the inferiority of the Negro, and the superiority of the White Man: he tried to demonstrate that Africans were suited to subjection. He connected the new anatomical discoveries with the philosophical knowledge, and he used the naturalists' racial classifications in order to demonstrate the humankind diversity, and to support the African bestiality. Long claimed that the physical characteristics were markers of race identity; each race had distinct behavioral traits linked to its phenotype; these intellectual and physical attributes were innate, unalterable, permanent; and each race occupied a place in the Great Chain of Being.

Mira **Morgenstern** (City College of New York) Preparing the Revolution? Women and Everyday Life in Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Panel / *Session 366*, 'Evolution and Revolution: Identity and Gendered Resistance in Eighteenth-Century France'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexandra Cook (University of Hong Kong)

This paper alludes to a rather fraught issue in Rousseau: how revolutionary is Rousseau in his approach to women? While arguments can be marshaled for both sides, this paper examines how Rousseau scrutinizes the conventional everyday minutiae in which women are involved and demonstrates how these function as building-blocks for revolution. At the same time, Rousseau also utilizes these quotidian structures to argue for a much more conservative approach to society – the social circles of the mountain folk cited in Letter to d'Alembert are one example of this phenomenon – which evoke a traditionally separate and not-very-equal existence for women. What can the 21st-century reader make of these seemingly conflicting images? Utilizing the idea of moeurs evoked in Rousseau's Social Contract, this paper argues that the shaping of everyday life is where the power of politics lies, as Rousseau demonstrates in his essays on Poland and Corsica. Ultimately, this approach may well signal where the hope for the 21st century – replete with the hijacking of democracies all over the world – lies as well.

James **Morland** (Queen Mary, University of London) The 'sad nurse of care': Solitude and Eighteenth-Century Physician Poets

Panel / *Session 297*, 'Eighteenth-Century Pathologies of Solitude'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Silvia Sebastiani (École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris)

This paper uses the figure of the eighteenth-century physician-poet to trace the place of solitude in the development of scientific knowledge and poetic production of the long eighteenth century. It will look specifically at the medico-theological poems of physicians, namely Samuel Garth, John Armstrong, and John Arbuthnot, to argue that their poems, when read within the context of the eighteenth-century philosophical poem, bring about parallels between the figure of the solitary philosopher and the solitary 'scientist' and physician to present a poetic exploration of the benefits and debilitations of solitude. Looking at these physicians presentations of themselves as poets, we can begin to formulate the larger poetic history of the physician-philosopher figure, such as Walter Charleton, whose modus operandi was solitude. Armstrong references solitude as the 'sad nurse of care', and it is through that lens that I will consider these poems. The 'phantoms of fear' that 'pride in solitary' scenes are representative of the complexities of solitude, at once the nurse of care but also providing the melancholic fear it was initially supposed to prevent. There is a dual element to the consideration of solitude in their poetry: one of a debilitating solitude in relation to melancholy from their medical standpoint, and the other as themselves as the solitary producer of knowledge, stemming from the traditions beginning in the previous century, where they turn to the solitude of poetry to discuss the origins of life. I will argue that these poems give these physicians a certain metrical spaciousness for reflection on these questions of solitude, ultimately tracing how solitary thinking and writing via philosophy, medicine, and religion, can show how eighteenth-century poetry often turned to solitude as a revelatory route towards an empirical enquiry into the nature of life and death.

Michael Morris (University of Dundee) Robert Cunninghame Graham: Slavery, Disavowal, Reparation

Panel / *Session* 80, 'Jamaican Connections'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tom Rodgers (University of Portsmouth)

This paper presents three stages in the life and afterlife of Robert Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore (1735-1797) who acted as planter, politician and public servant in Jamaica between 1752 and 1770. Graham made his fortune from slave plantations before returning to Scotland to become MP for Stirlingshire and Rector of the University of Glasgow. He wrote a poem known as 'Doughty Deeds' which was greatly admired by Robert Burns, and Henry Raeburn's 1794 portrait of Graham hangs in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery's 'Age of Improvement' room. In 2015, photographer Stephen McLaren included Graham in his exhibition 'Jamaica: A Sweet Forgetting' which documented links of 'Land, Assets and Blood' as a way to counter the 'amnesia' around Scotland's history of slavery. Yet Graham's slavery connections had in fact been set down in writing ninety years prior to the exhibition in a biography written by his great-great-grandson Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham in *Doughty Deeds* (1925). Rather than 'amnesia', this biography suggests what Catherine Hall describes as the 'disavowal' of slavery in national memory.

In 2018, in an act of 'reparative history', the University of Glasgow published a report into the money donated to the university that was connected with slave wealth. As graduate, former Rector and donor Robert Graham is a major figure of interest in that report which has been heralded as an example of how British institutions might address their connections with the slavery past. This paper provides a case study of one individual whose story demonstrates the importance of Caribbean slavery in Scotland's Age of Improvement; the subsequent disavowal of those slavery connections; and the interplay between historical research, literature and art through which we might ponder what it means to repair that history.

Joseph Morrissey (Coventry University) Dislocating Love from Identity in Maria Edgeworth's 'Belinda'

Panel / *Session* 226, 'Empathy and Emotion'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

In Jane Austen's 'Emma' (1805), the eponymous heroine realises her love for Mr Knightley in a moment of flashing self-realisation. Emma's love, that is, is understood to function as a marker of her most intimate identity, in some way expressing who she really is. This paper argues that romantic love in Maria Edgeworth's 1801 novel, 'Belinda', is handled in a rather different way. Rather than expressing identity, love in 'Belinda' is reduced to physiological sensation, engendered more by chance circumstance than through any revelation of self, and to some degree independent of any objective qualities the love-object actually possesses.

Edgeworth's perspective on love speaks to and nuances our current scientific models of the emotion. Recent research in neuro- and social-psychology has contributed to our understanding of romantic love in terms of its evolutionary function and in terms of how it is experienced at the subjective level. Less attention, however, appears to have been paid to how the feeling comes into being in the first place. Edgeworth's novel, I contend, offers some suggestive lines of enquiry for answering this question. In 'Belinda', the cut-and-thrust of fashionable society generates the excitement and suspense, which, Edgeworth implies, are necessary for creating the emotion of love in the first place.

Belinda achieves its specific view of love through a narrative style which constructs the emotion not in terms of psychological realism, but rather through the external signifiers of sensibility. In this way, Edgeworth casts love as little more than visceral sensation, and, at best, reactive rather than reflective psychological processes. A radical move for a novel of its time – and indeed for a novel of our time – 'Belinda' dislocates love from a sense of identity. In the text, romantic love is indeed a powerful emotion but it is nevertheless ultimately incapable of sustaining a coherent interiority predicated on the lover's sense of self.

Alex **Mortimore** (Queen's College, Oxford) The Reasoned Conservative: Goethe's Enlightened Opposition to the French Revolution

Panel / *Session* 157, 'The French Revolution from Afar'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

In 1823, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe reflected on the French Revolution as 'the most terrible of events'. Some saw (and see) the Revolution as a 'progressive' episode of human history, a symptom — even the pinnacle — of Enlightened Reason. Goethe did not. Opposing it from the outset, Goethe saw the Revolution as politically, socially, and morally destructive, a recipe for anarchy and bloodshed. By analysing two of his works from the 1790s, this paper illustrates how.

One work is the 1795 novella, *Conversations of German Emigrés*. Depicting a group of Germans fleeing the French invasion of the Rhineland, it features an aristocratic partisan of the Revolution, Cousin Karl, and a defender of the traditional order, the Court Counsellor. Their heated argument creates turmoil within the group, causing the Counsellor and his wife to leave prematurely, and the Baroness to encourage the emigrés to refrain from political discussion. The other work is a 1792 comic drama called *Agitation*. The play concerns a pompous barber-surgeon who tries to stoke rebellion against the local nobility in his village. One of his fellow travellers is a character referred to as the Magister, a scholar, priest and former tutor to a young count at the aristocratic court. Having been recently dismissed from the court for negligence, the Magister is full of resentment and vindictiveness. He also condones brutality in the pursuit of great causes. In February 1794, Maximilien Robespierre would justify the Terror in the name of Virtue.

Far from ushering in a new dawn of Reason, Karl and the Magister exemplify how Goethe saw the Revolution as unleashing bigotry, intolerance, and a zealotry to rival the religious passions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The paper shows how Goethe regarded the Revolution as a threat to European civilisation; instead of 'enlightening' Europe, it was dragging her back into the darkness.

Ourida **Mostefai** (Brown University) *Nouvelle Lucrèce et Nouvelle Clarisse : Passion et vertu chez Julie*

Panel / *Session* 235, 'Passions et autorité chez Rousseau'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Johanna Lenne-Cornuez (Paris-Sorbonne)

La *Nouvelle Héloïse* de Rousseau propose une reconfiguration majeure de l'héroïsme féminin. S'inspirant à la fois de la chaste Lucrèce et de la vertueuse Clarisse, Rousseau introduit grâce à Julie un nouveau modèle : celui d'une vertu féminine distincte de la vertu masculine ou guerrière. Le projet de Rousseau est donc de reprendre le personnage de l'héroïne infortunée-antique et moderne—et de le réintroduire à ses contemporains. En envisageant un nouvel héroïsme spécifiquement féminin qui ne soit plus fondé sur la chasteté), le roman de Rousseau transforme radicalement le sens de la vertu féminine : « [...] ce ne sont point des actions héroïques que le devoir nous demande, mais une résistance plus héroïque encore à des peines sans relâche. » Julie I, 25 (OC II, 87). C'est en particulier dans le refus du suicide que s'inscrit la revendication de la passion féminine.

Andreas **Motsch** (University of Toronto) 'Courir l'allumette' and Native American Marriage: Gender Roles in New France

Panel / *Session* 325, 'Colonial Encounters'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Schoene (Cornell University)

My presentation looks at the Early Modern perception of Native American gender roles across genres (fiction, travel relation, encyclopedia, etc.). I discuss the libertine perception of the Native American dating ritual of 'courir l'allumette' on the background of a wider discussion of gallantry, gender roles and, ultimately, the institution of marriage in a cross cultural perspective. Many texts indicate that a comparison between European practices and those of Native Americans situate the latter closer to nature than culture, yet nature is a term fraught with ambivalence. In

fiction a noble savage fares better than his primitive brother and his European cousin. In texts concerned with the real world things are more complicated.

My presentation looks at the work of Lahontan which is seminal and whose influence I trace in French fiction (LeBeau), theatre (Arlequin sauvage) and opera (Les Indes galantes). Yet Lahontan's texts are not only extremely rich but also ambivalent because Lahontan mixes fiction and fact. Not surprisingly, armchair ethnographers of his time use him for their discussions of Native dating and mating practices. Bernard for example draws heavily on him for his "Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peupels idolâtres" (1723). While a novelist or librettist explores the ritual of the 'allumette' for dramatic reasons, the issue of cultural relativism is clearly present and constitutes a key for the interpretation of their works. The ethnographer in turn deals with cultural specifics on the background of a not always explicit human universalism, negotiating historical specificity with more general if not universal patterns. The institution of marriage is a key example here. To tease out Bernard's own assumptions I shall compare his treatment of the subject matter with another contemporary source, "Mœurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps" (1724), written by Lafitau, a Jesuit ethnographer with first hand knowledge of the ethnographic terrain.

Tonya **Moutray** (Russel Sage College, Troy) Remembering Sacred Space: Convent Writing and the French Revolution

Panel / *Session* 152, 'Shaping Sacred Space in the Enlightenment 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura M. Stevens (University of Tulsa)

During the French Revolution, Catholic convents in France and Belgium were re-claimed by the French government, displacing around 44,000 women religious from their convents, spaces that exiled women poignantly recall in convent literature from the Romantic period. Refugee nuns described the secular invasion of their convents as acts of violation that threatened not only personal but also corporate integrity. This paper looks at the rhetorical tropes employed in convent literature about former convents, including the ways that community members preserved the legacies of these spaces through writing after settlement in England. Their chronicles reveal that the very act of recording a community's experiences during wartime was traumatic.

The impact of Catholic refugees in British society is under-represented in studies of both literature and history, although the largest group of migrating Catholic nuns to England were of English origin. This makes their writings a fertile resource in understanding how they conceptualized the colonization of their sacred spaces by secular forces, and the ways they transformed, often with much frustration, the homes they inhabited in England into appropriate spaces for religious life. The ways that the receiving culture responded to religious refugees in the local community, as well as the legal restrictions faced by Catholics, also had an impact upon how religious refugees approached land and property acquisition for sacred purposes. The paper will also include a PowerPoint slideshow with images of nuns' Continental convents, and the English residences of resettled nuns.

Melissa **Mowry** (St. John's University) Slavery, Republicanism, and the Peculiar Case of Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*

Panel / *Session* 169, 'Fashioning Slavery: The Restoration Debate about Tyranny, Property, and Identity'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel O'Quinn (University of Guelph)

This paper explores the relationship between Aphra Behn's imaginative writings and the reshaping of English radicalism through the Restoration. Traditionally, Behn has been viewed as a staunch Stuart loyalist. More recently, scholars such as Kimberly Latta and others have begun to wonder whether Behn might have harbored secret republican sympathies. No work from Behn's oeuvre raises this question more provocatively than her 1688 novella *Oroonoko*, which explores the conditions whereby power becomes tyranny, subjects becomes slaves, and rebellion becomes necessary. What makes Behn's novel so intriguing is that she displaces the necessity of rebellion onto the colonial population of enslaved Africans.

As historians have pointed out Slavery had been a consistent, even foundational term in English vernacular republicanism since the civil wars. That is, subjects knew they were under the thumb of a tyrant because they existed as slaves—without basic liberties or recourse against injustice. While it is true that the republican deployment of the “liberty/slave” dyad often “elided a “real set of social relations that denied not only freedom but also personhood to a class of people” early republican articulations of slavery understood its defining characteristics in terms that helped to create the imaginative space occupied by Oroonoko and in which Behn could bring those real relations to the forefront of England’s political imagination. As early as 1657 the Leveller Edward Sexby wrote that a tyrant is “a subverter of Laws, and one that by the greatness of his villainies, secures himself against all ordinary course of Justice” (6), the most important law he subverts is the one upon which human society wrests: “Men enter into society, . . . not barely to live, which they may do dispersed, as other Animals: but to live happily; and a Life answerable to the dignity and excellency of their kind.” To remedy these defects, we Associate together that what we can neither joy nor keep, singly, by mutual benefits and assistances one of another, We may be able to do both” (6). It is precisely this right to associate in the pursuit of joy and dignity that Behn takes up in Oroonoko

Rosa Mucignat (King’s College London) Translating Republican Aesthetics: Machiavelli, Alfieri, and Villetard

Panel / *Session* 445, ‘Translating Radical Identities in the Revolutionary Period’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexei Evstratov (University of Lausanne)

Since the J.G.A. Pocock’s seminal study *The Machiavellian Moment*, eighteenth-century republicanism has been understood in a broader tradition stretching from ancient Greece and Rome via Renaissance Italy to the Anglophone world. More recently, Keith Baker and Rachel Hammersley have identified a French branch of the classical republican tradition that culminated in the Jacobin republic of virtue and drew directly on English ideas. Emphasis on the Anglosphere has meant that the exchange of republican ideas between France and Italy has received less attention. This paper sets out to offer an exploration of this neglected area. Rather than tracing a genealogy of individual political ideas, it will concentrate on what Elias Palti has called ‘discourse networks’ or contexts of debate in which the language of republicanism became rearranged and resignified. The test case will be Vittorio Alfieri’s tragedy *La congiura de’ Pazzi* (written 1777-83, first published in Paris in 1789), which dramatized the conspiracy promoted by members of the Pazzi family to depose the Medici as rulers of Renaissance Florence. Alfieri’s main source was Machiavelli’s account of the failed plot in the *Florentine Histories*, where it is seen as a risky but essentially justifiable form of political struggle when despotic regimes repress all other forms of dissent. Alfieri transforms the story into an anti-tyrannical manifesto which however remains ambivalent about the extension of political liberty. The tragedy was the first of Alfieri’s plays to be translated into French in 1798, by the Jacobin E.J. Villetard, founder of a revolutionary press in Milan and later Napoleon’s envoy in Venice. Much to Alfieri’s dismay, Villetard’s version ‘updates’ the archaizing, formalized language of the original to maximize its import for the cause of Italian unification and emancipation (under French tutelage).

Andreas Mueller (Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg) A Changing Giant: The Impact of Time on the Contents of Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universal-Lexicon* (1731–1754)

Panel / *Session* 265, ‘Eighteenth-Century Dictionaries and Encyclopedias’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jeff Loveland (University of Cincinnati)

Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universal-Lexicon* (1731-1754) is the most extensive encyclopedia of the eighteenth century. Although it was produced in just twenty-four years, time has nonetheless left its mark on each of the sixty-eight volumes. In studying this encyclopedia, it is crucial to link its contents with the changing history of its creation. Different editors, shifting intentions, and switching places of production had enormous influence on its contents and form. The presentation will therefore focus on the many difficulties met, and insights gained, when studying its contents and rendering them accessible for a wider audience.

Manuel **Mühlbacher** (University of Munich) The Power of the Imagination and the Poetics of Genre: Shaftesbury, Diderot, Goethe

Panel / *Session* 92, 'Shaping Translations'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon (Université Paris 8)

In eighteenth-century aesthetics, reflections on the faculty of the imagination are often tied up with issues of literary genre. This connection rests on the assumption that texts are endowed with the power to affect the imagination of the reader, i.e. to evoke an image, leave behind a sensitive trace or set into motion a chain of associations, and that different literary genres will do so in different ways. In my paper I would like to approach this issue from a comparative angle and focus on three writers – Shaftesbury, Diderot and Goethe – who conceive genres in terms of their imaginative potential. Given the intense activity of reception and translation that connects Shaftesbury to Diderot and Diderot to Goethe, these examples are not merely isolated instances but point to a common reflection on imagination and genre in the eighteenth century.

Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks* devise a complex architecture of literary genres, each of which is calculated to produce a certain effect on the imagination of the reader. Whereas the *Letter concerning Enthusiasm* presents the imagination as a fundamental anthropological force and thus affirms its power, the dialogic structure of *Soliloquy: or, Advice to an Author* shifts the emphasis towards the necessity of criticism. Diderot's literary experiments revolve around the same genres – letter and dialogue –, even though he erases the difference between them and uses both in order to display the dynamics of the imagination. In Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, the literary engagement with imagination enters a narrative genre, the novel: By presenting the adolescent phantasies of the hero in a comic light, the narrator forces the reader to adopt a critical and ironic perspective.

Nilanjana **Mukherjee** (Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi) The Colonial Cartographer: Testimony to Witness

Panel / *Session* 30, 'The Western Enlightenment and the Circulation of Knowledge in South Asia'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leonie Hannan (Queen's University, Belfast)

Though maps have existed from a very early period in human history, the European Enlightenment saw new innovations in techniques of field surveys and computation techniques in map making, transforming the exercise into a massive corroborative and corrective enterprise. Stripping itself of its earlier affinities with art and rudimentary route surveys, 'Cartography' became a serious and relentless pursuit meant for the 'Enlightenment Man of Science'. Cartography as a scientific practice flourished from a close exchange between French and British intellectual styles emerging out of immediate administrative requirements and scientific enquiries. In the present paper, I will attempt to study the epistemological underpinnings behind the sudden take off of cartography in the age of empire both on European soil and in overseas European colonies. In the British case, I will specifically look at the culture of maintaining the cartographer's manual in order to trace debates on philosophies of science, such as that between Hume and Reid, which questioned credulity and promoted on-site observations over testimonial information. By taking a look at the manuals and journals of prominent cartographers at work in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries India such as James Rennell and Samuel Lambton, I will focus on how debates on science and reason transpired in the British colony in South Asia, determining the region's future trajectories in unalterable ways.

Katie **Mullins** (Vanderbilt University) Fanny's Peepholes: Voyeurism and the Microscope in Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*

Panel / *Session* 233, 'Mediating Fictions'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (Mansfield College, Oxford)

John Cleland's "Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure" (1748) contains many scenes in which the protagonist Fanny Hill repeats a particular voyeuristic technique: she seeks out some weak spot in an otherwise solid wall or door and presses her eye to it, allowing the lurid scene on the other side of the barrier to unfold in her newly adjusted line of sight. Fanny's brand of voyeurism is imitative of microscopy, in that it requires her to manipulate her field of vision

with a kind of eyepiece – the peephole – and in the fact that her voyeurism allows her to enclose the bodies, rooms, and actions she watches within the minute dimensions of the peephole’s area. Throughout Cleland’s text, Fanny’s voyeuristic moments are almost always mediated by pinpricks in wallpaper, tiny crevices in doors, and slivers of space between curtains, all of which require her to press her face to the peephole in order to see the scene behind the barrier. Fanny’s ability to capture previously obscured scenes within the visual field of a pinprick or the knot in a door mimics the microscope’s ability to enlarge and render visible the imperceptible forms and actions of the minuscule world, and it also infuses an observational distance into Fanny’s voyeurism. Reading Fanny’s actions and viewpoints in these scenes as indicative of an interest in and understanding of microscopy, I suggest that Cleland is both lightheartedly mocking the microscope’s status as a female plaything in the mid-eighteenth century and also preserving a sense of the microscope’s investigative power for women. By mediating Fanny’s (erotic) education through the process of microscopic observation, Cleland alters Fanny’s relationship to sexual acts and their participants. Separated from them by her peepholes, she adopts an analytical gaze that yields not only sexual excitement but also intellectual curiosity and aesthetic judgment. Thus, Fanny’s evolving identity depends not only upon her actions and those of the people around her, but also — to a greater degree — upon their mediation.

Michael Mulryan (Christopher Newport University) L.-S. Mercier’s Cosmopolitan View of National Identity: Reforming ‘la Francité’ through Observations of the Other

Panel / *Session* 104, ‘Enlightened’ Vagabondage and Nostalgic Chauvinism: Eighteenth-Century Exiles, Derelicts, and Émigrés’ Reflections on Regional and National Identity’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gabor Gelleri (Aberystwyth University)

Famed observer of human nature, Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814) was well travelled for his time (having sojourned in England, Germany, and Switzerland, even though he spent most of his life in Paris). Although his observations as a journalist and a chronicler can at times be either exaggerated or cliché, he always tends to focus on a social phenomenon that he thinks can be useful for the collectivity, either as a source of inspiration for reform or as a reflection of the universal nature of the human experience. This is especially the case whenever he shares his thoughts on the social norms and customs of foreign peoples. An unabashed urban and social reformer, his proto-sociological analyses of the English people’s behavior are meant to be used as munition for making the French government, the French capital, and the French in general better, or at least to push them closer in the direction of utopia instead of dystopia.

In his posthumously published *Parallèle de Paris et de Londres* (circa 1781), for example, Mercier uses several fascinating strategies for persuading the reader to adopt his praise of foreignness and to learn from it, strategies very similar to the ones he uses to push urban reform in his *Tableau de Paris* (1781-88). Like in his urban chronicle, he juxtaposes two ideas to compare and analyze them, evaluating the benefits of both. In this case, he uses Londoners and Parisians as a catalyst for improving humanity. He first attempts to undo common misperceptions of the other by touting his status as a credible observer who has seen how untrue stereotypes are with the naked eye. Choosing generally to focus on the positive, he provides British models for the French in a variety of domains: urban infrastructure, public hygiene, social customs, working conditions for the poor, the justice system, religion, and more. Although this paper will focus on Mercier’s use of the English for reforming la francité, it will also tease out some of the contradictions and paradoxes in Mercier’s thought, who, however cosmopolitan he claimed to be, could also be quite the chauvinist when it came to his hometown.

Marianna Muravyeva (University of Helsinki) Domestic Killings in Siberian Families: Gender, Violence, and Ethnicity in the Eighteenth-Century Colonization

Panel / *Session* 382, ‘Sexual Identities in Global Empires’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Wolf (Birkbeck, University of London)

Portraying Siberia as a place of sexual depravity and extreme violence is a common place for scholars, the tradition based on the nineteenth-century historiography and contextualized within bigger debates on exile and colonization. Golovachev, Iadrintsev, Butsynskii, Bakhrushin and many others agreed with Shashkov, that there was common sexual impropriety and moral deprivation resulted in high number of illegitimate children and infanticides as well as adultery

and fornication. This depravity was explained by submissive and disadvantageous position of women, both Russian and indigenous and disproportionate sexual imbalance between men and women, or, to put it simply, the lack of women.

In this presentation, I argue that Siberia did not represent any distinct case of violence and/or women-enslavement in early modern period. The concepts of biopolitics, female bodies as civilization maps and venues and violence as the instrumental method of imperial building or colonization in their application to actual lives of people are constructed and useful only within very specific contexts and need to be based on empirical evidence rather than on history of representations and ideas. To do that, I will use crime rates and court records of domestic homicides from central and Siberian administrative and judicial bodies to provide initial insight into what constitutes a very specific environment of Siberian experiences in negotiating their (safe) spaces, gender and ethnical identities and local politics of co-existence within Imperial context. Using domestic killings as an example I would like to highlight the boundaries of permissible uses of violence as well as the differences between various types of family organizations in the process of colonisation and building an early Empire.

Camilla **Murgia** (Université de Lausanne) Pour un éventail de motifs : l'industrie de l'imprimé à l'épreuve de l'exotisme

Panel / *Session* 410, 'S'appropriier l'ailleurs. Imaginaires de l'exotisme dans la culture du Premier Empire'.
Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Angela Benza (Université de Genève)

Le XVIII^e siècle est marqué par un engouement sans précédent pour des objets tels que laques, papiers peints, tapisseries ou encore étoffes venant d'ailleurs, mais aussi produits en France et mettant en scène l'exotique, le lointain. La connaissance de ces objets est facilitée, notamment par l'emploi régulier de motifs identifiables et récurrents comme les pagodes chinoises ou encore les palmiers.

Sous l'Empire, cette approche change profondément. Le motif reste, pour l'industrie de l'imprimé, bien au centre de l'intérêt, mais non plus de par sa représentation définie, précise, caractérisée. C'est en effet la perception de son engouement, à savoir ce passage d'une compréhension d'un phénomène à sa production matérielle, qui est régulièrement traitée. Mon intervention propose d'étudier ce passage, son mode de fonctionnement et les pratiques visuelles, qu'il initie. Le motif imprimé devient crucial dans ce contexte car il permet de rendre réel ce processus d'appropriation culturelle. L'industrie du textile et du papier, en plein essor sous l'Empire, profite largement de cette fascination pour le lointain, comme le témoigne le grand nombre de papiers peints, indiennes, éventails et autres produits dont la réalisation implique l'image imprimée.

En me basant sur ces productions, je vais dans un premier temps discuter le mécanisme d'appropriation par le motif. Des indiennes comme la Diane Chasseresse de la manufacture Oberkampf (1802), qui relève d'un vocabulaire mythologique mais associe des figures d'éléphants par exemple, montrent clairement les enjeux de cette perception. Deuxièmement, je vais m'intéresser aux modalités qui permettent à cette appropriation de devenir identitaire, de transmettre et de concevoir une valeur visuelle et/ou morale propre à un pays. Des représentations de textes, comme celui de Paul et Virginie, explicitent ce passage puisqu'ils définissent une identité construite sur la perception de l'autre, entendu comme l'exotique, le « peu connu ».

Olivia **Murphy** (University of Sydney) Anna Letitia Barbauld, 'lady defender' of Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 111, 'Learned Ladies'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Williams (Northumbria University)

Anna Letitia Barbauld was, by birth, education and profession, a member of the vanguard of late eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers. As a young woman at the Dissenting Warrington Academy, she developed a critical perspective that sometimes put her at odds with other intellectuals in her community. When this community came under attack after the French Revolution (most dramatically in the Birmingham riots of 1791), Barbauld was one of few leading intellectuals remaining in England committed to defending the Enlightenment project and its ideals. While we often focus on women's restrictions as writers in the period, Barbauld offers an example of how a courageous

eighteenth-century firebrand might leverage her gender in order to fight for progressive ideals in the face of a conservative backlash, keeping the flame of Enlightenment alive.

Julie Murray (Carleton University) Home Improvement: Mary Wollstonecraft and Stadia Domesticity

Panel / *Session* 305, 'Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Modernity'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Antonio Ballesteros-González (Spanish University of Distance Education)

Scholars in recent years have begun to notice the influence of Scottish Enlightenment historiography, and more specifically, conjectural history, on Mary Wollstonecraft's work. Her *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* and *An Historical and Moral View of the French Revolution* evince ample evidence, for instance, of her extensive engagement with the histories of society produced by Scottish historians in the late-eighteenth century. Broadly speaking, Wollstonecraft is very much in step with the main lines of argument of Scottish historiography that see society progressing from rudeness to refinement. But when it comes to the specific question of women's place in narratives of the progress of society, or the cost to women of having so much of the explanatory force of Scottish historiography turn on women and manners, however, she is far less settled about the connection. My paper will read *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* as in some measure an argument with Scottish historians about what constitutes "progress" for women. *A Vindication* subjects domesticity and marriage to the stadia logic of Scottish historicism: arguing that women have suffered under the yoke of archaic patriarchal authority for too long, Wollstonecraft devotes the later chapters of the text to offering a blueprint for the modern, mindful domesticity and industrious, managerial femininity that comes later to form the "domestic ideal" in nineteenth-century Britain.

Pierre Musitelli (Ecole normale supérieure / Paris Sciences et Lettres) Les lumières lombardes face à la Révolution française

Panel / *Session* 134, 'Hommes des Lumières, hommes politiques : positionnements et trajectoires à l'époque de la Révolution Française (1780–1804) 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Pauline Pujo (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

Notre contribution se propose d'analyser la réaction des milieux réformateurs et éclairés de Lombardie aux événements français de 1789, en prenant en considération la trajectoire intellectuelle et politique d'un certain nombre de représentants des élites formées sous le règne de Marie-Thérèse et de Joseph II de Habsbourg, dont les anciens membres de l'Accademia de' Pugni : Pietro Verri (1728-1797), Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794), Alfonso Longo (1738-1804) et Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720-1795).

Quelles lignes de partage nouvelles se dessinent dans le panorama intellectuel lombard, laboratoire du réformisme éclairé et foyer des Lumières nord-italiennes? Quelle incidence la Révolution a-t-elle sur la façon dont les élites pensent leur rôle et leur responsabilité vis-à-vis du peuple et de l'opinion publique? Comment la Révolution vient-elle infléchir ou stimuler la pensée juridique, et celle des droits de l'homme en particulier?

Anna Myers (University of Edinburgh) 'Our Toil Shall Strive to Mend': Material Culture and the Social Processing of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*

Panel / *Session* 365, 'Enlightenment Tragedy: Ancient Forms, Modern Affects'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatiana Korneeva (Freie Universität Berlin)

Shakespearean drama in the long eighteenth century was shaped and molded by the exertions of artists and editors in the emerging 'public sphere' through the circulation of painted and engraved theatrical scenes and portraits, edited volumes of plays and criticism, objects associated and decorated with theatrical scenes; in other words, in visual, material and textual culture. Taking *Romeo and Juliet* as a case study, this paper examines the significance of its visual and material legacy in Britain. David Garrick's 1748 production of *Romeo and Juliet* was altered when it was

performed again in 1750, to omit the character of Rosaline. The advertisement for the 1750 performance acknowledges the alteration and states; 'The sudden change of Romeo's love from Rosaline to Juliet, was thought by many, at the first revival of the play, to be a blemish in his character [...].' This revision was part of the social processing of Shakespeare's works which, as this paper argues, stretched beyond the theatre and printed editions into visual and material culture. Benjamin Wilson painted Garrick as Romeo, David Garrick as Romeo and George Anne Bellamy as Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*, 1753, in the 'tomb scene' from his production, an image that was subsequently engraved and printed in periodicals as well as manifested on objects including Bilston enamels and Sheffield plate snuff boxes. In these material adaptations, we encounter a synthesis of meaning where perceptions of Shakespeare and his works are represented alongside complex social constructs. The objects therefore provide a unique opportunity to investigate the broad and diverse impact of Shakespeare on British society and culture, extending to phenomena such as class, self-fashioning, identity and education as he and his works were grafted onto the nation's biography.

Joanne Myers (Gettysburg College) Catholic Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Panel / *Session* 68, 'Catholicism and the Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh)

Eighteenth-century Catholics were often cast as the superstitious reverse of all that the Enlightenment represented. As scholars have shown, Catholicism served as a constitutive other for modern Britishness. The Catholic faith itself was seen as moribund, rescued only by the passage of the Relief Acts and the nineteenth-century 'Second Spring.' More recent work, however, has begun to nuance our understanding of how post-Reformation Catholics worked dynamically to engage with their society and preserve their faith despite the pressures of the penal laws and anti-Catholic stereotypes. Michael Questier, Gabriel Glickman, and others have enriched our view of the diversity and vitality of eighteenth-century Catholic culture. But how could one be an Enlightened Catholic? This paper pursues that question through a case study of the intertwined national and religious identities of London drapier and diarist William Mawhood.

Mawhood's diary records how one Catholic crafted an identity as both an enlightened Englishman and faithful Catholic. Its author engaged eagerly in his society, cultivating his passion for music, visiting churches of all denominations, and eagerly taking the oath of loyalty to George III. He also maintained strong ties with the Catholic community at home and abroad. Notably, Vicar Apostolic Richard Challoner counted Mawhood as a friend and retreated to his country home during the Gordon Riots. I analyze Mawhood's record of his reception of the sacraments to argue that the diary represents a way for Mawhood to integrate his religious identity with his Englishness through the paradox of a private performance of his proscribed faith. The diary, I suggest, seeks not to redeem Catholicism from the threat of superstition but to record the sacramental efficacy of grace despite the pressures of penalty. Mawhood's religious memoranda, lodged alongside orders for army uniforms, record Catholicism's attenuated but real presence in an Enlightened country.

Stratos Myrogiannis (Hellenic Open University) Enlightenment Paradoxes and Forgeries: Antiquarianism, Byzantium, and Modern Greek Identity

Panel / *Session* 234, 'Origins and Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Alvarez (DePauw University)

Through the exploration of antiquarianism, this paper sets out to suggest a new context in order to reframe the debate on the emergence of the Modern Greek identity during the Enlightenment. So far, the work of the antiquarians has never been thoroughly examined in relation to the rise of national identities in Europe. This case study traces an Enlightenment paradox: how a Modern Greek national identity was first shaped with the incorporation of Byzantium, paradoxically against the dominant trend of the time which was Greek and Roman antiquity, as part of a Greek past through studies of antiquarian and historical interest. In this context, I attempt to trace the intellectual itinerary that the concept of Byzantine history followed in order to become part of a Greek national history through the labours of antiquarians all over Europe. At the last stage of this itinerary, during the Enlightenment, inspired by previous antiquarian studies intellectuals attempted to fill the gaps of Greek history with new interpretations which served the emerging national causes. In this way, they ended up fashioning the first narratives of a Greek national history by

suitably appropriating the concept of Byzantine history, one of the greatest forgeries in Europe, as part of a new national identity. Hence, their intellectual work stands out as a unique case study, showing how antiquarianism can be considered as being indirectly related to the emergence of national identities in Europe during the Enlightenment.

Fritz Nagel (Bernoulli-Euler-Zentrum an der Universität Basel) Johann Bernoulli (1667–1748)
versus John Keill (1671–1721): A Look at Some Unpublished Manuscripts

Panel / *Session* 168, 'Equation and Equivalence'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Clemis (Mount Royal University, Calgary)

It is well known that the invention of the calculus triggered one of the most fierce scientific controversies in the first half of the 18th century. It was John Keill, born in Edinburgh, who, as the self-proclaimed spearhead of the Newtonian Party, actually sparked this priority dispute and rode violent attacks against all scholars who dared to criticize his idol Newton. Keill's special opponent was Johann I Bernoulli from Basel. Bernoulli reacted to Keill's polemical publications with equally sharp replies. He therefore studied Keill's essays in detail and provided them with extensive handwritten marginal comments. My paper will give an overview of these previously unpublished notes and present them against the background of the controversy between Newton's and Leibniz's followers in the first half of the 18th century.

Mona Narain (Texas Christian University) Enlightenment Identity and Alterity: The Cosmopolitics of Gender and Travel

Panel / *Session* 395, 'Indian Identities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Tina Janssen (University of Warwick)

My paper argues that the conception of a gendered British Enlightenment identity was often forged in the nexus of three late eighteenth-century phenomenon; increased global travel by British women, early exchanges of global capital, and the politics of cosmopolitanism in the context of colonialism. I briefly compare two divergent travel accounts of India by Mrs. Jemima Kindersley (1777), and Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali (1832), to analyze how Englishwomen conceived of their own identity in relation to gendered differences and alterity specifically through the lens of global travel. Kindersley and Ali sought to distinguish themselves as adventurous travelers. They constructed an alternative self-identity that diverged sharply from the conservative image of the English woman who stayed home, increasingly ubiquitous in the second half of the eighteenth century, but they also sought to distinguish themselves from the "Other" Indian woman who spent her life within the walls of the harem. Examining Kindersley and Ali's doubly divergent stances allows us to better comprehend the unique opportunities global travel gave to eighteenth-century Englishwomen and how cosmopolitanism offered them an alternative gender politics that sought to rewrite alterity.

What might account of these layered, sometimes contradictory depictions? I argue that English women travelers' narratives about foreign encounters are not just depictions of the Other but also an amalgamation of as well as a simultaneous challenge to discourses at home. Each of these women's accounts sought to construct and locate the English woman traveler as an "avant-garde" figure that refused to be pinned down literally and virtually by the boundaries of home. Such a reading must necessarily complicate our understanding of identity, alterity, and gendered cosmopolitics as internally riven by conflict during the Enlightenment.

Ross Nedervelt (Florida International University) Bonds of Subjecthood and Problems of Colonial Identity in Revolutionary Atlantic Spaces

Panel / *Session* 37, 'Caribbean Connections'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : April Shelford (American University)

Historical scholarship on the American Revolution in the British Atlantic world has divided colonial support and loyalties between rebellious mainland colonies and loyal island colonies. Bermuda and the Bahamas occupy a middle ground that supported the rebellious thirteen British North American colonies, but shifted to supporting the British before becoming strongholds for the British Royal Navy and Loyalist refugees. Through the lenses of subjecthood and Atlantic connections, I analyze British Colonial Office documents, British trading company correspondence, and the

Tucker Coleman Papers to argue that approaching the American Revolution from the middle of the Atlantic illuminates the complexities of allegiances and identities that emerged in the islanders' struggle to maintain the pre-American Revolution status quo. In the years following the war's conclusion, Bermudian and Bahamian inhabitants endeavored to preserve their commercial and familial relationships bridging the Atlantic divide between the British Empire and the nascent United States. For the islands' merchants and politicians, the end of the Revolution symbolized the opportunity for the islands to restore a commercial status quo, and transform themselves into wealthy free ports and commercial storehouses bolstered by salutary neglect. Yet, British military investment and American loyalist settlement transformed the islands' economies, cultures, and identities into loyalist, militarized colonies dependent on Britain. In the Bahamas, Loyalists refugees overwhelmed and supplanted the Bahamians' established worldview with an influx of wealth, goods, and a violent intolerance to any engagement with the United States. Bermudians and Bahamians' fight to maintain their previous relationships with the breakaway mainland and Britain after the American Revolution illustrates the fundamental transformation these Atlantic island colonies experienced over ideological loyalties, imperial duty, and kinship networks.

Wolfgang **Nedobity** (International Auden Society) Disease and Male Identity in the Age of Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 390, 'Bodies, Disease, and Gender'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.05, 50 George Square.
Chair / *Président.e* : Montana Davies-Shuck (Northumbria University)

In the literature of the 18th century reference is made to a number of diseases which are no longer diagnosed and which were pertinent to male patients only. Their idiosyncrasy of symptoms formed part of the male identity of the period.

The first of the two syndromes under comparison is referred to as hypochondria, the male counterpart of hysteria, both of which form the so-called 'English malady', a type of nervous disease. The second group of diseases is linked to the loss of semen and its detrimental consequences. Since sperm as the only fertile seed was believed to be the token of male identity and human life, it was considered unnatural and sinful to have it wasted or abused.

This presentation is to show that there is a definite overlap of symptoms between these two syndromes as well as the types of men to be affected by them, and furthermore, to identify their common origin which is open to an interpretation on the basis of Freud's theories.

Stana **Nenadic** (University of Edinburgh) Artisan Businesses in Edinburgh's New Town c. 1780–1830: Crafting an Enlightenment Identity

Panel / *Session* 14, 'Everyday Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

Edinburgh's first New Town was designed to stimulate national prosperity through investment in the commercial infrastructure and elite housing of the capital city and thereby bring about a 'spirit of industry and improvement.' Housing provision and workshop space for the 'better class of artisan' were both integral to the plan. This paper considers the political, intellectual and practical agenda behind the encouragement of artisan-owned businesses in Edinburgh's New Town. It looks at the ways in which enlightenment and improvement agendas created a distinct craft identity in the city focussed on the production of certain types of goods and craft worker engagement with key institutions such as the Board of Trustees, the Royal Institution and the Design School. It also considers the tensions inherent in the close proximity of craft workshops, fashionable retail premises and elite housing, which was resolved for some through innovative spatial arrangements, but also ensured that certain types of craft-making premises were swiftly pushed into peripheral areas just beyond the New Town.

Eleonore **Neuman** (University of Virginia) The Global Landscapes of Maria Graham (1785–1842)

Panel / *Session* 420, 'Beyond the Amateur: Reintegrating Women Artists into Eighteenth-Century (Art) History 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Hyde (University of Florida)

The British artist and author Maria Graham produced an extraordinary range of aesthetic work. Of particular note are landscapes drawn in Bombay, Rome, Valparaíso, Rio de Janeiro, and London, as well as shipboard views that she sketched in between these destinations. Drawing the landscape while traveling helped Graham to locate herself spatially and also in relation to class, race and especially gender. This paper examines her artistic practice (and its limits) relative to her peregrinations in Italy (1818-1820) and Brazil (1821-1825). I claim that Graham's training as a female amateur artist underpinned her skillful mediation of the diverse modes of landscape representation available to her in each location. As part of a community of British artists based in Rome, she depicted picturesque scenes of the Italian countryside, portrayed classical landscapes, and rendered detailed views of the Eternal City. During the lengthy voyage to Brazil, she adopted the mariner's style of delineating coastlines. Graham then applied what she had learned in Rome from studying J.M.W. Turner's *Liber Studiorum* (1807-1819) to the scenery of Brazil. While navigating different social circles in Rio de Janeiro, she drafted topographical panoramas, drew botanical illustrations, and sketched picturesque views of the city. These heterogenous landscapes expressed her shifting subjectivity unlike the idiomatic landscapes we find in the work of Romantic artists such as J.M.W. Turner. I show that Graham's career helps us reconsider a number of art-historical debates regarding the consumption and production of landscape in Britain in the early nineteenth century.

Hilde **Neus** (Anton de Kom University of Suriname) 72 Colored Women against the Civil Guards, Suriname 1779

Panel / *Session* 383, 'Slavery and Identity 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

The question of 'identity' was much disputed in the eighteenth century, also in Suriname, a former Dutch colony. It is generally perceived that female strive against male dominance originated in France and was executed by white women. However, in Suriname a group of 72 manumitted colored and black women (names recorded) initiated a court case in 1779 in which they argued against the (white) militia. The role of the militia became eminent during the Enlightenment since it was strongly connected to civil rights and status of the burgers, as one can read from French sources.

A good observer reads solidarity, agency and a profound sense of identity in the court case, since these women were able and entitled to start a comprehensive lawsuit. Striking are also the stark fallacies that were whipped up by the civil guards to their defense. These are issues of gender, color and power. Contrary to popular belief, there was no clear separation between black and white in Suriname, being a three cast society. The ratio of white men to women was at times 10 to 1. This resulted in the fact that many men started relationships with black or colored women and many of these were manumitted. In this paper I question the popular views on eighteenth century binary relationships within Suriname society.

This case is extra-ordinary, since the document not only sheds light on relations in colonial Suriname, but also changes the perception of role and identity of women in the eighteenth century. The fact that black and colored women in the colonies marked the origins of anti-patriarchal discourse should be acknowledged to do them the honor and strengthen their identities.

This document will question and change the views on gender within a colonial context and this paper will contribute to the international discourse on women's studies and on the studies of slavery.

M-C. **Newbould** (Wolfson College, Cambridge) '—Was the eye silent? Did you narrowly look?—
—I look'd only at the stop-watch, my lord.—Excellent observer!': Time, Space, and Narrative in Laurence Sterne's Fiction and Visual Sterneana

Panel / *Session* 25, 'Sterne Digital Library: A New AHRC-funded Research Project'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Allan Ingram (Northumbria University)

The debate regarding the relationship between word and image remained strongly contested throughout the eighteenth century. Writing in 1766, Lessing counters the once prevalent notion that painting and poetry enjoy some form of correspondence (*ut pictura poesis*) to assert their essential differences: painting involves 'figures and colours in space', rather than the 'articulated sounds in time' which poetry features.

Laurence Sterne's fascination with the pictorial has long been subject to critical attention. His stimulation of the 'visual imagination' (W.B. Gerard) uses verbal techniques which invoke the operations of *ut pictura poesis*. Similarly, his experimental engagement with the narrative representation of time has attracted much comment, whether the erratic chronology of *Tristram Shandy* or the episodic, snap-shot vignettes of *A Sentimental Journey*. Sterne combines the apparent connection of words to time, and of images to space – and confuses the relation between the two – in the 'pictures' he asks us to 'imagine to yourself'. Yet how does word 'transfer' to image, and how does narrative time operate, in the visual depiction of key scenes in Sterne's fiction? Using early examples of visual Sterneana this paper asks how far, if at all, artists and illustrators re-invoke both Sterne's complicated engagement with time and space, and the tense debate regarding how, and if, word and image can interact.

Alexandra **Newton** (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) Kant's Enlightenment Project within the Context of his Universalism about the Subject of Knowledge

Panel / *Session* 334, 'Intellectual Enlightenments'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.11, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Shiru Lim (European University Institute)

Kant is often thought to be a radical individualist who advocates the 'autonomy' of the epistemic agent in making up her own mind about what she should think, without at all relying on others. This 'individualist' position is often contrasted with a 'social' epistemology that endorses mutual dependence and the loss of individual hegemony. According to this view, only if we relinquish some of our personal autonomy will we come to view our role as that of (more or less distinguished) members in the discursive practice of giving and asking for reasons, and to reign in our arrogant desire to usurp the position of the whole practice.

In this paper I wish to argue that this narrative of the self-conceit of Kantian reason, and its inevitable fall, overlooks one of the most important lessons of Kant's first Critique. The narrative is predicated on the empiricist assumption that the subject of knowledge is the individual; her acts of knowing are hers because they belong to her individual mind. In the first part of the paper, I argue that this assumption leads to skepticism about the possibility of a community of reasoners in which members rationally criticize, correct, and acquire knowledge from one another. In the second section Kant's alternative to this skepticism will be sketched, according to which the subject of judgment and knowledge is originally universal, not individual. (Kant's universalism)

Once we introduce the idea of a universal subject of knowledge, a second myth about the Kantian subject begins to make its appearance, obscuring his universalist insight from another angle. For it may now seem that, on Kant's view, knowledge must only be shareable with a plurality of subjects, but not that it must be actually shared or communicated. In the final section of the paper, I will argue that according to Kant, the communication of knowledge, and hence a plurality of subjects, is a condition for the possibility of the free use (and hence realization) of reason in the individual. I will explain in brief outline how the enlightenment project of reason's perfection involves the mediation of the individual with universal reason through social or communal interaction.

Jenny **Nex** (University of Edinburgh) Charles Pinto, Christian Clauss, and John Goldsworth: The Pianoforte Guittar in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain

Panel / *Session* 213, 'Musical Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Anne Desler (University of Edinburgh)

Musical Instruments are important elements of personal and group identities due in part to their associations with the music they are used to play. Musical instrument makers and dealers in the 18th century took this into consideration when designing, marketing and selling their products. One of the most important social groups for musical instrument makers was amateur women of high social status. These were individuals who had purchasing power as well as the desire for musical accomplishment and high cultural capital. As such, they were the focus for some makers who saw

an opportunity for high profits. By the 1780s, the piano was becoming popular alongside other instruments such as the English guittar. A marketing opportunity was seen by competitive makers to combine these two instruments in what became known as the keyed English guittar or the pianoforte guittar. Patents were taken out for differing mechanisms and court cases were heard relating to infringements to individual's rights. Such legal machinations only occur in musical instrument making when there is a perception that money is to be made. However, although the trend for these instruments was high for a short time, it did not last for many years and there were bankruptcies amongst the makers who had focussed their attention on this single market opportunity. This paper outlines the activities of the main protagonists, Christian Clauss, Charles Pinto and John Goldsworth, as well as their contemporaries involved in the volatile musical markets of the late 18th-century.

Genice **Ngg** (Singapore University of Social Sciences) Dissecting Anatomists in Eighteenth-Century England

Panel / *Session 2*, 'Anatomising the Anatomist'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.11, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Richard Bellis (University of Leeds)

Early modern advances in anatomical knowledge heralded empirical physiology and new understanding of the human body. In England, William Harvey's ground-breaking discovery of blood circulation in 1628 was followed by increased interest in anatomical research. By the eighteenth century, there were private anatomical schools, public dissections, and anatomical museums in England, with John and William Hunter as the renowned figures in anatomical studies and teachings. Yet anatomists were often associated with quackery and incompetence: in Ravenscroft's *The Anatomist: Or, The Sham Doctor* (1696), and more prominently in topical writings and prints, after one anatomist authenticated a medical hoax—such as that depicted in Hogarth's *Cunicularii* (1726), *The Surrey-Wonder: An Anatomical Farce* (1726) and Swift's *The Anatomist Dissected* (1727). Public scandals made it easy for writers and artists to ridicule the paucity of medical knowledge of the entire medical profession.

By mid-eighteenth century, anatomists were portrayed as ghoulish doctors of dissection. Artists, particularly Rowlandson, introduced a new image of doctors—anatomists were satirized as butchers, body snatchers, and even necrophiliacs with their female cadavers. Hogarth's oft reproduced image of public dissection, *The Reward of Cruelty* (1751), places anatomical dissection not in the domain of knowledge and education, but in the public spectacle of shame, punishment and retribution.

This paper looks at the satirical depictions of anatomists and their practice in the long eighteenth century, in the context of a paradoxical and transitional age with changes that seemed to signal medical enlightenment, even as it was known as the age of quackery. Such depictions could satirize medical experiments and training, providing social commentary on the period's leading medical figures and activities; but they could also indicate and reinforce public interest in the macabre and the prurient.

Trung Thien Kim **Nguyen** (Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3) Natural Jurisprudence in Scottish Enlightenment Thought

Panel / *Session 440*, 'Scottish Enlightenment Identities 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Loughlin (University of Edinburgh)

My paper will argue that placing natural jurisprudence at the core of moral and social thought constituted the Scottish literati's most important contribution to the Enlightenment. Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and Thomas Reid connected natural jurisprudence to moral philosophy and to history.

The mainstream of Scottish natural jurisprudence in the Enlightenment aimed at presenting a broad moral outlook on human nature and human actions. Morals was defined in terms of natural jurisprudence which was in turn understood as a social and political ethics that arranged moral life into broad sets of duties.

Also, the true hallmark of 18th-century Scottish moral and social thought was its sophisticated historicism which actually played a prominent role in devising the idea of natural jurisprudence. To the Scottish moralists, the study of human nature went hand in hand with the historicising of moral, political, and legal subjects. In other words, they argued that historically speaking, natural jurisprudence was a clearly identifiable phenomenon.

Attempting to establish an objective account of the moral and social world by adopting a historical perspective may seem somewhat paradoxical. The literati replied that trying to devise a science that would account for how morality was causally brought into the world by human exertion in the same way as physics accounts for natural causation was misunderstanding the subject of morals and applying the wrong methodology. Unlike natural philosophy, morals is not a demonstrative science. Understanding that a different methodology needed to be adopted was decisive for the Scottish thinkers to bolster their idea of the historicity of the moral world.

To conclude, I will endeavour to demonstrate that highlighting the nature and the extent of the role played by natural jurisprudence in the moral and social spheres was the Scottish thinkers' most significant contribution to the public debates in 18th-century moral and political ideology.

Donald **Nichol** (St John's, Newfoundland and Labrador) Gertrude Warburton Unmasked

Panel / *Session* 414, 'Women and Sexual Agency in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Karen Harvey (University of Birmingham)

Gertrude Tucker, favourite niece of Ralph Allen (a patron of Pope and Fielding), married to William Warburton, might have been the heroine of a suppressed Austen novel. What little is known of her life hints at an affair with Thomas Potter, errant son of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Hidden between the lines of an epigram and an exposé on the Hell-Fire Club in *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit* is the scandalous rumour that Potter was father of her son. Yet the marriage survived, and when Bishop Warburton (who was 30 years older than his wife) died, Gertrude married his chaplain (who was 20 years younger than she). In Gertrude Warburton we see the victim of what must have been one of the most stultifying arranged marriages of the century as well as a scandalous treatment by the press, but also a survivor who dared to shock society by marrying again on her own terms.

Laura **Nicoli** (Lichtenberg Kolleg, Goettingen) The Philosopher and the Encyclopédiste: Abbé Yvon's Critique of Hume

Panel / *Session* 441, 'The Cosmopolitan Identity of an Enlightenment Philosopher: David Hume 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Gianni Paganini (Università del Piemonte)

The "Natural History of Religion" is the most important writing on religion published by Hume during his lifetime. Its publication in 1757 marked a turning point in the long-lasting European debate on the first religion of humankind. Hume explained the origin, nature and evolution of religious belief through an examination of human nature. He sought to overthrow the biblical scheme of original monotheism by establishing the philosophical theory of primitive polytheism. More than any other Hume's writing, the *Natural History of Religion* had a special connection with France and established Hume's French reputation as an *esprit fort*. Among the many reactions that its publication stimulated on the Continent, the one of the abbé Claude Yvon represents an interesting as well as totally neglected case study. Yvon's "Abrégé de l'histoire de l'Église" (1766-1767) includes some preliminary "Réflexions sur la religion primitive" that present a long detailed critical analysis of Hume's "Natural History of Religion". A subtle theologian and a prolific contributor to the "Encyclopédie" of Diderot and d'Alembert, Yvon was the advocate of an unusual point of view among the French readers of Hume: he was neither a critic of religion, willing to use Hume's work as a powerful new war machine against religion, nor an enemy of the philosophes, willing to attack Hume by way of attacking his French friends. Rather, Yvon aimed to reconcile Christian orthodoxy and the philosophic spirit of the Enlightenment. This paper will focus on Yvon's "Réflexions", suggesting a reading of this text that takes into account: a) the intellectual background of the eighteenth-century debate on pagan religions and the first religion of humankind; b) Yvon's peculiar position in the context of the early reception of Hume's work; c) the comparison with the article "Polythéisme" of the *Encyclopédie* (published in 1765, but probably written many years earlier), where Yvon discusses the problem of pagan religions without dealing yet with the "Natural History of Religion".

Ivo **Nieuwenhuis** (Radboud University) A Comical Enlightenment? Exploring the Circulation of Humorous Texts in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Panel / *Session* 348, 'The Bibliometrics of Enlightenment'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Juliette Reboul (Radboud University)

Looking at conventional literary histories, one gets the impression that the eighteenth century was an age of comedy. In these histories, the satires of Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope and Voltaire figure prominently, and are sometimes even presented as important vehicles of Enlightenment thought. But to what extent is this image of a comical Enlightenment confirmed by the actual circulation of texts in eighteenth-century Europe? Do comical books and authors regularly appear in private libraries? If yes: in what libraries in particular? Could the possession of humorous texts be part of one's intellectual or social identity?

In this paper, I will address these questions, using the MEDIANTE database of auction catalogues as my main source. Of a sample of sixty contemporary humorous books in Dutch, French and English, it will be examined how they are represented in the current database. If there turn out to be book owners in the database showing a keen interest in comical literature, their social and intellectual backgrounds will be compared, so as to find out whether or not there is such a thing as 'the comedy reader' in the eighteenth century.

Natalia Nikiforova (National Research University Higher School of Economics) Peter I at the Turning Lathe: 'Technologies' of Identity

Panel / *Session* 22, 'Reformist and Reactionary Tsars'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Romaniello (Weber State University)

Artisanal activities of a Russian emperor Peter I (carpentry, sculpture, lathing) distanced him dramatically from the preceding monarchs, drawing closer to European high society where lathing was a necessary and becoming skill. Peter's devotion to turning lathe and public demonstration of his mastery had a symbolical load. It added to the famous theme of Peter as a sculptor carving out the statue of Russia, that was the subject of Peter's own emblem and a number art works where the emperor was presented as a demiurge. Basing on the conceptions of charismatic scenario of power (R. Worman), carnivalization of power (E. Zitser) and semiotic approach to Peter's artisanal practices (R. Collis), the paper analyses the image of the tsar at the turning lathe as a spectacle contributing to the creation of mythic history of his reign. Technological demonstrations were turned by Peter the Great into a performance and were incorporated into a set of other practices that reinforced his status as a European monarch-reformer.

Peter had turning shops in all the palaces he created. The machine shop at his Saint-Petersburg Summer Palace was called a laboratory, where court turner Alexei Nartov tested foreign and developed new devices. Peter's lathing cabinet was formally considered private (which was indicated on a plate at the entrance), but this is where he organized official meetings and negotiations with ministers and international guests. According to some testimonies Peter often swore at his subordinates and even beat them, comparing this to lathing and creating a better person. There are numerous indications that Peter was lathing in front of foreign guests, who found it extraordinary. This process can be seen as a ceremony or spectacle with special setting and stage requisites. Such demonstrations had numerous cultural meanings – they popularized inventions and demonstrated technological level of Russia.

Kazumi Nishimoto (Chubu University) A link between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries— Rational Choice Theory, K. J. Arrow, A. Smith, and Japan

Panel / *Session* 355, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 3 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

I present the common idea between A. Smith, the 18th century's moral philosopher and K. J. Arrow, the 20th century's modern economist. They show us compatible relationship between individual opinion and social agreements. I express it a link between the two different centuries. The first works concerned to Arrow's impossibility theorem were done by J. -C. Borda and marquis de Condorcet, a member of l'Académie française. Arrow recalled his idea has nothing to do with them. However it still an important link. Moreover, Arrow also pointed out Jean-Jacques Rousseau to express a possible way to come over the impossibility theorem. Thus, Arrow's inspiration goes back to the

18th century's works. Finally, I refer that Japanese scholars had studied a lot about Smith and Arrow; though their works were done in Anglo-Saxon countries. They could be a hint to build a civil society in post war period in Japan.

Nanna Eva Nissen (University of Copenhagen) From Sorcery Sentences to Diagnoses of Melancholy: Criminal Cases on Diabolic Pacts in Eighteenth-Century Denmark-Norway

Panel / *Session* 369, 'In Pursuit of Salvation, Subjectivity, and Sanity: Ideas and Practices Regarding Mental Illness in the Legal System of Denmark-Norway'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Søren Peter Hansen (Technical University of Denmark)

Throughout the eighteenth century criminal cases concerning written diabolic pacts prompted consultation of theological, medical, and legal expertise. These are today accessible through court records as well as through contemporary publications of such hearings and forensic case stories.

While the sources from witch trials have been thoroughly studied, the cases of people who just decades later claimed to have made, or at least attempted to make, a pact with the devil Devil have not drawn the same attention. This is a surprising eclipse since in Denmark-Norway they appear to rise in the century of Enlightenment. The rise of persecution of the "criminals" of these cases may call for a correction of the dating and reveal new nuances in the transformation of ideas and identities in the 18th century. In several contexts, the written diabolic pacts – in particular together with the question of the reality of demonic possession and diabolic pacts in general – were linked to melancholia or similar Danish terms for mental illness. Through a general outline of the development and illustrative cases, the paper seeks to clarify the dynamics of theological, medical and legal expertise applied in the prosecution of people who had attempted to enter into a pact with the Devil.

Bogdan Nita (University of Edinburgh) From Identity to the Expression of the Moldavian Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 334, 'Intellectual Enlightenments'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shiru Lim (European University Institute)

The present paper is trying to promote a new type of enlightenment that appeared in Moldavia through the will of three intellectuals that wanted to shape the identity of the principate. The French Encyclopedia or the Scottish or German Englishmen are based on individuals of massive influence in multiple fields improving and urging to knowledge. The Moldavian Enlightenment is about shaping a national identity by creating knowledgeable bridges with the souring empires of the Ottomans and Russians.

The Moldavian Enlightenment is defined by the cultural history and multilingual humanism of three intellectuals. The Moldavians thinkers are the first in East Europe who plead for think-for-yourself, implicit as an intellectual process of understanding the world, God, and Moldavia as an independent state. Firstly, Dimitrie Barilă known as Dosoftei developed a progressive linguistic program that translated the Psalms into a versified book into Moldavian. Dosoftei's linguistic abilities shaped the identity of the Moldavian language and made possible the beginning of the Moldavian literature. Secondly, Dimitrie Cantemir, who is the main thinker of the Moldavian Enlightenment, brought innovations in the politics and culture of the Ottoman and Russian empires and promoted the political ideology that claimed the identity and suzerainty of Moldavia from the Ottomans. With Cantemir the Moldavian Enlightenment spreads from a mystic vision of the world to an empirical description of what can be known. Thirdly, Antiochus Cantemir a man of letters and a diplomat influenced the Russian literature gaining the nickname of the "the father of the Russian poetry". Befriended with Voltaire and Montesquieu, Antioch represents one of the most interesting and unique Byzantine philosophers. Antioch is the final concretization of the Moldavian Enlightenment that resemblance in the Russian poetry.

The present paper will not be only a presentation of the three main intellectuals but also a scrupulous analysis on the implication of their theories and vision in shaping the Moldavian identity and their influence in the Ottoman and Russian cultures.

Lucie **Nizard** (ENS de Lyon - Sorbonne nouvelle) Le XIXe siècle et la sexualité du XVIIIe siècle : le rêve d'une légèreté perdue

Panel / *Session* 462, 'Inventer le XVIIIe siècle : valeurs et enjeux d'une identité séculaire'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Christophe Martin (Sorbonne Université)

Le XIXe siècle est fasciné par le rapport décomplexé à la sexualité féminine qu'il attribue au siècle des Lumières. On note en particulier la fascination des réalistes et des naturalistes (des Goncourt à Zola en passant par Maupassant) pour un XVIIIe siècle rêvé comme un paradis perdu de plaisir frivole, de badineries anodines et raffinées, un monde enfui de « fêtes galantes » qui ressemblerait à celui de Watteau revu par Verlaine. Contrairement à ce qu'il se passe pour les femmes désirantes du XIXe siècle dans la littérature victorienne, les « belles écouteuses » du XVIIIe siècle ne sont pas présentées comme des monstres, même par nos auteurs du XIXe siècle, mais bien au contraire comme de délicieuses coquettes. Dans sa nouvelle « Jadis », Maupassant donne ainsi la parole à une vieille marquise qui a vécu avant la Révolution et l'avènement de la bourgeoisie puritaine :

Le mariage, c'est une loi, vois-tu, et l'amour c'est un instinct qui nous pousse tantôt à droite, tantôt à gauche. On a fait des lois qui combattent nos instincts, il le fallait. (...) Quand un homme nous plaisait, fillette, on lui envoyait un page. Et quand il nous venait au cœur un nouveau caprice, on avait vite fait de congédier le dernier amant... à moins qu'on ne les gardât tous les deux... (Guy de Maupassant, « Jadis », Contes et Nouvelles, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1974, p.183.)

On constate le rapport très naturel et spontané au désir féminin dans cette conception idéalisée de la sexualité féminine au XVIIIe siècle par un écrivain du XIXe siècle.

C'est bien cette représentation biaisée de la sexualité féminine du XVIIIe siècle que j'aimerais interroger, en montrant que la récupération du topos du marivaudage sert en creux un discours du regret vis-à-vis d'un siècle fantasmé.

Alastair **Noble** (Edinburgh University) 'Perhaps the Highlanders may imitate them.' Highland Identity in an Imperial Context

Panel / *Session* 282, 'Scots, Empire, and Identity'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sydney Ayers (University of Edinburgh)

Highland identity in the eighteenth century was often understood, through Enlightenment paradigms, as the product of an uncivilised, and barbarian culture, that was at an earlier stage of development than the rest of Britain. In addition, Highlanders were frequently compared to other peoples in colonised territories who were seen as equally 'uncivilised'. Following the final Jacobite rising inhabitants of the region were romanticised while aspects of Highland culture were appropriated and refashioned as part of a narrative of assimilation.

Subsequently, the army has been seen as an important means through which Highlanders were assimilated through engagement in the British state's imperial expansion. However, there is evidence, from contemporary accounts of the Seven Years War, that Highland regiments were still perceived as possessing a distinct character reflecting different levels of social and cultural development. Some reports adopted familiar tropes to describe Highlanders, which, in this context, were seen as positive, whereas previously they had been regarded as problematic. Highlanders' supposed 'war-like spirit' was now useful in the service of the Empire.

Significantly, Highlanders were represented as having an affinity with Native Americans. However, Highlanders were simultaneously distinguished from both the indigenous peoples and British army compatriots. Thus, the Seven Years War was a multifarious cross-cultural encounter, in which Highlanders were at once colonised and colonising.

It is necessary, therefore, to reconsider the narrative of assimilation, itself partly perpetuated by Enlightenment ideas of progress, in the context of the eighteenth-century Highlands. Building on recent work from Stroh, it is possible to highlight how the involvement of Highlanders in overseas imperial enterprises underlines the extent to which the representation of Highlanders was complex and dynamic, suggesting that binary models of colonised and coloniser could be reconsidered.

Marie-Cécile **Norbelly-Schang** (Université de Bretagne Sud) Le lien entre identité générique et identité sociale des personnages

Panel / *Session* 61, 'Théâtre et Identités 1 : Identités des genres dramatiques dans le théâtre du XVIIIe siècle'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Renaud Bret-Vitoz (Sorbonne Université, CELLF)

Cette communication interroge les interactions et les enjeux socio-politiques entre les catégories sociales héritées de l'Ancien Régime et du système féodal au XVIIIe siècle, dans l'opéra-comique des années 1770-1780. Elle analyse l'identité sociale des personnages en tant que support d'une réflexion sur l'identité d'un genre intermédiaire car situé à la croisée des genres héroïque et comique.

Lucien **Nouis** (New York University) Refaire les signes: identité aristocratique et récit de soi dans L'Émigré de Sénac de Meilhan

Panel / *Session* 5, 'Changing Identities in Revolutionary and Postrevolutionary France'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Annelle Curulla (Scripps College)

Dans le grand tremblement des identités induit par l'événement révolutionnaire, la question de savoir ce qu'est en définitive un aristocrate hante les émigrés brusquement arrachés aux structures économiques et symboliques qui avaient contribué à les situer collectivement dans le grand jeu social de l'ancien régime. Sénac de Meilhan explore ainsi dans L'Émigré le vertige de toute une classe confrontée à la ruine. Certains s'efforcent, dans leur exil, d'inventer de nouvelles formes d'existence, telle cette duchesse devenue fabricante de fleurs artificielles, ou ces nouveaux maîtres de dessin, de musique et de danse qui apparaissent un peu partout sur la carte de l'émigration. Mais il en est d'autres pour qui le changement est impossible, l'écart trop grand entre passé et présent : un lieutenant général agonise dans un réduit, privé de tout, incapable de demeurer après la disparition de son monde, alors que d'autres, fatigués d'attendre un providentiel renversement de la république, choisissent ensemble le suicide. Le marquis de Saint Alban, entre fidélité et réinvention, cherchera de son côté à faire émerger du naufrage collectif une identité aristocratique modernisée. L'éducation qu'il a reçue d'un précepteur résolument réformiste lui permet d'échapper au statisme d'usages dépassés. Malgré son suicide, qui a lieu au moment de sa condamnation par un tribunal révolutionnaire, ou peut-être à travers lui, il incarne une nouvelle figure capable de répondre aux changements que l'histoire impose à sa classe en contribuant à en générer le récit nouveau. Ce qu'il propose est une attitude de vie qui ne doit rien aux titres, et tout au mérite et à un sens intérieur, privé, de la justice, de la moralité, de la fidélité qu'il illustre à travers chacune des épreuves qui lui sont imposées. Il s'agira dans cette communication d'interroger en détail la façon dont le roman de Sénac de Meilhan cherche à faire le récit de la naissance possible d'une nouvelle identité aristocratique sur les débris de l'ancienne, voire, par un emprunt au projet républicain, de sa régénération.

Pearl **Nunn** (University of Newcastle, New South Wales) Women of Colour in Eighteenth Century Britain: Published Words, Unheard Voices?

Panel / *Session* 323, 'Black British Writers'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

This paper argues that women of African or Afro-Caribbean descent who lived in Britain during the long eighteenth century have largely been obscured from history. It examines the black female voice. Until now it has not been known that free women of colour were not able to become published authors in eighteenth century Britain. However, examples of letters that were written by women of colour being published have now been unearthed, such as the writings of Jane Harry Threscher and Ann Duck. These letters will demonstrate how the written voices of women of colour were valued alongside the voices of their white female counterparts. The use of microscopic analysis on women of African descent in eighteenth century Britain will be applied and will be conducive to observing the broader social context in which these women were involved. Women of African or Afro-Caribbean race or descent were also given a voice by the literary elite by having their written words published; thus awarding them a legitimacy as educated British subjects which has not yet been recognised by historians. What can the intimate voices of individual women of colour tell historians now about the grand scale of race relations in Britain itself in the eighteenth century?

Cliona Ó Gallchoir (University College Cork) Women and Authorship in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Charlotte Brooke's *Emma; or, the Foundling of the Wood* (1803)

Panel / *Session 167*, 'Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Griffin (University of Limerick)

For decades, critical views of Charlotte Brooke tended to take their lead from her own highly self-effacing depiction of herself in the 'Preface' to *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789), in which she minimizes her ambition and her skill by saying that 'My comparatively feeble hand aspires only (like the ladies of ancient Rome) to strew flowers in the path of [the] laurelled champions of my country', and goes on to describe herself as 'unskilled in composition, and now, with extreme diffidence, presenting, for the first time, her literary face to the world'. Recent scholarship by Lesa Ní Mhughhaile, Leith Davis and Lucy Cogan has however challenged this view of Brooke, drawing attention for instance to her narrative poem *Máon*, an original composition included in the *Reliques*. In this text, the timidity and self-effacements of the 'Preface' is replaced by a much more self-assured tone and much more explicit alignment with patriotic ideals. Brooke for instance declares: 'For oft the Muse, a gentle guest,/Dwells in the female form;/And patriot fire, female breast,/May sure unquestion'd warm.' In this paper, I will focus on Brooke's unfinished and posthumously published novel, *Emma; or, the Foundling of the Wood* in order to further challenge the view of Brooke as a reluctant author. The novel will also be discussed in relation to works by other Anglo-Irish women novelists of the period.

Patty O'Boyle (Independent Scholar / John Thelwall Society) Revisiting Edinburgh: Thelwall, Jeffrey, and Wordsworth; or, Identity and Denial in the Creation of the Lake Poets.

Panel / *Session 208*, 'John Thelwall 2: Thelwallian Identities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Judith Thompson (Dalhousie University, Halifax)

The pamphlet *War between John Thelwall and Francis Jeffrey* that followed Jeffrey's review of Thelwall's *Poems Written Chiefly in Retirement* (in the *Edinburgh Review* of April 1803) is something that critics, including both E. P. and Judith Thompson, have written on before, and I refer to it in an article written some years ago: "Wordsworth, Coleridge and Thelwall's 'Fairy of the Lake'." So why revisit it now? Much of Jeffrey's critical commentary turns upon the many transformations of Thelwallian identity revealed in the "Prefatory Memoir" to the book, which Thelwall objected to as not dealing with the poems offered to the public by the now reformed "politician" in the character of the poet. Wordsworth and Coleridge's literary careers, it is argued, suffered by their association with Thelwall in the war of words which followed, and each wrote long critical accounts of their own defining "the character of the poet". It is, perhaps, the "character of the poet" as John Keats delineated it, as having no identity of his own, which is ultimately the most memorable legacy of this cross-border war between the poets and the reviewers. In this Bi-Centenary Year of so many Romantic milestones, a return visit to Edinburgh is not entirely, perhaps, unmerited.

Lisa O'Connell (University of Queensland) Post-Secular Vicars: Alexander Keith, Abraham Adams, and the English Marriage Plot

Panel / *Session 339*, 'Marital Subjects'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sijie Wang (Justus Liebig University Giessen)

A new kind of cleric emerged in the wake of the Anglican church's shift of status and function after 1688: a post-secular vicar who could forge new connections between confessional and secular culture. This paper examines and contrasts the personae of two such vicars—one historical and one fictional—whose lives/examples were central to the development of the realist novel's marriage plot. Alexander Keith was a mid-century Tory priest and entrepreneur who revolutionised London's booming clandestine marriage business at his 'Little chapel' in Mayfair. He invented an original persona for his office which enabled him to adapt the old plebeian street-based commercial marriage trade to the tastes of polite consumers, especially women. While Keith brought clerical marriage into a new connection with modern print-media and commerce, he was so fiercely opposed to the Court-Whig Marriage Act that he martyred himself to that cause. Parson Adams, Henry Fielding's rural parson in *Joseph Andrews* (1742), was another Tory populist and creature of print, but this time a good-natured and unworldly vehicle of a practical Christianity able to

ground Fielding's influential engagement with and revision of Samuel Richardson's marriage plot. This paper argues that Keith and Adams represent two different figurations of the vicar's office which are to be understood in terms of the dynamic openness of Anglican confessional identity in the context of enlightenment.

John O'Neal (Hamilton College) La rhétorique de Rousseau dans son premier Discours

Panel / *Session* 109, 'L'autorité de la rhétorique au siècle des Lumières'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marc-André Bernier (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

La montée intellectuelle de Jean-Jacques Rousseau fut des plus spectaculaires et rien moins qu'étonnante. Elle fut marquée, de son propre aveu, par son premier Discours, connu de nos jours tout simplement comme le Discours sur les sciences et les arts. Certes, Rousseau avait commencé à écrire, mais rien de cette envergure, ni de si inspiré ou de si éloquent qui pût ébranler les idées reçues comme le fit ce court essai de soixante-six pages in-octavo couronné par l'Académie de Dijon en 1750. Comment expliquer les contradictions surprenantes entre l'opposition de Rousseau aux sciences et aux arts et l'acte même d'écrire, qui suppose des connaissances de la rhétorique, elle-même un art important ? Enfin, comment Rousseau peut-il condamner et utiliser le même art qu'est la rhétorique ? Il y a des contemporains de Rousseau, comme Voltaire, entre autres, qui voient dans le premier Discours un jeu d'esprit ou un exercice de style qui permet à ce jeune écrivain de faire reconnaître l'intelligence de quelqu'un qui n'avait jamais eu d'éducation formelle. Il n'en est rien. En s'attaquant aux sciences et aux arts, y compris surtout la rhétorique, Rousseau construit tout un nouveau système de pensée où il privilégie la vertu, la vérité, une vie simple et la recherché du bonheur. Or toute cette initiative est contrecarrée par les sciences et les arts où règne l'opinion publique, créant, à son tour, une conformité et une inauthenticité qui finissent par aliéner les membres de la société les uns des autres. Paradoxalement, Rousseau plaide son cas en utilisant bien des figures de rhétorique qui relèvent du domaine des arts qu'il est en train de critiquer. De fait, ses idées audacieuses s'appuient finalement sur une solide base esthétique, fondé sur la rhétorique, qui plaît autant qu'elle choque. Les académiciens de Dijon ont dû bien s'en apercevoir pour lui attribuer le premier prix qu'il méritait.

Daniel O'Quinn (University of Guelph) Kemble's Eternal City

Panel / *Session* 308, 'Performing Enlightenment Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Rosenthal (University of Maryland)

Scenography plays a decisive role in the scholarship on John Philip Kemble's highly influential adaptation of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*. Jon Sachs, Michael Dobson and others have devoted significant time to Kemble's re-imagining of this role by attending to both its political import and to its impact on Hazlitt's theorization of the imagination. We have a fairly thick archive regarding Kemble's post-1806 performances and I would agree with Jon Sachs's assessment that "the image of Rome that Kemble presented was imperial and aristocratic, a powerful projection of the rightness of patrician rule and thus a defense of the established order" (200). Much of Sachs argument is derived from surviving images and commentary on the design of 1811 productions which presented a Rome at the height of its imperial grandeur. As Odell states, "The Rome of [Kemble's] *Coriolanus* was of marble—the Rome of the Caesars—but granting the anachronism, it was very fine". As Sachs notes, and some audiences at the time complained, misrecognizing the Roman republic as the Augustan imperium does considerable violence to the play's politics. Much Romantic theatre scholarship reads the play through Hazlitt's criticism, but this two-part paper brings us back first, to its initial reception and remediation prior to the French Revolution, and second, to Kemble's concurrent production of *Coriolanus* with other Roman plays—specifically *Cato* and *Julius Caesar* during the Regency in order to consider the changing significance of Rome for fantasies of British imperial rule. It is crucial that we not assume, as so much of the criticism does, that the play which opened so brilliantly in the winter of 1789 was the same as the production re-mounted in 1806 after being pulled from the stage for close to ten years. During this temporal gap the relationship between nation and empire was fundamentally reconceived, but little attention has been given to the way in which this change was enacted and mediated in the realm of performance. The first part of the paper discusses recently discovered designs by Thomas Greenwood for the 1789 production and argues that this production of the play was not only in

David O'Shaughnessy (Trinity College Dublin) Historicizing Goldsmith's *The Captivity* (1764)

Panel / *Session* 424, 'Clio on the eighteenth-century stage'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Russell (University of York)

In Arthur Friedman's authoritative *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (1966), Goldsmith's little known oratorio *The Captivity* (1764) is categorized as a poem. The oratorio was not performed, never published, and has attracted little, if any, critical attention so it may seem appropriate to treat it somewhat cavalierly, bundled in with the poetry. This paper makes the case for reclassifying the play as a theatrical work alongside *She Stoops to Conquer* and *The Good Natur'd Man* in a new edition of Goldsmith's *Collected Works*.

Firstly, *The Captivity* will be framed as part of Goldsmith's historical output: we are perhaps obliged to take more seriously a work that is consciously historical when we consider properly how important history writing was to him, in both intellectual as well as material terms, even after he became a literary figure of consequence. One of the less well-known facts about Oliver Goldsmith's career is that he was the inaugural Professor of Ancient History at the Royal Academy, elected in 1770. We know him as a playwright, poet, and novelist yet he also wrote four substantial history books, two concerned with the history of England as well as notable histories of Rome and Greece.

Secondly, it will consider the oratorio in the context of Goldsmith's Irish heritage. Recent work has highlighted the importance of the history play and history writing more generally to Irish patriot thinking. This oratorio treats of the Israelites captivity in Babylon so we need be mindful of the considerable investment by Irish writers such as John Toland and Charles O'Connor in drawing allegorical connections between the Irish and the Jewish peoples (both dispossessed of their lands, subject to religious persecution, servitude, and accusations of cultural inferiority), not to mention that the iconic Shylock of the period was Irishman Charles Macklin. Placed in its full context, this paper will argue for the oratorio's greater significance in the Goldsmith canon.

Kazuki Ochiai (State University of New York at Binghamton) 'Who of all these has established the right signification of the word, gold?': John Locke and Identity of Things in the Atlantic World

Panel / *Session* 460, 'Imagined Identities: Fictional Production of Power, Value, Nature, and Nationality'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sho Saito (University of Tokyo)

This presentation will consider identity of a material thing in the Enlightenment by analyzing John Locke's texts. For Locke, substance has countless qualities that we cannot count up completely, and what kind of qualities we can experience depends on each person and situation. Gold—Locke's favorite example of a scientific object—appears in different ways for each individual "according to their various skill, attention, and ways of handling" (Essay). This does not mean, however, that Locke is a pioneer of postmodern constructivism which claims that everything is fiction; gold exists as reality, and its qualities we perceive are real. Gold for Locke is rather what Bruno Latour calls factish; we humans fabricate it, and it is real. This scientific and chemical understanding of gold's qualities can also be phrased in his politico-economic terms, that is, Lockean labor theory of property: only through individual labor—only in each fabrication—properties of gold become tangible. My concern is, then, how this relativistic but realistic theorization of a material thing, especially gold, should be situated in a colonial or transatlantic context. When indigenous people in America (or Africa) have completely different ideas of property, labor, and resource, can Locke still assume the identity of gold? It is easy to say that there were different epistemologies and cosmologies, but what did happen when they physically clashed with each other with a huge imbalance of power? By analyzing frequent appearance of gold in Locke's scientific, philosophical, political, economic, and colonial texts, this presentation aims to examine the unstable and uncertain status of a thing, which cannot be easily solved by relativism.

Sayaka Oki (Université de Nagoya) L'autonomie du « savant », sa négociation et sa reformulation au cours du XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session* 333, 'Identités académiques'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jacques Wagner (Université Clermont Auvergne)

L'Académie royale des sciences de Paris est la première institution ayant offert à ses membres un statut leur permettant de gagner leur vie par leur seule contribution à la recherche scientifique. Bien que cette mesure soit restée dépendante de la libéralité royale dont les artistes et peintres de l'époque précédente avaient également profité, ces conditions financières inédites ont eu pour effet d'instiguer une série de discussions portant sur la nature et le degré d'autonomie que les savants pouvaient revendiquer. Cette communication a pour objectif de présenter une analyse des discours sur l'autonomie savante en croisant deux types de source essentiellement différents, d'un côté les éloges faits aux académiciens défunts, et de l'autre le registre et les documents provenant du comité de trésorerie. Les premiers, discours institutionnels rédigés successivement par les quatre secrétaires perpétuels, font apparaître une reformulation graduelle de l'idéal du savant notamment en ce qui concerne la nature de son autonomie vis-à-vis de l'État et par rapport à la demande sociétale. Les registres et documents du comité de trésorerie nous donne à voir de façon complémentaire une réalité crue en face d'images embellies. L'analyse de ces sources est d'autant plus importante que, mise à part pour la période de fondation de l'institution, l'état de la recherche demeure peu avancé. Malgré leur nature évidemment lacunaire, ces documents mettent en lumière des discussions visant résoudre une série de problèmes causés par l'instabilité et l'insuffisance du financement royal. Les académiciens négocient avec les autorités à chaque étape de leur travail, tout en cherchant au niveau individuel d'autres moyens financiers pour vivre et poursuivre leurs recherches, tels qu'un appointement cumulatif délivré par une autre institution ou bien des souscriptions. C'est surtout l'arrivée de la Révolution qui marque un moment crucial dans la définition du « savant » en tant que chercheur scientifique. Sans le patronage royal, la réévaluation et la redéfinition du statut de savant doivent dorénavant se faire d'une façon adaptée à la logique du nouveau régime politique.

Kaori Oku (Université Meiji) La sensibilité au théâtre dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle français

Panel / *Session 275*, 'Le théâtre et l'épistémè du XVIIIe siècle'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

Diderot met en question la psychologie de l'acteur dans *Paradoxe sur le comédien* en abordant le problème de la sensibilité. Il prétend en effet que le comédien ne doit pas jouer selon sa sensibilité. D'après lui, l'acteur qui « joue de réflexion » sera toujours parfait sur la scène. Contrairement à cela, si le comédien « joue d'âme », il ne peut pas incarner un personnage au même degré de perfection à toutes les représentations : il manque donc d'unité sur la scène. Diderot souligne ainsi ce qu'il nomme la « nulle sensibilité » de l'acteur. Cette réflexion ne s'achève pas en théorie de jeu. Diderot tient toujours en compte l'intérêt du public et l'effet sur lui comme le montrent d'autres œuvres ; De la poésie dramatique et *Entretiens sur le Fils naturel*. Il s'agit bien de la sensibilité du public. Or, en se montrant actif dans le domaine du théâtre sous la Révolution, Talma cite négativement la pensée de Diderot dans *Réflexions sur Lekain* et sur l'art théâtral, écrit comme préface aux *Mémoires de Lekain*, et souligne la nécessité de la sensibilité qui exalte de l'âme de l'acteur : l'« excès de sensibilité » fait forte impression sur le public. La question de la sensibilité au théâtre ne concerne donc pas seulement le jeu de l'acteur, mais aussi la réception du public. En nous focalisant sur ce thème d'un point de vue à la fois théorique et pratique, nous voudrions mettre en lumière la spécificité de la création théâtrale et le fonctionnement social de la représentation dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle français.

João Manuel Oliveira de Carvalho (University of Lisbon) Circumstances of the Portuguese Diplomatic Missions to Madrid and Vienna, between 1725 and 1729

Panel / *Session 444*, 'Traditional and Unconventional Identities of Diplomacy of the Iberian Monarchies in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Irene Andreu-Candela (University of Alicante)

After its involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession, which occurred at the beginning of the 18th century, Portugal decided to avoid any European major conflict due to the huge costs it had to support during that war. There were hegemonic ambitions from the two alliances that were formed in the 1720s, represented mainly by Great Britain on one side and Spain on the other, and both parties would try to convince Portugal to join them. In the meantime, Philip V of Spain would start negotiations with John V of Portugal to marry their corresponding heirs, and the latter would agree in an attempt to try a reconciliation in order to maintain Colonia de Sacramento, located in Rio de la

Plata. While the Spanish aspired to detach Portugal from the English side, Portugal wished to keep its alliance with Great Britain, as they were able to provide a secure defence of the Portuguese territories.

The main objective of this paper is to define the negotiations carried out during the talks for the royal marriages between the crown princes of both kingdoms. At the same time, the Count of Tarouca was interacting with the Imperial Court in Vienna and the ambassador in Madrid, establishing a network between the two main capitals which were driving the negotiations. This is achieved by the study of diplomatic correspondence found in the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo and in the Lisbon Academy of Sciences. Delegates from both sides were apprehensive in trying to win the upper hand on the way towards the establishment of peace, while also gaining leverage used to reach each side's objectives. Another objective of this paper is to verify the diplomatic efforts of Portugal, in such a way it aimed to cut with the previous century practices and to build an increasing diplomatic network in the main European power capitals, establishing a renewed form of its diplomacy in advance to the Enlightenment Age.

Martina Ondo Grechenkova (Université Charles de Prague) *Qui suis-je? Les identités nationales, professionnelles et personnelles des fonctionnaires éclairés du cœur de l'Europe.*

Panel / *Session* 459, 'Identités politiques'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Eick (Grand Valley State University)

Le sujet de la communication s'inscrit dans la problématique générale du Congrès des Lumières – Les identités des Lumières. La communication va traiter de la formation de l'identité des fonctionnaires (bureaucrates) modernes éclairés sous le règne de l'empereur Joseph II. Il s'agit des personnes qui vivent et travaillent à Prague (Royaume de Bohême), qui se sentent affiliées aux pays tchèques, mais qui sont en même temps les "citoyens" de la monarchie des Habsbourg, d'un Etat multinational. Ces fonctionnaires sont en train de former également une identité professionnelle nouvelle en utilisant plusieurs stratégies familiales et sociales. Certaines parmi eux appartiennent à la République des Lettres, et éprouvent un sentiment cosmopolite également en tant que les franc-maçons, ainsi que les hommes des sciences ayant les relations dans toutes l'Europe (y compris avec Adam Smith, par exemple). Ils parlent plusieurs langues (tchèque, allemand, italien, français, latine, des fois anglais), ce qui est également donné par le fait que Prague soit une ville assez cosmopolite à cette époque. Leur identité est donc multiple: ils ont à la fois les Tchèques, les "Autrichiens", les Européens, les Républicains des Lettres, et des franc-maçons, et provenant des diverses couches sociales, ils forment une nouvelle identité professionnelle commune, celle des fonctionnaires d'Etat éclairé.

Marta Oracz (University of Silesia) *The Identity of the Picturesque*

Panel / *Session* 258, 'Aesthetics and Taste 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Wing Sze Leung (National University of Singapore)

In the latter part of the Eighteenth Century a new aesthetic category, that of the picturesque, was introduced into the theory of arts. The newly designed category disrupted the traditional, Eighteenth Century division into the beautiful and the sublime, which had been coined by Edmund Burke. The originator of the picturesque, William Gilpin, described its distinctive features in his theoretical works, but he failed to notice that the nature of the picturesque, such as it was specified in his writings, in some aspects, overlaps with that of the sublime. For the picturesque, similarly as the sublime, was supposed to be the contrary of the beautiful. There were thus objections that the picturesque category is redundant. In order to justify the existence of the picturesque it was necessary to neatly distinguish it not only from the beautiful but also from the sublime, and determine its identifying features, in other words, to describe it as a concept in its own right, which has its own nature and identity. The concept of the picturesque ceased to be fuzzy in the writings of Uvedale Price. He pinpointed its identifying trait, roughness, and determined its specific role: to arise curiosity in the viewer (in contradistinction to the beauty which was to arise love/tender feelings and to sublime which was to inspire terror and awe).

Arnaud Orain (University of Paris 8) *The Physiocratic Colonial model: From Failures to Utopia*

Panel / *Session* 121, 'Practicing Phisocracy: Utopian Visions, Economic Realities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennifer Tsien (University of Virginia)

In the 1760s and 1770s, in projects or in the field, friends and allies of the physiocratic school imagined and sometimes tried to implement an alternative model for French colonies (especially in Martinique, Guyana and the Mascarenes). The crushing defeat of 1763 in the French Empire has indeed shown that France was unable to support faraway provinces and that colonists were more interested by their benefits than by patriotism (English rule would be perfect in the Caribbean if plantations, slavery and foreign trade were carried out).

In line with Quesnay and Mirabeau's ideas and in a moment of doubt in governmental departments concerning the future of the French Empire, some physiocratic thinkers and administrators suggested a different model based on food crops (versus export crops), white colonization of small family farms (versus slavery and plantations), strong property rights (versus predation) and freedom of trade (versus colonial exclusif). This is probably in physiocratic utopias that these ideas were introduced in the most consistent way.

This paper focuses on these utopias and the aims they tried to achieve. Firstly, it is a matter of questioning the common ground of different physiocratic texts and literary genres, and their relationships with travel narratives and the colonial world. Secondly, the article investigates the role played by physiocratic utopias (Lemercier de la Rivière's as well as Grivel's) as a sort of last resort after the failures of colonial experiments. Thirdly, a case-study is proposed with Pierre Poivre's "Ponthamias", its origin ("myth and reality"), its re-writing in the *Éphémérides du citoyen* and its afterlives in Jean Castilhon, *Anecdotes chinoises, japonaises, siamoises* (1774) or Saint-Lambert, *Principes des Mœurs chez toutes les Nations ; ou Catéchisme universel* (1798).

Ryna **Ordynat** (Monash University, Melbourne) Anne Wagner's Album (1795–1805): Sentiment and Feminine Visual Culture

Panel / *Session* 86, 'Making Women: Creative Constructions and Material Knowledge'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennie Batchelor (University of Kent)

The album was a popular medium evolved in to late eighteenth and early nineteenth century into a practice of keeping a book of collected poetry, drawings, etchings, prints, sketches, autographs, botanical specimens, music and keepsakes, sometimes over many years, or even decades. Such albums would have an author, a compiler or collector, who would curate it, but many, if not most, of the items in an album would be contributed by this author's family, friends and connections. Albums such as these have rarely been examined by historians, due to the low status and insignificance which has hitherto often been the lot of women's amateur art.

Using the album of Anne Wagner, digitized by the NY Public Library, this paper will argue against such interpretations by demonstrating how much women's album have to offer historians in the many new and unique insights and glimpses into intimate family and feminine visual culture of the time. The paper will particularly explore how families and individuals involved in the creation of albums like these are consuming each other's production, and what this exchange of produced material of sketches, drawings, prints, verses, collages, keepsakes and memorandums shows us about the construction and development of family relationships. This paper will argue that the anonymity of feminine art, when placed in the context of album making, did not signify its low status or low value at all to those who made, gifted, exchanged and circulated this art within their family circle. On the contrary, this paper will show that women must have believed that their experiences and values were worth representing and commemorating in albums, and that a sketch, carefully and lovingly pasted into a family album, along with other examples done by family members and friends, shows how valued and cherished such artworks were in context of family, for which they were produced.

Francesca **Orestano** (Università degli Studi di Milano) Mademoiselle Panache Meets Mounseer Nongtongpaw: Entente Cordiale?

Panel / *Session* 44, 'Formal and Informal Educations'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Wolf (Birkbeck, University of London)

Mademoiselle Panache meets Mounseer Nongtongpaw: entente cordiale?

The proposal addresses the configuration of British identity when the teaching of French and a general knowledge of French culture and literature were considered a kind of indispensable refinement. Maria Edgeworth's Practical

Education (1798, with Richard Lovell Edgeworth) as well as “Mademoiselle Panache” and “The Good French Governess” in *Moral Tales* (1801) provide one side of the argument.

Mounseer Nongtongpaw was a 1796 song by Charles Dibdin, and subsequently a comic poem published in 1808 in William Godwin’s *Juvenile Library*. Attributed to his young daughter Mary, it portrays the typical John Bull character who goes to France and incurs in several misunderstandings because of his stubborn resistance to French language. “He nothing knew of French indeed, /And deem’d it jabb’ring stuff,/ For English he could write and read, /And thought it quite enough.” The poem was enriched with illustrations by William Mulready, emphasizing its comic vein.

Less comical, and more serious, is the reflection on French culture we find in two short narrative parables for children imparted by Maria Edgeworth. Not only is she convinced that parents should educate their own children without delegating the role to servants and governesses: she stresses the superficiality of Mademoiselle Panache, her inadequacy when the behaviour of children had to be steered by good examples, to develop the child’s moral sense of right or wrong. “From twelve to sixteen, Lady Augusta continued under the direction of Mlle. Panache; whilst her mother, content with her daughter’s progress in external accomplishments, paid no attention to the cultivation of her temper or her understanding.”

The paper examines the interaction of French and English culture and language by contrasting and comparing the two stereotypes, that at once sought and resisted the temptation of French refinement — not giving up the idea that French was a necessary accomplishment but attributing to French identity some negative traits that had to be carefully avoided in the upbringing

Jennifer Orr (Newcastle University) ‘Unbounded identities’: The Negotiation of Cosmopolitan Identity in Transatlantic Letter Networks

Panel / *Session* 465, ‘Media and the Mediation of the Individual’. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Senkiw (Mansfield College, Oxford)

‘It was my misfortune, not my fault, that I was born in a country which was not congenial to my desires’ wrote Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte as she defended her decision to remain as a single woman in Europe to her disapproving father back in Baltimore. The former wife of Jerome Bonaparte was a notorious celebrity in America and had made her home among a community of cosmopolitan figures, displaced by political events and out of sync with their native countries. She found logistical and emotional support in the former American Consul at Paris David Bailie Warden (1772-1845), a bookman and scientific writer whose vast correspondence network connected intellectuals, politicians and scientific practitioners across ever-changing geographical, ideological and political barriers. It included scientists Henri Gregoire, Alexander Humboldt and Humphry Davy; politicians such as Thomas Jefferson, Georges Lafayette and Benjamin Constant; literary figures such as Sydney Owenson, Maria Edgeworth, Washington Irving; artists such as Maximilien Godefroy and Ines Esmenard and radical connections who might be described as more infamous than famous: including United Irish leader Wolfe Tone’s widow and son, American radical newspaper editor William Duane. This paper examines three Americans who found themselves suspended between identities and mutually dependent on their correspondence networks in order to further their aims. All three were ‘hubs’ within their own letter networks and yet each has almost fallen through the cracks of history. Arising from a digital project which will bring together Warden’s vast archive of 10,000 items, this paper examines what Warden’s correspondence can tell us about the nature of transatlantic scientific, and broader cultural exchange and invites us to examine the role of people of ‘unbounded identity’ in facilitating such networks – those who are often obscured in the historiography of national consolidation.

Bridget Orr (Vanderbilt University) A Masonic Stage: Freemasons and Theatre in Georgian London

Panel / *Session* 87, ‘Mixed Company, Assembly, Association, and Sociability’. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Will Bowers (Merton College, Oxford)

It is a remarkable if little-known fact that many, even perhaps most, male theatre professionals in Georgian London and beyond were freemasons. Their numbers included actors (James Quinn, Dennis Delane, Baton Booth, Robert Wilks), theatre-managers (Sir Richard Steele, Cibber Junior, Charles Fleetwood, Henry Giffard) as well scene-painters, dancers, musicians and prompters. Masonic dramatists included Aaron Hill, George Lillo and George Moore and

domestic tragedy might even be said to be a masonic invention. Masonic audiences patronized bespoke performances of plays that both celebrated events such as the installation of a new Grand Master and benefitted masonic performers. This paper outlines the imbrication of freemasonry and theatre, focusing on the centrality of performance to each institution and suggesting how the protective sociability of the Craft served as a form of insurance against the novel forms of economic peril that structure the emergent form of domestic tragedy.

Leah **Orr** (University of Louisiana, Lafayette) Laetitia Pilkington's Authorial Identities

Panel / *Session* 367, 'Female Fashioning and Self-Fashioning'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

On its initial publication, *The Memoirs of Mrs. Laetitia Pilkington* (1748) was read as a scandal narrative, and readers seem to have focused on the sexual and social behavior and misbehavior of Pilkington and her famous friends, especially Jonathan Swift. More recently, critics like Catherine Gallagher and Felicity Nussbaum have read the text to learn about Pilkington herself, focusing on her sexuality and the text's generic indeterminacy. They find her gender to be inseparable from her authorship as it is the source for the main events that comprise her narrative: her break with her husband and her attraction to a variety of other men.

While it is true that Pilkington's life was continually shaped by her position as a woman in a society where women had relatively few socially-sanctioned roles, I argue in this paper that our focus on her gender and her associations with the great and famous has caused us to overlook her self-fashioning as a writer. Her frequent quotations of other poets has drawn some critical attention, but far more prominent in the narrative are her own poems, of which 68 are printed in part or full. She continually attempts to gain patronage or subscriptions for a separately-published book of her poems. Since this book never came out, the record of Pilkington's poetry is mainly from her *Memoirs*—but it was sufficient for her to be included in *Poems by Eminent Ladies* in 1755, between Katherine Phillips and Elizabeth Rowe. She discusses her writing throughout her narrative in a variety of ways: as an artistic form, a social activity, and a means to earn money. As her financial problems worsened, she made a more direct and insistent connection between her writing and money, often describing the money as an indirect offer of patronage or charity rather than a commercial purchase of her work. In the *Memoirs*, Pilkington deploys a variety of available models for female authorship to justify, explain, or conceal her actions. She shows the variety of authorial identities open to English writers in the mid-eighteenth century, engaging with patronage and commercial print as she navigated the rapidly changing Enlightenment print culture world.

Joanna **Orzeł** (University of Lodz) National and Family Identities in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Panel / *Session* 404, 'National and Political Identities'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam James Smith (York St John University)

In the 16th century, the foundation myth of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was formed. There were several chronological possibilities of the state's origin, although each version referred to antiquity: either the times of Julius Caesar, or Nero, or Attila. The Lithuanian myth of origin was created for several reasons: to emphasize on the one hand the fact of belonging to Western European civilization, on the other – independence from Russia, but also to demonstrate equality with the Kingdom of Poland (before the signing of the union in Lublin in 1569). In the second half of the 17th century Albert Wijuk Kojalowicz radically changed the beginnings of the Lithuanian state in his "Historiae Lituanae", moving them to the 10th century AD. In the entire 18th century, the state chronicles of Lithuania were not created and the state myth of origin was often criticized or completely considered as a fairy tale.

From the very beginning of the existence of the national myth of origin, significant Lithuanian noble families were inscribed in the story – not only princes (such as the Gediminids and Jagiellonians), knyazs (the Holszański and the Giedroyc families), but also families which gained power only in early modern period, such as Sapieha, Pac, Radziwiłł families. Although some of the scholars or even a part of the rest of society denied ancient origins of these families in the second half of the 17th century (after the publication of Kojalowicz's works), Radziwiłł, Sapieha or Pac families emphasized their Roman origin throughout the next century. How did it happen that the state myth was changed chronologically and the family myths were not? Is it not clashed with the identity of the Lithuanian nation? Why was there still a need for a Roman, ancient genealogy of families which seems to have had everything?

Sayano **Osaki** (Tokyo University of the Arts) Rethinking Goldoni's Tragicomedy 'La sposa persiana' through Comparison with Past Venetian Theater Works

Panel / *Session 364*, 'Enlightenment Style: Strategic Use of Fiction for Persuasion and Entertainment'.

Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Masaaki Takeda (University of Tokyo)

Eighteenth-century Venetian dramatist Carlo Goldoni was active mainly in the field of comedy and opera buffa. In face of the decline of Italian theater, he started reformation. He outlined his creative guidelines in the preface to the first volume of his comedy collection published by Bettinelli in 1750. Goldoni's aim was to create prose comedies that conformed to the tastes of modern people. Through his prose comedies, he achieved fame as a comic dramatist.

In 1753, Goldoni began working for a new theater, il Teatro San Luca. Initially, he wrote prose comedies, but their first performances failed. To recover from these failures, Goldoni wrote a tragicomedy set in the East, "La sposa persiana" ("The Persian Bride"), as orientalism was popular in plays. Though it was a tragicomedy written in verse, rather than comedy in prose as stipulated in his guidelines, it became the most successful play in eighteenth-century Venice.

The novelty of *Iracana*, "La sposa"'s female character, is mentioned by Goldoni himself, and Adrienne Ward points out the influence of a new, liberal idea of gender equality on this character. Thus, "La sposa persiana" shows the influence of the Enlightenment, despite the stereotypical description of a love triangle as is commonly found in other Venetian plays.

In my presentation, I will discuss this tragicomedy not in the social context of contemporary plays as in past studies but in comparison with earlier Venetian love-triangle plays, exploring its significance in Venetian theater history. Through this investigation, I will reconsider the role of this play within Goldoni's oeuvre and the reasons for its success at the time.

Hiroyuki **Ota** (Hitotsubashi University) Adam Smith and Joseph Butler: Their Intimate Relationship in Respect of Natural Theology

Panel / *Session 392*, 'Enlightenment Connections'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower.

Chair / *Président.e* : David Purdie (University of Edinburgh)

This paper shows more intimate relationship between Adam Smith and Joseph Butler than it has been pointed out by comparing theological frameworks between them.

The image of Adam Smith as the father of political economy has been revised recently with the increased interest in the contexts peculiar to the 18th century Scotland. For example, it is now well known that Smith was strongly influenced by the context of natural law tradition and civic humanism, and a lot of research has been conducted employing those perspectives. Although it is no doubt that thanks to these studies we can have deeper understanding of Smith, it seems that some areas still need to be explored with much more attention. One of them is the context of theology.

Compared to the context of natural law tradition or civic humanism, that of theology has not attracted much attention. However, this does not mean theology is not a significant factor to understand Smith's ideas. In fact, a lot of scholars have mentioned the importance of it; therefore, what is needed is more thorough examination on the theological dimensions in Smith's argument.

With regard to Smith's theological aspect, it has been argued that there are several possible influences on it. However, this paper tries to work on Smith's theology referring to a specific figure, Joseph Butler, which may provide new clues to comprehend more definite influences on Smith's theological framework.

Though the relationship between Smith and Butler has been mentioned in respect of conscience, few studies have treated Butler's argument. However, there are some important similarities between the two thinkers with regard to theological framework. This includes providential view, empiricism adopted in the arguments of natural theology and the view on the imperfection of human capacity. Above all, one of the key phrases of Smith's discussion, 'the natural

course of things' is also playing a significant role in Butler's Analogy of Religion. This paper aims to analyse those points and show the specific relationship between Smith and Butler, and by doing so contributes to the current arguments concerning Smith's theology.

Giulia Pacini (College of William and Mary) Saving the Body Politic: Tree Sap and National Identity in French Revolutionary Discourse

Panel / *Session* 357, 'Botanical Identities 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Benharrech (University of Maryland)

A fixation on trees, the proper circulation of sap, and ideal pruning techniques runs through late eighteenth-century French political discourse. This rhetoric stemmed from a long-standing tradition of politicized arboreal imagery, just as it was also informed by the Revolution's official planting projects, with their intentional embodiment of the Nation in sacred liberty trees, and by recent scientific research and debates on the importance of circulation in bodies of all kinds (animal, vegetal, economic, political). My work in the French revolutionary archives shows that the flow of sap (variably imagined) was frequently figured as a fundamental sign and source of health for the liberty tree/ French Nation. Sap's vague botanical definition meant that the metaphor was free to signify a beneficial substance, a bonding and transformative force, or vitality and agency per se; it could represent financial or political resources, critical information, physical energies, patriotism, and political power. As such, sap's location, distribution, and potential ability to self-generate and move were issues of critical importance even as the epistemological and ideological frameworks within which this rhetoric operated fluctuated in the Revolution's ever-shifting political climate. As a result, sap displaced public attention from the traditionally symbolic verticality of singular trees (their external appearance and apparent transcendence) to more organic considerations of the organization and function of their roots and, more generally, of the internal circulation of vital resources within a body. It therefore authorized a better understanding of the relationships of parts and whole: this included the metonymic relationship of root to tree, of citizen to nation, but more importantly it highlighted the horizontal connections between a body's members. Sap also allowed the French to think of themselves in dynamic and cohesive terms rather than as individual and distinct subparts of an aggregate State.

Catherine Packham (University of Sussex) Wollstonecraft, Belief, and Credit in Modernity

Panel / *Session* 305, 'Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Modernity'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Antonio Ballesteros-González (Spanish University of Distance Education)

At the end of the eighteenth century, the economic mechanisms which underwrote the modern British state – national debt, public credit, and paper money – were feared by many to be insecure, potentially catastrophically so. Mary Poovey, Robert Mitchell and others have demonstrated the dependence of the credit economy on belief, opinion, desire and consent, which were shaken, but also reinforced, by periodic financial crises. This paper explores the theorisation of credit, as both belief and financial instrument, in philosophical and political economic writing by David Hume and Adam Smith, before tracing Wollstonecraft's engagement with various forms of belief and credit in her fiction and other writings. In particular, it reads Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman*, written during the crisis marked by the Bank Restriction Act of 1797, as a critique of the 'extreme credulity' enjoined on women in commercial society, which presents an obstacle to their economic liberty. The problem of credit lies at the heart of the text, not only in the plot, but in the intertwined narratives through which the text is structured. Fiction, like money, depends on belief to sustain what Michael McKeon has called the textual effect of 'concrete virtuality', but Wollstonecraft's text, I suggest, constitutes a response to the 'age of credit' which mobilises fiction against credulity.

Maria Pia Paganelli (Trinity University) The New Value of Time: Adam Smith and the Virtue of Punctuality

Panel / *Session* 125, 'The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Iain McDaniel (University of Sussex)

Commercial society changed many things, including what is considered virtuous and what is considered valuable. The increase in productivity observed in commercial society changed the ways we use our time and thus the value of time. Time is now money. So punctuality becomes a virtue. Adam Smith explicitly recognizes the virtue of punctuality as a commercial virtue.

Francesca **Pagani** (Università degli studi di Bergamo) La nouvelle Italie de Jean-Galli Bibiena.
Identités linguistiques d'une pièce « italienne et française »

Panel / *Session* 399, 'L'identité italienne en jeu face à l'hégémonie du français : la traduction et la question de la langue 1 (Ouvrages bilingues et traductions d'œuvres littéraires)'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.
Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Rotraud von Kulessa (Universität Augsburg)

Jean Galli Bibiena (1710-1779?) est un écrivain issu d'une célèbre dynastie italienne d'architectes et de décorateurs de théâtre. Après sa formation à Bologne, il choisit la France et sa langue pour s'essayer à la littérature. En 1762, Bibiena propose La Nouvelle Italie. Comédie héroï-comique italienne et française pour les Comédiens Ordinaires du Roi, première et dernière pièce théâtrale qui peut lui être attribuée.

La pièce doit son titre à une île américaine imaginaire que la flotte italienne d'Américus (Amerigo Vespucci ?), à la suite d'un naufrage, découvre et colonise. Les néo-italiens établissent un royaume – la Nouvelle Italie – dont le roi est Polidor, le commandant de l'équipage.

Tout de suite la diversité linguistique se présente comme un obstacle important, interdisant l'interaction des nouveaux rescapés au naufrage avec les néo-italiens. Le bilinguisme français-italien de la Nouvelle Italie se veut « programmatique » et par là novateur par rapport à la tradition du théâtre des Italiens en France : Bibiena l'annonce dans la Préface à l'édition de la Nouvelle Italie: « [...] je n'espérois que celui [le succès] d'avoir donné l'idée d'un nouveau genre de Pièce théâtrale, où se trouvent alliés & amenés à propos les deux Langue Française & Italienne, la Musique & le Spectacle. »

L'analyse de certains passages de cette pièce permettra de réfléchir à plusieurs aspects concernant l'identité linguistique italienne et française propre à cette époque, aussi bien au sein du théâtre italien en France et à sa tradition que, en particulier, par rapport à cet auteur qui, tout en étant Italien, il aime se signer Jean et se déclarer, dans une de ses lettres, « naturalisé français ».

Gianni **Paganini** (Università del Piemonte Orientale) Hume and Diderot: Personal Contacts and Cross-References

Panel / *Session* 413, 'The Cosmopolitan Identity of an Enlightenment Philosopher: David Hume 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Nicoli (Lichtenberg Kolleg, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

The focus of this paper will be on the relations entertained by David Hume with the person and work of Denis Diderot. In the first place, he was held in great esteem by Hume. After meeting him in Paris, writing to John Gardner regarding a young man who had been recommended to him by Diderot, he describes him as 'the Celebrated M. Diderot, whose Morals and Goodness, no less than his Genius and Learning, are known all over Europe'.

Indeed, Diderot was alone (after Voltaire) in addressing such a wide and varied range of themes as those covered by Hume, ranging from scepticism to deism, from aesthetics to the theory of knowledge, from politics to religion, from scientific Newtonianism to anti-religious naturalism. In reality, Diderot's thought was not reducible to the principled atheism of a philosophe such as the baron d'Holbach, and Hume can no more be assigned the role of pure sceptic. Moreover, during his Parisian stay, when Hume was able to enter into direct contact with Diderot, they were both contending with the same complex themes: the relationship between cosmology and religion, internal finalism of nature and aversion to traditional final causes, scientific thought and natural theology. The works in progress at that time, such as the Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion and later the *Rêve de d'Alembert*, indicate the existence of a solid fund of shared interests. We shall try to point out some points of crossed influences between the two thinkers.

Kimberley **Page-Jones** (University of Western Brittany) Mary Wollstonecraft and S.T. Coleridge: Fin de Siècle Travel Writing and the Construction of the European ‘Other’

Panel / *Session* 450, ‘DIGIT.EN.S: Unruly Sociability? Gender and Constructions of Identity’. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Emrys Jones (King’s College London)

When Coleridge left for Germany in September 1798, he boarded the packet-boat equipped with a very large journal to keep track of his travel experiences and impressions that he would then send to his wife Sara and to his friend Tom Poole. I will argue in this paper that Coleridge’s continental letters fulfill a particularly complex literary function, especially if we set them alongside other travel narratives, such as that of Dorothy Wordsworth, also travelling with Coleridge and William Wordsworth, and more specifically that of Mary Wollstonecraft, whose Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark had been published two years earlier. Coleridge knew Wollstonecraft’s epistolary narrative and had expressed his admiration for her “powers of conversation” and imagination (Jane Moore, *Mary Wollstonecraft*, Routledge, 2012)

Following Katherine Turner’s line of argument, I would like to show that Coleridge’s continental letters (published in Earl Leslie Griggs’s volumes of *Collected Letters*) were initially supposed to be published as an epistolary narrative, offering striking similarities with Wollstonecraft’s Letters. Indeed, the first six pages of his travel journal were not sent to anyone (the manuscript is to be found at the NYPL, Berg Collection) and have never been made public. Nonetheless, he did publish them ten years later in *The Friend* as “Satyrane’s Letters” in a desperate attempt to distance himself from the image of the young republican poet and citizen of the world.

Thus, both Coleridge’s and Wollstonecraft’s epistolary narratives shape the European “others” in very specific ways; while Coleridge bows to Wollstonecraft’s wandering prose style moving poetically from empirical observation to reflection and self-reflection, he stands in sharp contrast to her own depiction of European manners and idiosyncrasies. Coleridge’s writing was very much influenced by his need to construct a patriotic persona for public consumption. The revolutionary context steered their narrative construction of the European “other” and this is what this paper intends to explore. It will also underscore how women’s travel writings were, to a certain extent

Kerstin Maria **Pahl** (Max Planck Institute for Human Development) Portrayals by the Catalogue: Descriptions of Pictures Collections as Biographical Practice

Panel / *Session* 452, ‘Embeddings, Neighbourings, Webs of Lives: Transformations and Migrations of Brief Biographies’. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Lisa O’Connell (The University of Queensland, Brisbane)

This paper will look at eighteenth-century collection catalogues, in particular Horace Walpole’s *Ædes Walpoliana* (1747) and George Vertue’s *Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham* (1758), with a view to their function as brief forms of life-writing. I will argue that alongside being a source for information, inventories, and proof of status, collection catalogues also served a biographical purpose, a so-far under-researched aspect of eighteenth-century cataloguing practices. Art collections around the country were a favourite with tourists and antiquarians alike, providing them with sources on people, lineage, and taste, thereby mapping the country as a historic and aesthetic network. The listings of portraits often included biographical information, and the cases of Walpole and Vertue show the way in which such catalogues subtly sketched family history through the description of ancestral portraits. Pictures were given a pedigree, as were their sitters and owners, not only through depiction, but also the description of their hanging in the catalogue: catalogues provided a Life through pictures and a Life of the pictures. By relating portraits to each other via lineage, by embedding biographical information into catalogue entries, and by understanding picture collections as expressions of individuality and thus themselves as a ‘trace’ or ‘mark’ of one’s character, this form of (family) biography weaved cross-references together into a biographical network.

Rosamund **Paice** (University of Portsmouth) Milton’s God and the Politics of Princely Companionship

Panel / *Session* 182, 'Rulers and Courtly Identity'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

This paper addresses on issues of kingly identity at the turn of the eighteenth century, focusing on a then-familiar model of princely companionship that was founded in hierarchies: the *participe curarum*. As late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century discussions of this form of companionship attest, in earthly courts a king's excursions into companionship had to accommodate, and sometimes even give way to, the political realities of a factional court, thus highlighting the tenuous grasp of mortal power. Identifying and removing self-interested parties from heaven, however, is crucial to ensuring that the ideal of unity can exist there: rather than being an act of folly that creates factions, therefore, God's creation of the Son in the model of a *participe curarum* is better seen as an act that reveals the self-interest of extant (if previously unexpressed) factionality. That God's creation and elevation of the Son is viewed by Satan in terms of the courtly language of favourites, and as a direct assault on his own interests, reveals his corrupted perspective. His failure involves a temptation for readers of the epic too: the temptation to read Satan's envy as justifiable—a reaction against an arbitrarily exclusionary act. By contrast, I argue that God's raising of the Son with his movement towards community based on virtuous friendship and without hierarchies, as promised when he instructs the heavenly throng to abide under the Son's 'great Vice-gerent Reign ... / United as one individual Soule'.

Alexander S. Palkin (Ural Federal University) Paths to Unity: The Formation of Edinoverie in Eighteenth-Century Russia

Panel / *Session* 273, 'Intermediate Churches and Confessions in Early Modern Times'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Erica Camisa Morale (University of Southern California)

Edinoverie was a means of joining Old Believers to the official Church in such a way that would allow them to maintain their old liturgies and rituals while being subordinated to the diocesan bishops of the Orthodox Church. The first attempt of the Old Believers to gain legal priests from the official Church occurred prior to 1735. From the middle of the eighteenth century, a search for a compromise between the authorities and the Old Believers began: this later led to the official establishment of edinoverie under Paul I in 1800 on the basis of rules formulated by Metropolitan Platon (Levshin) of Moscow. Due to regional particularities, edinoverie in Russia from the middle of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries was subject to a considerable number of local variations. The studied phenomenon is made still more complex by the fact that it not only varied over space but also changed considerably across time.

The paper focuses on the initial stage of edinoverie's formation (before 1800). I will examine the following factors which had a considerable influence on the formation of edinoverie in this period: socio-economic factors (Old Believer property accumulation and the connected diminishing of radicalism), religious factors (the lack of a legitimate priesthood among the Old Believers), political factors (the europeanisation of Russia, the emergence of ideas from the Enlightenment, a relative liberal confessional policy, attempts by the state to use Old Believer for its own ends), and regional/local conditions (Old Believer factory works; Cossack Old Believers guarding the frontiers, etc.). I will also consider the impact of individual persons interested in compromise (both in the state and among the Old Believers). The role of the official Church in this rapprochement was, however, minimal. The Church was compelled to take part in the discussion so that Old Belief would not be legalised outside of their control: this is what the Old Believers were striving for and what the state could have theoretically given them.

Pasquale Palmieri (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II) Fake Identities: Justice, Communication, and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Naples

Panel / *Session* 136, 'Impostors and Fake Identities in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Maria Rao (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II)

Throughout the early modern age (roughly 1550-1800), the Kingdom of Naples kept occupying a prominent position in European political developments and "in the struggle for continental hegemony." It marked – in Anna Maria Rao's

words – “a European frontier, a political and religious outpost jutting into the Mediterranean.” It was at the center of a dense network of relationships between northern and southern Europe, western and eastern Mediterranean, Africa, Asia and beyond. The presence of merchants, consuls, diplomats, spies, and slaves favored the spread of fake news, legends, and cultural stereotypes.

This paper focuses on handwritten records and printed accounts of three famous trials, which took place in the 1760s. These trials were based on the invention of fake identities and imagined political enemies, in a particular way from fall 1763 to summer 1764, when a great famine and a subsequent contagion gravely hit the population. They turned into a meeting field, where the feelings of ordinary people could interact with the ones of the social elite, stimulating exchanges of ideas, whispers, gossip, inventions, and dissimulations. They had concrete implications in the contexts of judicial practice, but they also showed the potential to affect political strategies, and even reinforce or undermine the stability of the cultural, economic, political and religious system.

Kun Pan (Zhejiang University) The Chinese Enlightenment: Comparability and Particularity

Panel / *Session* 473, ‘Trajectories of the Enlightenment’. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Gregory Brown (University of Nevada, Las Vegas / Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

The radical intellectual pursuit named New Culture Movement in China from the 1910s onwards is often celebrated as the Chinese Enlightenment, and its advocates explicitly claimed apprenticeship to their 18th century European masters. The Chinese Enlightenment during the early 20th century is accompanied by the comparability of the awakening from darkness for human beings with the European enlightenment, but it has its own particularity in the process of localization. This paper examines this particularity that cannot be separated from the discussion of the historically special conditions of China, and is manifested in the political utilitarianism for the enlightenment purpose of saving the nation. As a result, the authority of nationalism dominates men who have been liberated from Confucianism, lacking the public use of reason. Though the particularity appears with the characteristics of cultural radicalism, it is undeniable that the Chinese Enlightenment proceeds along the expression of human freedom and enlightenment ideal of intellectuals. It can be realized the setbacks of the integration of Chinese and western cultures, thus make further reflection on the exploration of Chinese modernity.

Amalia Papaioannou (Hellenic Open University / Democritus University of Thrace) The Infancy of Art: Questions of Identity within the Graeco-Roman Debate

Panel / *Session* 195, ‘Architectural Identities’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Felix Martin (RWTH Aachen University)

In his 1768 publication of the Ruins of Paestum, Thomas Major referred to the architecture of the three doric temples in Paestum as belonging to the “infancy” of art, an expression referring to both their antiquity and their “primitive” analogies. The association of the greek doric order to egyptian architectural forms (which were also considered primitive) soon became a common topos in theoretical debates over the evolution of the arts, as well as a common iconographical theme in 18th-century architectural design.

The interest in the origins of architecture can be interpreted in terms of a more scientific approach to the study of Antiquity (stylistic systematization) as well as within the context of the 18th-century debate over Greek versus Roman superiority. Within this context, the relations between ancient egyptian and greek architecture became a subject of particular interest.

In 1785 the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres proposed as the subject of the Prix Caylus a dissertation on the state of egyptian architecture and of “what the Greeks seem to have borrowed from it”. Apart from Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy’s winning thesis, the dissertations of Italians Jacopo Belgrado and Giuseppe del Rosso merit further research. Published soon after the prix (Belgrado’s *Dell’architettura egiziana* in 1786 and Del Rosso’s *Ricerche sull’architettura egiziana* in 1787 and in 1800), both treatises explore the relations between ancient egyptian and ancient greek architecture in terms of the roman (ancient and modern) cultural identity. In this paper we propose to explore the importance of origin, originality and mimesis as part of the roman cultural identity through an analytical approach of the italian dissertations of the 1785 Prix Caylus.

Swann Paradis (Collège Glendon / York University) Arnout Vosmaer dans l'ombre de Buffon : rivalité entre l'amateur et le savant pour un même « démerveillement » de la faune exotique

Panel / *Session* 82, 'Le monde naturel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

At the beginning of his article on the Bengal Loris published in the seventh and last volume of the *Supplément à l'histoire naturelle* in 1789, Buffon (1707-1788) – the Intendant of the French King's Garden – offers a detailed description of the species, based solely on harsh critic of a monograph written approximately twenty years earlier in 1770 by Arnout Vosmaer (1720-1799), who became the director of stathouder William V of Holland's Cabinet of Natural History in 1756. Buffon, lacking access to a live or even stuffed specimen, had to rely on the description by Vosmaer, who observed the live animal in the Prince of Orange's menagerie between 1770 and 1774 ; moreover, to support his critics of how Vosmaer named this strange quadruped – The "Bengal Five-Toed Sloth", Buffon added a black & white copperplate – drawing from Jacques de Sève, engraving by Madeleine Rousselet (or Veuve Tardieu) – copied from the coloured plate made from a pen and watercolour drawing by Aart Schouman (1710-1792) , published alongside Vosmaer's original monograph of this exotic quadruped, published in French as well as in Dutch in 1770.

As natural history was a hotbed of political rivalry, this anecdotic controversy is typical of many others between these two important centres of exotic animal specimens: the French and Dutch national menageries, based respectively in Versailles and Voorburg, a suburb of The Hague. Drawing from this emblematic example, this paper want to examine the important (but often unrecognized) Dutch indirect legacy in French natural history, even though the former suggests a more artistic way of representing exotic animals, while the latter aimed at a more scientific one.

Mylène Pardoën (Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Lyon Saint Etienne (CNRS/USR 2005))

L'archéologie du paysage sonore ou Comment restituer l'identité sonore d'une ville à l'époque des Lumières ?

Panel / *Session* 245, 'Regards sur les intermédiaires culturels au XVIIIe siècle : des savoirs aux pratiques'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Lise Andries (Université de Paris-Sorbonne)

Imaginer comment bruissait une ville ! Quelles étaient les identités sonores de ces lieux ? En ces quelques mots, tout est dit : c'est l'imaginaire qui prend le dessus. Et cette restitution, qui vient souvent appuyer, compléter les scénarios de films historiques fait plutôt pencher la balance du côté de l'art. Or, la réalité est toute autre et le reflet d'identités souvent imbriquées car résultat des activités et acoustiques qui marquent de leurs empreintes ces espaces urbains. Seule l'archéologie du paysage sonore peut apporter une réponse scientifiquement valide.

L'archéologie du paysage sonore – ou des ambiances sonores – est un autre métier, une autre discipline. Certes elle se situe aux confins de l'art et de la science, mais la part scientifique – ses méthodologies, sa rigueur, entre autres – forment un cadre très contraint ne laissant place à « l'imagination » que pour la toute dernière étape : celle qui s'appuie sur l'hétérographie, là où l'archéologue devient scénographe pour les oreilles.

Restituer des ambiances sonores, ce n'est pas seulement utiliser les technologies d'aujourd'hui pour faire entendre ce passé, mais c'est également comprendre ces codes et ces sémiologies du passé pour retrouver traces de ces identités. C'est mener l'enquête dans les témoignages et leurs émotions, fouiller les archives et débusquer l'information là où l'on ne soupçonnait pas qu'elle puisse s'y trouver. Et puis, surtout, c'est donner à redécouvrir ce sens – l'ouïe – qui, dans le passé servait d'écoute, d'alerte, de montre et de boussole.

Que ce soit en complément de maquette (comme pour Bretez), pour des expositions (avec ou sans supports visuels), l'archéologie du paysage sonore offre l'opportunité non seulement d'un voyage dans le passé, mais aussi de redécouvrir ses oreilles pour mieux comprendre ce qui nous entoure.

L'intervention proposée s'appuie sur les travaux menés, pour bonne part, dans le cadre du projet Bretez II et ses derniers développements (dont la maquette qui sert de matrice à la recherche), les réalisations faites pour des musées ou des lieux de culture (Versailles, Crypte Notre-Dame...), mais également des travaux en cours (recherche ou muséographie).

Eric **Parisot** (Flinders University) Emosystems, Emodiversity, and Eighteenth-Century Cultures of Suicide

Panel / *Session* 329, 'Emotions and Affect'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

The field of the history of emotions is already in danger of becoming overburdened with terminology attempting to describe the emotional underpinnings of cultural and social change: from 'emotionologies' (Stearns & Stearns), 'emotional regimes' (Reddy), to 'emotional communities' and 'constellations' (Rosenwein). As valuable as these terms have been, they are arguably limited in their ability to capture the dynamism of emotional change within a given historical period, or within a given populace. At risk of adding to the growing list of terminology crowding this burgeoning field, this paper presents the case for new terms, introducing new metaphors adapted from the ecological sphere to describe processes of change in emotional culture: the 'emosystem' and 'emodiversity'. This paper will briefly explore the methodological merits of these terms and the approaches they encompass, with the hope that they might inform the ways in which the history of emotions can usefully underpin cultural histories of ideas, traditions or phenomena that involve emotional change and/or more than one set of related emotions.

To illustrate, I will turn to my work on popular representations of suicide in the latter half of the British eighteenth century, showing how the concept of the emosystem enables one to capture dynamic integrated clusters of overlapping emotional processes centred upon a given issue or phenomenon. By presenting a case study or two, and tracing the contours of the integrated emotional processes they encompass, this section of the paper will demonstrate how imaginative representation in various forms of popular media helped to construct and negotiate a dynamic emosystem surrounding the public issue of suicide in the British eighteenth century. Such emosystems inevitably produce emodiversity, a term that not only accounts for affective and imaginative improvisation, but also the full import of its value to public discourse, health and resilience.

Sarah **Parkins** (University of Winchester) Damaged Goods: Women and Childbirth in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 317, 'The Variable Body'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Chris Mounsey (University of Winchester)

For women the Eighteenth Century was an era of damage, the development in medicalisation resulted in the development of midwifery into the male practice of medicine disregarding the long establish practice of female midwives. Jane Austen is typically the first author we consider when we think of the eighteenth century, however childbirth seems to be a theme ignored by Austen scholars, Adharshila Chatterjee states in Austen's texts 'the female body is reduced to a moral battleground, yet it is forgotten they are actually bodies.' Through my research I believe using historical context and medical journals we can begin to interpret Austen's position of women's bodies in her novels as a social commentary on this issue of childbirth and the damage undertaken during this process. Though looking at these aspects we can begin to piece together the hidden truth about childbirth while looking at characters of such as Lady Bartram (Mansfield Park) and Lady Catherine (Pride and Prejudice) to examine the trauma caused by pregnancy and childbirth not just medically but also socially and morally.

Nicola **Parsons** (University of Sydney) Beauties Alphabetically Displayed: Iterative character and Indexical Form in Harris's *List of Covent Garden Ladies* (1760–94)

Panel / *Session* 332, 'Female Subjects, Female Objects'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ingrid Haberl-Scherk (University of Graz)

In 1760 aspiring man of letters Samuel Derrick published two new projects: Harris's *List of Covent Garden Ladies*, a descriptive catalogue of London's prostitutes and *A Poetical Dictionary, or the Beauties of the English Poets Alphabetically Displayed*, a four-volume compilation of poetic extracts. Both texts are indexical forms that extract and frame beauties – literary and otherwise – for new consumption, but they did not meet the same reception. Derrick's

anthology was overshadowed by the succès de scandale of Harris's List, which was both widely read and remarkably durable, appearing annually under the auspices of different compilers and publishers until 1794. As a descriptive catalogue of women who worked in the sex trade over a forty-year period, Harris's List is critically important, especially within histories of sexuality and prostitution. However, there is a need for a methodological reappraisal of the List as well as consideration of its connection to other anthological forms, such as A Poetical Dictionary. To date, scholars have focused only on a single edition or a select sample. This paper draws on a new synoptic study of all extant editions of Harris's List which makes visible for the first time the text's complex history of textual return and reuse, wryly acknowledged by the compiler of the 1788 edition who refers to the text as a "heap of tautology". I analyse the role of textual recycling in determining 'character' (the term the List persistently uses for the women in its catalogues), bringing recent work on literary character and commodification into conversation with scholarship on anthologies and commercialisation. Further, I consider the as-yet unacknowledged role of poetic quotations in the List, positioning them in relation to popular collections of poetic beauties and analysing how they sculpted historic women into textual types, available for pleasurable reproduction and consumption.

Ivan Parvev (Sofia University) The Balkans in the Plans for European Peace and Unity of the Eighteenth Century: The Notion of Enlightenment (Co-authored with Maria Baramova, St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia)

Panel / *Session* 196, 'Balkan Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Baramova (St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia)

The aim of the paper is to examine the popular plans for European peace and European unity of the eighteenth century under two aspects. The first one is to give an answer to the question, if the Balkans in their double quality as Ottoman and Habsburg territories of that time are included in these projects: If yes, are there limitations for that inclusion or the inclusion is unconditional? If no, what are the arguments for drawing the border of these projects especially in the lands of South-Eastern Europe. The second aspect is connected to the *Zeitgeist* of the eighteenth century – the Enlightenment. The question, whose answer is to be sought here, can be formulated like this: are the ideas of the Enlightenment used as an argument either for the inclusion or the exclusion of the Balkans in the projects under discussion? The question is very intriguing since the eighteenth century is the time, when the Ottoman Empire no longer represents a threat to their Christian neighbours in Europe and the Turkish fear turns into history.

Irène Passeron (CNRS, Institut de mathématiques de Jussieu-Paris Rive Gauche) Matérialité numérique : un oxymore ? L'exemplaire de l'Encyclopédie conservé à la Bibliothèque Mazarine

Panel / *Session* 16, 'L'ENCCRE et les recherches sur l'Encyclopédie à l'ère du numérique : résultats et perspectives 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Le Sueur (CNRS, Institut Camille Jordan)

À l'heure où l'édition numérique cherche ses marques (que donner à lire, comment, pour quelles lectures ?), une des premières questions à se poser est celle de l'identité des images proposées. Pour un ensemble aussi complexe que l'Encyclopédie, à l'histoire mouvementée, dont la parution, deux fois interdite, s'étend sur vingt ans, maintes fois reproduite et imitée, l'identité même de l'exemplaire utilisé pour l'édition est cruciale, comme l'ont montré les travaux fondateurs de R. N. Schwab, W. Rex et J. Lough. Leur *Inventory of Diderot's Encyclopedie*, rédigé dans les années 1970, prônait l'utilisation d'un « exemplaire idéal » dont ils définissaient rigoureusement les critères matériels qui en permettaient l'identification. Quelle restitution de cette rigueur l'édition numérique doit-elle envisager ? C'est ce que nous examinerons sur l'exemple de la numérisation de l'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, à la base du travail d'annotation de l'ENCCRE. Le lecteur a ainsi accès à tout moment à la description matérielle des pages qu'il consulte, comme au contexte historique de cette description.

Katalin Pataki (Central European University, Budapest) Correspondence Networks in the Service of the Habsburg Ecclesiastical Reforms

Panel / *Session* 83, 'Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Teodora Shek Brnardić (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb)

My PhD focuses on the question how the human capital of monasteries was surveyed and managed by state authorities in the Habsburg realms, and particularly in the Hungarian Kingdom during the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. By exploring the evolution of administrative practices that enabled detailed record keeping about the capacities of individual clergymen, I also trace the transformation of the governmental structures of the Catholic Church. I consider the state-led ecclesiastical reforms as an imperial project that relied on the assistance of various collaborators with whom the key instrument of long-distance communication was correspondence.

Scholars working on corpora of private, professional and family correspondence has developed a great variety of traditional and digital methods to process, map and model the networks that created and exchanged them. Nevertheless, their achievements hardly enter the studies on governmental structures. My paper challenges the traditional boundaries between official and personal correspondence by investigating the epistolary contacts among the ruler, the governmental offices and the ecclesiastical authorities on the basis of files created between 1765 and 1780 and preserved in the archives of the Ungarische Statthaltereii. I map the gradual expansion of the network through which information about church properties and personnel was gathered and I trace the various forms of communication ranging from polite requests addressed to collaborative partners to instructions sent to the highest level of church bureaucracy. I also draw attention to the various material forms that surviving correspondence took by considering not only actual letters, but drafts, translations, various types of copies and attachments. Ultimately, I trace the development of a set of categories as small, standardized units in which pieces of information could be transmitted in order to improve both state and church administration.

Roxana **Patras** (Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, Iasi) Shifting from Objects to Subjects: Eighteenth-Century Hajduk Heroines in Romanian Fiction (1860 and beyond)

Panel / *Session* 350, 'The Influence of the Long Eighteenth Century upon Balkan Identities in the Feminine 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University)

The distinction between anti-Ottoman, anti-feudal and family ballads and other ethnological and historical arguments will shed some light on the first issue. Anti-Ottoman ballads stage female characters (e.g. Kira-Kiralina) who are sold by their family in order to pay the high Ottoman taxes. Anti-feudal ballads feature female characters who — in Propp's terms — decide to act as both helpers and donors for the hajduk troop hiding into the woods. Pathfinders, wives or sisters to the brave hajduks, they bear names that suggest candor and lifelong loyalty (Florița, Florica, Ileana, Mărioara). Family ballads introduce the type of the free-willed woman such as Vidra, Mălina-Călina, Voichița, Mina Haiduceasa or Floarea Codrilor. Whereas male ballad-heroes, "knightly" or "thievish," do not vary much in temper and look, female ballad-heroines are going through a sort of ethopoiein, which makes them shift from an object to a subject status.

The second and third questions are answered by resorting to the quantitative analysis of a literary corpus formed of 20 texts published during a century (1860-1920), belonging to various literary genres (novel, short story, novelette, historical play), and authored by writers such as G. Baronzi, Th. Stoenescu, N.D. Popescu, P. Macri, I. Slavici, V. Eftimiu, P. Istrati, C. Mătasă, Paul Constant and M. Sadoveanu. With the help of TXM software, I will generate a lexical list and calculate the statistic co-occurrences of female names and items. The fourth issue is addressed by synthesizing the results of qualitative and quantitative analysis. In fact, the hypothesized shift from object to subject status is barely confirmed by the literary corpus. The hajduk ballad-heroines depreciate from an object of trade to an object of the reader's desire.

Jessica **Patterson** (Queen Mary University of London) Empire and Enlightenment: Alexander Dow's Accidental Conversation with a Brahmin

Panel / *Session* 219, 'The East India Company and the Production of Knowledge'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Markman Ellis (Queen Mary University of London)

East India Company servant Alexander Dow (1735-1779) wrote and published a translation of the Persian history of Mughal India, known as the *Tarikh-i Firishta*, under the title *The History of Hindostan*. Appended to the first volume were several essays on the 'customs, manners, language, religion and philosophy of the Hindoos', topics with which Dow claimed to have become familiar after 'conversing by accident, one day, with a noble and learned Brahmin'. This paper will explore what Dow's accidental conversation can tell us about the relationship between empire and the European enlightenment in the mid-eighteenth century.

Dow's published account of what he termed the Hindoo or Brahmin religion caught the imagination of the public, to the extent that he would come to count Voltaire among his admiring readers. The *Monthly Review* remarked that Dow had 'gained a more accurate knowledge of the religion and philosophy of the Brahmins, than any who have preceded him'. And yet, as this paper will demonstrate, much of Dow's commentary was directed towards European rather than South Asian philosophical concerns. In asking how this military officer from Perthshire sought to understand his encounter with Indian theology, this paper offers a case study of how we might historicise the ways in which the intellectual culture of the enlightenment permeated the practical politics of empire.

Ina Paul (Freie Universität Berlin / Universität der Bundeswehr München) Praised Lands: Switzerland and the Netherlands as Seen by European Encyclopedias of the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Panel / *Session* 265, 'Eighteenth-Century Dictionaries and Encyclopedias'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jeff Loveland (University of Cincinnati)

In this paper, two republics, the Swiss Confederation and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, will be compared through the eyes of the favorite medium of Enlightenment Europe, the encyclopedia. At the same time national and transnational, their greatest strength was (and still is in their modern internet incarnation) their credibility—a first authority for fast, reliable information, and a final one for condensed knowledge and current perspectives. Which knowledge, which facts, and which stereotypes would encyclopedias provide about Switzerland and the Netherlands and their respective inhabitants? How differently, or how similarly, did Swiss and Dutch encyclopedias present their own countries, and how did they perceive their respective sister republic? In a short summary, the mutual encyclopedic (self) perception of each country will be compared to the image that other European encyclopedias offered of those two republics to their *avant la lettre* "national" readership.

Lissa Paul (Brock University) Retrieving Eliza Fenwick from the Outskirts of Children's Book History

Panel / *Session* 38, 'Children's Literature of the Enlightenment: Purposes, Canons, Legacies'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

In the "Moral Tale: Didactic" chapter of his 1932 *Children's Books in England*, F. J. Harvey Darton lumps Eliza Fenwick with his list of marginal authors. Tacked on at the end of the chapter, she is one of a few one-hit wonders, "passed over," as he says, "with the mere mention of their names." He mocks the "feebleness" of the plots of their fictions and the two-dimensionality of their characters. His disdain is palpable in his prose, as he complains that their characters are "no more than those brats of the moveable-head books: the same waxen face fitted into a succession of stiff bodies" (Darton 165).

Darton wasn't the only one dismissing Fenwick's literary value. One of the early readers of the manuscript for my biography, *Eliza Fenwick: Early Modern Feminist* (2019) relegates her to the "outskirts of literary history." Despite forty years of feminist theory, the received patronizing masculine Romanticist dismissal of the literary and social merits of late-Enlightenment female authors continues to cast a long shadow over their legacies. Fenwick does have her defenders. Marjorie Moon, in her 1990 bibliography, *Benjamin Tabart's Juvenile Library*, says that when Fenwick became one of Tabart's authors "a real catch had swum into his net." And in *The Child Reader* (2011), Matthew

Grenby names Fenwick's Rays from the Rainbow (1812) as at the "pinnacle" of the category of early books designed to help children facilitate independent learning.

In this paper, I'll address the aesthetics of Fenwick's writing and make the case for her as an author worth reading in the twenty-first century. And I'll argue for Fenwick's originality and vision as both author and editor. In her stories, her fictional characters are animated by a kind of cinematic vitality and her plots are more nuanced than Darton allows. I'll also make the case for Fenwick as the unacknowledged editor of Songs for the Nursery (1806), a work even Darton describes as "delectable."

Robert Paulett (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville) George III, the Aesthetics of Nation, and the Body of the King

Panel / Session 427, 'Elite Images'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Easterby-Smith (University of St Andrews)

This paper reevaluates George III's ideas of constitution and nation in his early reign and the highly aestheticized language of touch and vision that he employed in his understandings of the realm and their analogies to his own body. In particular, this study focuses on how the lessons on constitutional history and nation George sat with his tutor, John Stuart 3rd Early of Bute focused on the tactile and visual sense of Britain and reached their fullest expression in the young king's 1761-2 coronation portrait by Allan Ramsay. A prince that spoke of the English constitution as a mighty fabric appeared draped in layers of silk and ermine. His shining suit echoed his ideas of Britain as a thing that could be polished and tarnished. And in this language, he revealed an emotional attachment to the vision of Britain as a moral body that echoed in his own regimens of health and fears of corruption.

While scholars have studied George's constitutional understandings (and misunderstandings), this paper's focus on George's aesthetic language of nation that borrowed heavily from ideas emerging within the so-called "Scottish Enlightenment" of his tutor Bute's social circles. Bute's educational techniques, which blended visual and tactile sensibilities within his lessons on history and law, encouraged a highly emotional sense of self and nation within the young prince. Looking at George's political understandings within the realm of the irrational and the emotional helps us better understand the sensibilities that motivated the tumultuous years of his early reign.

Laura Paulizzi (Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris / Università degli studi di Roma Tor Vergata) L'identité des Lumières dans la réception hégélienne

Panel / Session 373, 'Lumières et héritages'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gilles Montègre (Université Grenoble Alpes)

Les études de B. Croce et G. Gentile nous ont transmis une image de Hegel comme de celui qui, à travers sa critique, aurait assigné au mouvement culturel de l'Aufklärung un rôle négatif à l'intérieur de la tradition philosophique.

La critique de Hegel aux Lumières est minutieuse et profonde, dans cette contribution on en propose une interprétation à partir de sa conception du langage, qui dans son identité avec la pensée vise à exprimer le devenir du logos comme totalité. La révolution même des Lumières a eu lieu dans le langage, avec la diffusion du nouveau savoir à travers l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert.

En analysant le conflit entre foi et « pure intellection » (Einsicht) Hegel assigne à la culture moderne le langage de l'extranéation (Entäußerung), modèle négatif de communication entre deux éléments qui ne se reconnaissent pas en tant que parties du même esprit. Pour montrer un modèle positif, capable de repenser cette lacération interne aux Lumières, on propose comme exemple l'élaboration hégélienne de la proposition spéculative, expression d'un contenu possible seulement à travers l'union de ses moments, sujet et prédicat. Dans la proposition spéculative le sujet sans le prédicat reste un nom vide, et le prédicat ne s'ajoute pas au sujet comme quelque chose d'extérieur, mais il en définit l'essence. Le conflit entre foi et pure intellection est l'inverse de ce qui a lieu dans le processus linguistique spéculatif. Les deux cotés du réel, ne se comprennent dans leur union dialectique, mais en tant que éléments fixés et distincts.

La considération de l'identité des Lumières à partir de la conception hégélienne du langage nous permettra de repenser également des problématiques qui appartiennent à la culture actuelle, comme la notion de reconnaissance,

en général le rapport entre les individus, entre l'individu et la collectivité. Ensuite, on proposera une réflexion sur le rôle même du langage, aujourd'hui toujours plus fragmenté, afin de pouvoir récupérer une dimension communicative essentielle et relationnelle.

Elise Pavy (Université Bordeaux Montaigne) Excessive pour la modération : Olympe de Gouges et le défi de la violence politique au féminin (co-présente avec Florence Lotterie, Université Paris-Diderot)

Panel / *Session* 62, 'Violence(s) et constructions identitaires de sexe et de genre 1 : L'identité de sexe/genre au prisme des transformations sociales'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean-Christophe Abramovici (Sorbonne Université)

Dans sa Réponse à la justification de Maximilien Robespierre adressée à Jérôme Pétion (1792), Gouges évoque la révélation de la journée du 10 août mais aussi la nécessité politique de savoir « réprimer en [soi] ces mouvements d'exaltation dont une âme sensible devrait toujours se défier », au profit de « ce calme, cette douceur civique » que requiert le patriotisme. Mais cet ethos modéré entre en tension avec ce même patriotisme, dès lors qu'il se définit en termes genrés et plus précisément, à partir d'une identité féminine que l'implication dans la parole pamphlétaire propre à un espace de publicité maximale et assumée comme telle (ainsi de la pratique des affiches) rend problématique. La patriote est-elle, dans le risque de l'adresse et de l'échange violent, « plus homme que femme » (Réponse) ou « ni homme ni femme » (Pronostic sur Maximilien Robespierre par un animal amphibie, 1792) ? De quelles négociations complexes (qui peuvent aussi emprunter à un imaginaire fictionnel bien enraciné à la fin du XVIIIe siècle) entre féminité, masculinité et violence, les stratégies énonciatives sont-elles ici le nom ? Comment le « cas » Gouges permet-il d'évaluer un rapport spécifique des femmes révolutionnaires aux prescriptions politiques de genre ? Cette contribution est proposée par Florence Lotterie et Elise Pavy.

Julie Peakman (Birkbeck College, University of London) Bibis, Nautch Girls, and Nabobs: Sexual Identities of British Men and Indian Women

Panel / *Session* 382, 'Sexual Identities in Global Empires'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexis Wolf (Birkbeck, University of London)

John Ovington, who came across the Banian people on his voyage to Surrat in 1689, and claimed that the ardour of the women was inflamed by the hot weather, 'The nature of the Climate incline them much to this Amourous Passion, which stings them with impatient desires'. But then, Ovington also managed to paint an idyllic picture of child marriages. Speaking about the children married off as young as three or four years of age, he said; 'as if they has been born Lovers, they are taken off from all Objects, and freed from the Disappointment of fickle Mistresses, and from being wearied with whining Addresses to coy Damsels'. He thought these early marriages were responsible for women's devotion to their husbands, naively claiming that this 'may be some Reason why the Indian Wives committed themselves with so much chearfulness into the Funeral Flames with their Dead Husbands'.

British Imperial India began with the founding of the East India Company in 1600 by a group of rich merchants. Although it was established with the purpose of trading in the East Indies, the men of the company quickly slipped into the Indian life way of life, smoking hookahs, indulging in spicy foods and employing a houseful of live-in Asian servants. On comparatively high-salaries, their income afforded them luxuries they could only dream of back home in England. This social freedom and wealth quickly became connected to sexual excesses, as British men indulged their fantasies with Indian women. Some men chose young women as their unofficial wives or bibis, other men chose from a troop of 'nautch' girls just for an evening or two.

Undoubtedly the colonial identities of the men in Indian were bound up not just with the culture of India but incorporated the contemporary ideas on the inferiority of women and, more specifically, the very British derogatory ideas on Indians (and foreigners) generally. In turn, their thoughts and reported experiences of their contact with Indian women coloured the perceptions of the British public. This paper will explore the multi-faceted identities, and perception of Identities operating during the eighteenth century in India.

Jason Pearl (Florida International University) Topographic Identities

Panel / *Session* 150, 'Scaling Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rivka Swenson (Virginia Commonwealth University)

Many believe a bird's-eye view can show us the true nature of things, especially objects and phenomena too big or immersive to be seen in their entirety from ground level. That is why artists and engravers in the eighteenth century depicted so many gardens and battles from aerial perspectives: these vantage points could reveal detail and order on the ground that was otherwise impossible to capture up close. Indeed, as this paper shows, the bird's-eye view, with its ideal of rational distance, embodied the highest ideals of the Enlightenment. During this period, Jan Kip and Leonard Knyff developed new techniques to show off the symmetries of English estates and country houses, which were crucial to the construction of family identities. John Rocque mapped the features of London's streets and buildings more accurately than anyone before him, and the Ordnance Survey did much the same for the British Isles as a whole; these images too were crucial to the construction of identity, in this case British identity. And yet all these representations, like the communities they corresponded to, had to be imagined, since no one could actually look down on the world from above until the advent of ballooning, late in the eighteenth century. Thus, order was assumed; precision was implied. When Thomas Baldwin floated in a balloon over the English countryside, in 1785, he gave the lie to these images and called into question the stable identities they posited, describing—and even drawing—a landscape that was a swirl of colors obscured by clouds. The experience was exhilarating and disorienting, an invitation for readers of his *Airopaidia* to reconsider their association of topography with identity.

Liang Pei (Wuhan University) Unconscious Wisdom: Fabricated Collective Identity and the Cognitive Incongruity of Eighteenth-Century Humour

Panel / *Session* 393, 'Fabrication of Enlightenment Identities: Sensation, Perception, and Cognition of Eighteenth-Century Prose'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rebekah Andrew (University of Birmingham)

The eighteenth century saw a revolution of the philosophy of humour. The creation and interpretation of humour crucially depends on both emotional and cognitive factors, involving arousal-relief mechanisms, hostility, and incongruity-resolution processes. Contemporary cognitive psychology of humour have centered on the bisociation produced by the abrupt cognitive shift in scripts, triggered by ambiguity or contradiction. In light of this perspective, the present paper examines 18th-Century Humour. The epistemic function of humour in works of Swift, Pope and Fielding involves the construction of justification which results in a cognitive incongruity (clash) and cognitive dissonance, conditioned on their fabricated collective identity. This paper also explore the use of humour as a form of challenge of ideological and political structures in the 18th-century text and context.

Wu Peilin (Qufu Normal University of China) Governance, Recommendation and Restriction: Election and Abolition of Hereditary County Magistrates in Qufu, Shandong in the Ming and Qing Dynasties

Panel / *Session* 322, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 2 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

Officials appointment are uncertain in provinces, prefectures and counties, but it is hereditary among Confucius's descendants in Qufu, Shandong province. The court's intention is to favor the offspring of Confucius rather than other surnames for the sake of emperor's grace. There have been 34 Confucian clans who served as hereditary county magistrates in the past 400 years (from the seventh year of Hongwu to 21st year of Qianlong), and 10 changes of the election criteria, scope, number of candidates and election process. Each change was not initiated by the royal, but the struggle among the Yanshenggong, hereditary county magistrates and the Confucian clan. The most prominent conflict lay in the former two, and as a result the power of Yanshenggong was in gradual decline with the rise of the imperial control. Its abolition of hereditary appointment occurred in the 21st year of Qianlong due to Emperor Qianlong's trust crisis, but the fundamental reason was that the royal was able to subordinate the local power to the

central authority with the development of the period of Emperor Shunzhi, kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong. Therefore, this change is not an independent and accidental event but the inevitable growth of the centralized central power, which is the same as the Reform of the Land and the reform of military organization Weisuo. The essence of the struggle among the court, the Confucian Hall and county government of Qufu is the comprehensive reflection of the contradictions among the big Confucian clan and small Confucian clan, the Manchu and the Han nationality, and the central and local government.

Madeleine Pelling (University of York) **Women Writing Gothic Collections: Anne Hamilton's Fonthill Abbey and Mary Hamilton's Strawberry Hill**

Panel / *Session* 86, 'Making Women: Creative Constructions and Material Knowledge'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennie Batchelor (University of Kent)

This paper explores women's written accounts of collections and collectors operating outside of the pervasively heterosexual and hyper-masculine models that governed eighteenth-century antiquarian practice. Employing feminist and queer theory, it introduces important, yet overlooked diaries by Lady Anne Hamilton (1766-1846) and Lady Mary Hamilton (1756-1816), held respectively at the Bodleian and John Rylands libraries, and analyses the role of gender, social and tactile encounter in generating art histories from alternate perspectives. It approaches the journals as material and textual spaces used to record female and queer encounters, alliances and hierarchies, and argues for their value in recovering the marginal voices of women as antiquarians.

Distant cousins, Anne and Mary Hamilton both enjoyed positions of influence and connection as members of an elite circle that included William Beckford and Horace Walpole. As well as adding significant new information about the contents and structure of the collections at Fonthill Abbey and Strawberry Hill, Anne and Mary's writings survive as testament to female antiquarian ambition and their important contributions to art historiography. Produced over a period from 1788 until 1835, Ann's self-styled *Journal & Dates of My Life* forms an intimate record of her visits to Fonthill and includes detailed descriptions of the abbey and its grounds, as well as sketches of its interior and furnishings, all of which have been previously omitted from sustained scholarly scrutiny. Similarly, Mary's diaries, dating from the 1780s, record multiple visits to Strawberry Hill where her friendship with Walpole allowed her privileged access to many of the treasures housed there. Throughout the diaries, Mary sketches objects she is particularly drawn to and reports conversations she has had with Walpole, thus testifying to the significance of the journal as an important material extension of her experiences.

Ismini Pells (University of Leicester) **The Soldier, the State, and the Competing Ideals of Restoration Military Welfare**

Panel / *Session* 471, 'The Intellectual History of War in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christy Pichichero (George Mason University)

As a result of the seventeenth-century Civil Wars, military welfare was made available to veterans and their families on a widespread scale for the first time in English history. Parliamentary legislation expanded the provision for maimed soldiers established as part of the Elizabethan poor laws to enable the wounded and – in an innovative move – the widows and orphans of those who had died in service to claim pensions and gratuities from the state. To obtain this financial relief, claimants petitioned the court of Quarter Sessions held in their home county, where Justices of the Peace would distribute payments.

This paper will examine the intellectual foundations governing the county pension scheme but, by focusing specifically on the Restoration and later seventeenth-century, it will reveal that the establishment and day-to-day operation of the scheme was based as much on political as military or moral considerations.

In justifying the entitlement to welfare, both policy-makers and claimants combined traditional notions of noblesse oblige that proliferated relations between military commanders and their men with the concept of the 'deserving poor' that had accompanied the Elizabethan parish relief from which the pension scheme had evolved. However,

these ideas were complicated by the contested memories of the Civil Wars themselves. From the Restoration, claimants were obliged to demonstrate their unwavering loyalty to the Crown, whilst Justices attempted to balance the demands of central government with competing pressures from communities divided and overburdened by the conflict. Moreover, in opening up the pension scheme to widows, parliament had tacitly acknowledged a position for women in the State which sat uneasily with the ideals of patriarchy and obedience prevalent in royalist propaganda. Finally, this paper will highlight the role of the conflicting political considerations that plagued the pension scheme in the scheme's replacement by the Royal Hospital at Chelsea.

Andrea Penso (Vrije Universiteit Brussel) The Reception of English Novels in Elisabetta Caminer Turra's Journals (1772–1797)

Panel / *Session* 448, 'Booksellers and Authorship'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alessia Castagnino (Fondazione 1563 per l'Arte e la Cultura)

When in 1776 Domenico Caminer, famous journalist and publisher of the venetian "Settecento", left the co-direction of the "Giornale Enciclopedico" (formerly "L'Europa letteraria"), his daughter Elisabetta became the woman in charge of one of the most popular journals of the time. Nonetheless, it is thanks to Elisabetta that the journal, supported by a more organic project, moved towards a deeper cultural and editorial engagement with the reality of the time. The "Giornale Enciclopedico", in fact, and the others that followed under her direction ("Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico", "Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico d'Italia"), sought to establish new relationships with important literary men and scientist of the time, while looking for new distribution vectors and centres. One fundamental point of Elisabetta's experience as an editor was the diffusion of foreign culture in the Italian peninsula: during her career she always aimed at the renovation and at the improvement of the intellectual milieu of the time, often attracting harsh criticism and opposition. Nevertheless, Elisabetta's journals played an important role in the Italian reception of foreign literature during the second half of the 18th century. This paper aims at investigating how the English novels were reviewed, censored, introduced to the Italian public by the many articles, reviews announcements that appeared in the journals supervised by Elisabetta Caminer Turra, which were often written by herself, or taken from French journals and adapted for the Italian public. The goal is to show in which ways a woman editor played her role as maker of culture and arbiter of taste from a stylistic, thematic and political point of view, in order to clarify the meanings and the importance of her function as a cultural mediator.

Ines Peper (University of Vienna) The Conversion of Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel: How to Communicate a Future Empress's Change of Religion

Panel / *Session* 251, 'The Empress in the Public Eye: Communicating Power around 1700'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Klaas Van Gelder (Ghent University)

Religion constituted a fundamental dimension of the early modern public sphere. Theology and religious ceremonies were important not only for legitimizing, but also for enacting political authority, making their confessional denomination an important aspect of the public persona of all members of a ruling family. When Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel converted to Catholicism in Bamberg on 1 May 1707 as a precondition for her marriage to the future Emperor Charles VI, this event raised a number of challenges in terms of the two involved dynasties' public representation. Not only the liturgy and ceremonies in the Bamberg dome, but also their printed coverage and long-term memoria had to be considered. In addition, an anonymously published theological report had already triggered a fierce pamphlet controversy which had to be dealt with. Based on printed and archival sources, the paper will examine how this prominent and politically significant conversion was located at an intersection of more or less distinct public spheres (ranging from courtly and learned circles to far wider congregational as well as reading audiences) and to what extent gender-specific attributions shaped its public representation and perception.

François Pépin (IHRIM-Umr 5317/Labex Comod) Les planches d'horlogerie de l'*Encyclopédie*

Panel / *Session* 175, 'Nouveaux éclairages sur la manufacture de l'Encyclopédie 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Alain Cernuschi (Université de Lausanne)

Les planches d'horlogerie de l'Encyclopédie offrent un double intérêt. Par leur histoire et leur structure, elles éclairent un aspect de la manufacture encyclopédique. En l'occurrence, elles révèlent une croissance importante du nombre de planches par rapport à celles qui étaient prévues et annoncées dans les premiers articles, et montrent une diversité de sources, en général récentes. Plusieurs planches sont même à la pointe du savoir horloger de l'époque et présentent, pour la première fois, un mécanisme inédit. Mais les planches d'horlogerie montrent aussi comment, dans l'Encyclopédie, un savoir à la fois technique et théorique peut se constituer à travers les images. Celles-ci détaillent bien sûr les mouvements (mécanismes), mais aussi les outils de l'horloger. Elles illustrent ainsi un trait souligné par Romilly, horloger responsable des planches de l'Encyclopédie : exposer l'horlogerie, c'est aussi donner à voir des pratiques, des matériaux et des instruments.

François **Pépin** (IRHIM-ENS de Lyon/Labex Comod) L'éloge et le compte rendu

Panel / *Session* 338, 'Les éloges académiques de Fontenelle'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean Trouchaud (Société des amis de Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian)

Cette communication veut comparer deux pratiques importantes du travail de Fontenelle comme Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris : l'éloge et le compte rendu de mémoire. Complémentaires, ces deux pratiques sont aussi très différentes, tant dans leur nature que dans leur public. L'éloge est par principe posthume et couronne la carrière d'un savant. Structuré en général comme un récit chronologique, il raconte la vie d'un savant et met en scène son rôle dans l'Académie. Narratifs et d'une technicité mesurée, les éloges sont un des éléments essentiels du discours de l'Académie sur elle-même, à tel point qu'on peut les lire ensemble, en mêlant ainsi des savants et des sciences très différentes. Par contraste, les comptes rendus résument et commentent un mémoire particulier, parfois en relation avec d'autres mémoires ou des ouvrages savants. Souvent plus technique que l'éloge, le compte rendu n'en cherche pas moins à offrir des vues plus philosophiques à un public qui déborde le cercle des savants. Comme les éloges, les comptes rendus ont ainsi pu avoir une postérité remarquable chez les hommes de lettres. Mais, outre ces points communs et différences, la question est aussi de savoir si les éloges mobilisent, en une sorte de synthèse posthume, les éléments élaborés par les comptes rendus. La réponse doit ici d'être nuancée car les cas sont très divers.

Emilie-Anne **Pépy** (Université de Savoie Mont Blanc) Être botaniste en France au XVIIIe siècle, entre idéal scientifique et marqueur social

Panel / *Session* 324, 'Botanical Identities 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Giulia Pacini (College of William and Mary)

La première mention du substantif « botaniste » dans la langue française est attestée en 1676 dans le Journal des savans. Le terme désigne « celui qui s'applique à la Botanique » dans l'édition de 1740 du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, alors qu'il ne figurait pas dans l'édition de 1690. Dans l'édition de 1835, la définition est étendue à « celui qui étudie la botanique ». Ces évolutions lexicales sont à relier au contexte scientifique du XVIIIe siècle, qui voit s'autonomiser la botanique comme champ disciplinaire autonome. Ses pratiquants et pratiquantes sont de plus en plus nombreux, et dans la seconde moitié du siècle, la botanique fait l'objet d'une véritable mode dans les milieux éclairés, relayée par les témoignages littéraires. Les botanistes sont pourtant loin de constituer un groupe homogène. Il est possible d'identifier un noyau dur de savants rattachés à des institutions de savoir, comme les académies ou le fameux Jardin du roi, qui contribuent à la codification théorique de la discipline en plus des recherches de terrain. Il faut également compter avec les amateurs et amatrices de botanique, dont les pratiques s'inspirent de la botanique savante, mais qui inventent également une forme de loisir scientifique. Les élites sociales donnent le ton, jusqu'à Versailles où Louis XV et son entourage encouragent activement les progrès de la botanique, qui a acquis ses lettres de noblesse sous la plume de philosophes de renom comme Rousseau ou Malesherbes. L'étude de la ou des identités de botaniste(s) en France au XVIIIe siècle croise les grands enjeux de l'histoire culturelle et permet de revenir sur les enjeux d'une vulgarisation scientifique incluant les questions de genre.

Emmanuelle Peraldo (Université Lyon 3) Defoe's Voyagers-Geographers and their Problematic Identities

Panel / *Session 72*, 'Daniel Defoe 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Holly Kruitbosch (University of Nevada at Reno)

Daniel Defoe's double interest in private lives and international trade is epitomized in the many voyagers that people his narratives published in the 1720s which all involve extensive sea travel. His voyagers' adventures have been read as decisions made to build their selves or personal career moves, as is the case for Robinson Crusoe who goes to sea to rebel against what his father had planned for him. Defoe's voyagers can also be considered as geographers who followed the instructions of the Royal Society and provided data based on their observation and science. However, they are also and above all driven by the obsession to accumulate wealth and by the realization that capitalism and mercantilism are only possible by seizing the wealth overseas. This oscillation between individual and scientific enterprise on the one hand and economic nationalism on the other hand makes the voyagers' identities problematic, while it reveals that Defoe's geography is anchored in the context of British imperial expansion and subtended by commerce and colonialism, that it is a means to wealth, and that there is no geography, according to Defoe, without mercantilism and capitalism. This paper wants to tackle the double-hatted figures of voyagers-geographers in Defoe's work such as Crusoe and Singleton and the quasi irreconcilable demands of geography as a science and geography as a major stake in the global economy of trade.

Melissa Percival (University of Exeter) New Perspectives on Politeness

Panel / *Session 89*, 'Politeness and Civility'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh (Swansea University)

This paper takes inspiration from Robert Darnton's recent call in a New York Times op-ed for a 'commitment to the cause of civilisation' (To Deal With Trump, Look to Voltaire, Dec 27, 2018). If liberals today feel beleaguered by right-wing populist assaults on Enlightenment values – freedom, justice, tolerance, equality – then Darnton's astute foregrounding of politeness stands out: 'Today the protective layer of civility, which makes political discourse possible, is disappearing like the ozone around Earth'. An unfashionable topic, with its connotations of triviality, superficiality, elitism, foppishness, even banality, it is hard to convey its importance to undergraduates and to the broader public. Yet it is incumbent on us, as scholars of the Enlightenment and Enlightened citizens, to look to old discourses in order to shape new ones.

Politeness – variously a more elite or refined version of civility – was invoked by numerous eighteenth-century writers as something that enabled society to cohere, and moreover to thrive. It required the individual to negotiate potential conflicts between self-interest and the wider social body. Voltaire saw politeness in the unvarnished face of a Quaker. The *Encyclopédie* argued that 'douceur', 'modestie' and justice' do not negate the ills of the world but are necessary to keep it 'paisible & agréable'; a deceptively mild aspiration until it is remembered that conflict and persecution were part of the philosophes' everyday reality.

My paper pays due respect to Philippe Raynaud, whose book, *La politesse des lumières* (2013), uncovered pluralities in eighteenth-century thought. But the topic has a new urgency in a changed political climate, with challenges arguably more pernicious than the ones Raynaud identified (the excesses of liberalism). To counter the shouting in capital letters on Twitter, it aspires to a new civic and civil discourse.

Laura Pérez Hernández (Universidad Complutense de Madrid / Nottingham Trent University)
Construct National Identity across Fashion: Maja's and Riding Women's Dress in the Second Half of the Eighteenth century

Panel / *Session 99*, 'Clothes and Identity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sohini Chakravarty (Delhi Public School R. K. Puram)

Fashion is a social phenomenon which transmits the particularities of each time and the individual characteristics as their social level, cultural development, nationality or political opinion. It is a representative element that reflects the individual and collective identity contributing to building communities across the history.

Through this proposal, it will be analyzed how is construct national identity across fashion in the eighteenth century. For that, we will be departed from the French power in the European fashion concretely in two places: England and Spain. It will be explained the importance of national styles in both territories to go against French impositions in the second half of the eighteenth century. At first, in Spain with a national movement called “majismo” and, secondly, in England with the Appearance Revolution, the transformations of fashion and the use of riding women dress.

At last, to do this study, it will be used the means of spread of both fashions as English engravings, Spanish Dress Collections or newspapers articles and essays of both countries.

Pam Perkins (University of Manitoba) *Unsettling Identities: Re-Imagining Britishness in the Late Eighteenth-Century Canadian North*

Panel / *Session* 325, ‘Colonial Encounters’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Schoene (Cornell University)

There has been much recent work done on the settler societies of British North America; as many scholars have shown, examining those societies in the context of a wider Atlantic world helps us to understand how Anglo North American identities are shaped by colonialism. The transatlantic experiences of British emigrants who made new lives and communities for themselves in the more southerly parts of North America were very different, however, from those of their countrymen who visited (or, occasionally, settled in) what is now the Canadian north. In this paper, I will look at letters, journals and travelogues of some of those British visitors who shaped their home society’s image of the sub-arctic north, and, in the process, raised direct or indirect questions about their own identities as Britons. While I will look briefly at independent fur traders and adventurers, including the Labrador trader George Cartwright, whose 1792 journal attracted the attention of some of his more famous British literary contemporaries, my main focus will be on accounts by Hudson’s Bay Company officers, including narratives preserved in some of the post journals now held in the HBC archives in Winnipeg. The paper will then conclude with a more focused discussion of the HBC trader Peter Fidler (1769-1822), whose journals, as well as the books he collected in Canada, suggest the complexities of his attempt to navigate between his British identity and the new cultural ties and values he learned through his interactions with the local Indigenous peoples. Like many of his fellow traders, Fidler married an Indigenous woman. Somewhat more unusually, he recorded some of the anxieties, and even shame, he experienced as a linguistic and cultural outsider, when, as a young man, he spent several winters travelling with the Dene people. While confident in his identity as an enlightened Briton, Fidler was nonetheless prepared be absorbed into other cultural systems.

Antonia Perna (Durham University) ‘Young as we are’: Juvenile Patriotism and Identity in Revolutionary France, 1789–99

Panel / *Session* 397, ‘Juvenile Writing, Identities, and Self-Presentation in Eighteenth-Century Europe’. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

This paper explores children and adolescents’ conceptions of their identity with regard to participation in civic life, in Revolutionary France. The revolutionaries considered those of this age group to be crucial to the regeneration of society and viewed their acts of patriotism through the lens of sensibility and eighteenth-century understandings of childhood innocence and purity. Using children and adolescents’ public speeches in local and national assemblies and festivals, I discuss how they expressed various layers of identity—based on age, gender and citizenship—and how these different identities intersected. How did these conceptions of identity influence the ways in which they sought to express patriotism and engage in political and civic life? Moreover, I explore how these youths echoed adult ideas about childhood and their roles in Revolutionary society. To what extent did they absorb these ideas, and in what ways did they challenge them? How did they express awareness of their affective power as children, and how did they utilise this?

This paper brings together speeches from both boys and girls, from across France and across the Revolutionary decade, 1789-99. It seeks to contribute to scholarship on French Revolutionary culture by demonstrating that children and adolescents were integrated into this culture and by considering their own expressions of their civic role and identity.

Sanja **Perovic** (King's College London) Revolutionary Keywords In and As Translation

Panel / *Session* 445, 'Translating Radical Identities in the Revolutionary Period'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexei Evstratov (University of Lausanne)

It is well-known that the French Revolution had an enormous impact on the political, social and historical vocabulary of European nations, and the French language in particular. It introduced approximately 1400 new words into the French language. More generally, there was an overwhelming consensus that a new bold style of language was one of the chief markers – vehicles even – of the passage from monarchy to the republic. Yet, as Fitzsimmons (2017) has shown, the fifth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1798) omitted these new words as well as the new meanings of existing words. It published instead a curtailed list of 418 revolutionary terms in an appendix, which satisfied neither detractors nor supporters of the Revolution. In contrast, foreigners seeking to communicate radical language abroad produced the most successful dictionaries of this new vocabulary, notably Snetlage (Göttingen, 1795).

This paper proposes to reconsider the role and function of the Revolution's 'keywords' through a comparison of these two dictionaries. I will show how the failure of the 1798 edition to acknowledge the sea-change in the meaning, style and uses of revolutionary language also exposes, a contrario, deeper problems of naming the revolutionary event. For it was not just neologisms; the Revolution ushered in a completely new understanding of time and history in which present and future uses of words mattered more than their historical meaning. Using these two dictionaries, I will show how translation (whether within a given language or between languages) provides us with a means of going beyond a merely semantic treatment of revolutionary language. By revealing what aspect of radical language is translatable – extendable into new contexts – and what remains untranslatable – a relic of the past, translation provides new sources for theoretical histories of concepts. This includes how revolutionary terms emerged as slogans and what Koselleck calls 'counter-concepts'.

Jean-Alexandre **Perras** (Institut d'études avancées, Paris / Voltaire foundation, Oxford) « Le siècle présent » : entre satires et apologies

Panel / *Session* 462, 'Inventer le XVIIIe siècle : valeurs et enjeux d'une identité séculaire'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Christophe Martin (Sorbonne Université)

« Chaque siècle a son caractère qui le distingue et le détermine », écrivait L-A Caraccioli, en déplaçant le paradigme des caractères nationaux pour mieux justifier un parallèle entre les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle ; mais si le premier fut majestueux, « plein de grands hommes et de grandes choses », l'autre en revanche est « semillant, rempli d'esprits superficiels, et de précieuses bagatelles. » Le parallèle entre l'ancien et le moderne n'est pas neuf, et s'est particulièrement illustré au cours de ce même siècle dont Caraccioli vante la grandeur, au point de remplacer celui des Anciens comme point de comparaison et d'émulation. Au cours du XVIIIe siècle en effet, se multiplient les comparaisons entre le Siècle de Louis XIV et le Siècle de Louis XV, les « apologies du siècle », les considérations sur « le siècle présent », qui contribuent à définir quelque chose comme le caractère du siècle. Ces pièces morales prennent plusieurs formes : dialogues, pièces de théâtre, apologies, éloges, dont le caractère satirique est souvent à peine déguisé. L'année où Voltaire publie à Berlin son *Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751), le même Caraccioli répond avec un *Dialogue entre le Siècle de Louis XIV et le Siècle de Louis XV*, lequel se termine par un jugement du Temps qui fait miroiter aux lecteurs une éternelle suite de victoires et de héros, comme pour renverser un penchant décliniste contemporain, inévitable conséquence du zénith que constituait le siècle précédent. Si ces considérations sur le « siècle présent » reprennent en partie la rhétorique déployée lors querelle des anciens et des modernes, elles en transforment aussi considérablement le propos, en déployant un ensemble de valeurs séculaires (sociabilité, gaieté, légèreté). Ces considérations contemporaines sur le XVIIIe siècle permettent aussi de situer le régime « présentiste » évoqué par François Hartog quelque peu en amont de la Révolution française, qui n'en ne serait dès lors pas tant la cause que le symptôme.

Andrei Pesic (Stanford University) Rousseau and Competition: Institutions versus Identities

Panel / *Session 281*, 'Rousseau and Identity: His Theories and Practices'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30.
G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Dan Edelstein (Stanford University)

Competition lies at the heart of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's critique of the ills of commercial society: it is the consequence of putting people into situations of invidious comparison where, spurred on by amour propre, they race to outdo their neighbors. But the concept of competition itself was shifting in the context of economic debates of the mid-eighteenth century, which has been insufficiently considered in the context of Rousseau's thought. Older definitions stressing multiple pretenders for the same object began to vie with newer formulations from free-trade debates, in which multiple competitors could improve overall economic outcomes. Rousseau's criticism of the psychological effects of commercial society on identity, then, intervened in a dispute about the concept of competition by forcing a change in the scale of analysis. By denouncing competition's distorting effect on individuals, he refused the abstract institutional benefits presented in newer definitions of commercial competition and sought to redefine the term again.

Róbert Péter (University of Szeged) Analysing Bibliographic Metadata in Eighteenth-Century Studies: Lessons from Case Studies

Panel / *Session 293*, 'Digital Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Studies'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30.
Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ileana Baird (Zayed University)

This paper illustrates how the analysis of bibliographic records of thematic full-text databases has the potential to identify hitherto overlooked trends and themes in 18th-century studies. The introduced case studies demonstrate that posing even simple statistical questions about the well-selected and cleaned metadata can highlight ignored patterns, processes and relations in prosopography, cultural studies and trade relations. The first case study explores the changing public perception of English Freemasonry by investigating press accounts of the fraternity. It sheds new light on the considerable impact of a theatrical performance and a leading masonic newspaper editor on the image of the contemporary fraternity. The network analysis of authors, publishers and booksellers of masonic books, which reveals some so far unknown central figures in the publication and dissemination of masonic texts, warns 18th-century specialists of the incomplete nature of the English Short Title Catalogue. The third case study provides a distant reading of the largely unmapped English press material about Hungary, which, for instance, signposts new areas for research into Anglo-Hungarian economic relations of the period. The analysis has been carried out by the AVOBMAT (Analysis and Visualization of Bibliographic Metadata and Texts) research tool, which is being developed as part of an ongoing digital humanities project. Its functions include (i) the analysis and interactive visualisation of the networks of authors, publishers and booksellers, (ii) the automatic identification and visualization of the sex of the authors in several languages, (iii) the interactive modelling of the relations between the different metadata types, (iv) the word clouds of metadata and texts.

Edyta Pętkowska-Grabowska (Warsaw University) A Woman of Two Worlds: Alexandra Potocka née Lubomirska's Public and Private Life

Panel / *Session 111*, 'Learned Ladies'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Williams (Northumbria University)

Alexandra Potocka née Lubomirska (1758-1831) was one of the most important women in Poland and Polish lands of her times. She was born in noble family with many connections to the highest echelons of power and government. Alexandra was well-educated, engaged in many activities e.g. educational matters, freemasonry, art collecting. All this makes her an important witness to the role and position of women in public sphere in Poland at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. In my paper, through various inquiries, encompassing, but not limited to gender perspective, I will show using Alexandra as a case study, what were women's fields of activity specifically in these three areas: 1) Her public and private activities were intermingled. However, formally reign and elections were held only by men. In reality women were also engaged in these spheres (e.g. with their informal influence, creating events, helping with

getting promotions). 2) I will explain to what extent was the Potocki's salon that operated under her and her husband Stanisław Kostka Potocki a typical institution of that time, pointing similarities and differences between it and the classic form of salon connected to the eighteenth century France. 3) Other fields of activity will be also discussed, like functioning and meaning of taking care of girls education by female groups of inspectors, which one of Alexandra was the president, or her charities and art-collecting. While analysing these fields of women's activities I also would like to verify if categories of women's roles created by Elaine Chalus would be useful in describing situation in Polish lands. Through Alexandra's activities we can try to position other noble women of that time in the politics and social and cultural life in Polish lands. Their methods of operating in the society are of importance also, as after the partitions these women often retained their position in a completely different political situation during the Napoleonic period.

Florence **Petroff** (Paris 8 University) American Patriots and the Scots in the Revolution: The Issue of Britishness in 1775–1776

Panel / *Session 247*, 'Scotland and the American Revolution'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Paul Tonks (Yonsei University)

American Founding father Thomas Jefferson famously suggested in his draft of the Declaration of Independence that the Scots were neither part of the British nation nor of the "common blood" of the English and the colonists.

This paper will discuss the shared vision of the American patriots with regard to the Scottish identity. In the Thirteen Colonies, the Scots were perceived as Jacobites, friendly to the Catholics and the French, therefore anti-Protestants, and above all supporters of tyranny. The Scots were seen as thoroughly different from the English and the Americans, who identified themselves with Protestantism, loyalty to the dynasty of Hanover and the liberties granted by the English constitution. This perception of Scottish distinctiveness was not based on language, the Highland dress or the social organization of the clans, but on the relationship to power and authority.

There was a purpose behind this false representation of the Scottish identity. It was designed to support the idea that despite the multiculturalism of the colonists who came from different European countries, they all participated in a shared British identity, understood as a cross-Atlantic English identity. In other words, the Scots were the Other against whom the Americans defined themselves as genuinely British at a time when the conflict with the parent state escalated.

Maria **Petrova** (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) Language Practices and Language Choice in the Correspondence of Russian Diplomats in the Reign of Catherine II

Panel / *Session 294*, 'Diplomacy, Diplomats, and Language Choice in Eighteenth-Century Europe 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vladislav Rjéoutski (German Historical Institute in Moscow)

The introduction of French into the international sphere proceeded gradually throughout the 18th century and was largely due to the growing significance of French culture in the court and educated milieu in Europe. By the middle of the century, French had not only become the most important language of external diplomatic communication, but had also gradually entered the internal correspondence of foreign offices. Nevertheless, a large part of this correspondence, in the second half of the eighteenth century, was carried on in the native language of the diplomats.

The paper deals with the linguistic practices of Russian-speaking (russophone) diplomats of the Russian Empire, as well as the question of the choice they made in favour of their native language or French when writing reports and letters. Since there were numerous foreigners in the College of Foreign Affairs, both languages were equal. Thus, language choice was determined not by official prescriptions, but by personal circumstances as well: French language skills and the level of education in general, social and cultural background, the characteristics of a particular place of residence, the subject of the correspondence.

Christina **Petterson** (Australian National University) The Moravian Self and Possessive Individualism

Panel / *Session* 307, 'Moravian Identities and Cultural Heritage'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ulrik Langen (University of Copenhagen)

Christiansfeld, as most Moravian communities, was characterised by strict gender segregation and communal housing for the unmarried members. In these so-called Choir-houses, the members had to “earn their own bread”, i.e. each house was regarded as a discrete economic unit, which had to support itself.

For such an economic system to work, a certain understanding of human nature was necessary, namely humans as individuals, and more importantly, autonomous individuals in full possession of him or herself. This important aspect of early Enlightenment thought was coined ‘possessive individualism’ by C.B. Macpherson in his study of 17-century English political thought. It is the argument of the present paper that this self-understanding was cultivated initially in the first Moravian settlement in Herrnhut, Germany, and from there spread to other settlements, e.g. Christiansfeld and Bethlehem in North America through the Moravian networks, centralized management and settling politics. The paper will present Macpherson’s notion of ‘possessive individualism’, demonstrate its application in the Moravian context, and discuss the implications.

Pétur Pétursson (University of Iceland) Spiritual and Worldly Aspects of Icelandic Society in the Period 1750–1830

Panel / *Session* 352, 'The Worldview of Icelanders in the Period 1750–1830'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kristín Bragadóttir (University of Iceland)

Icelandic society was dominated by officials, Icelandic and Danish, educated at the University of Copenhagen, loyal to the Danish King. Most of them, at least those brought up in Denmark, were rather indifferent to and not knowledgeable about the specific situation in Iceland. Two things are to be observed as an indication of progress that inspired development in spiritual and worldly matters that in due time (after 1830) led to the modernization of Icelandic society. The first is the initiation of industrialization led by the Icelandic official Skúli Magnússon, the other is the Church reform initiated by the Danish King by sending his emissary Ludvig Harboe to Iceland. The laws and regulations that followed did much to improve the Icelandic Church and to lay a foundation for primary education in the country. At the end of the 18th century some major changes were initiated in the administration that were in line with centralization and bureaucratization, which in due time contributed to the nation-building and development of the basic institutions of Icelandic society. Instead of the Enlightenment ideology, more and more Icelandic leaders subscribed to the new Romanticism that gained a firm footing in Denmark in the beginning of the 19th century.

Nicola Phillips (Royal Holloway, University of London) An Enlightenment Lawyer? Thomas Erskine, Representation, Identity, and Freedom of the Press in Britain and America

Panel / *Session* 247, 'Scotland and the American Revolution'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Paul Tonks (Yonsei University)

Thomas Erskine (1750-1823) was the leading barrister in English common law courts. His reputation was primarily built on his successful defences against charges of criminal libel and constructive treason. He served as both Attorney General to the Prince of Wales and as Lord Chancellor to George III. His career in defending the rights and liberties of citizens and freedom of the press was reported, debated and celebrated, both during and after his lifetime, in Britain, France, and America. Erskine was also a prominent member of the opposition Whig party; a friend of the Prince, Fox, Sheridan and the cause of Parliamentary reform. Yet legal and political historians have either ignored or dismissed his parliamentary contributions as ineffective. For lawyers and socio-legal scholars Erskine was a rare champion of liberalism in the predominantly conservative English bar, or a product of his Scottish Enlightenment upbringing in Edinburgh as the youngest son of the 10th Earl of Buchan. He has also been variously depicted as a ‘patriot’ advocate who placed public service above politics; as an independent man; or more critically, as a radical, or a Romantic and histrionic performer.

Based on new research in Britain and America, this paper will demonstrate how a more cohesive picture emerges from comparing printed coverage of Erskine’s political and legal performances in both countries with personal correspondence, including that of the British Royal family and American Founding fathers. Analysing the press as both

a conduit for transnational transmission of legal and political ideas and as the subject of highly politicised battles for freedom of expression on both sides of the Atlantic, reveals the ways in which Erskine's political and legal ideals were deeply entwined. Both impacted on the formulation of Anglo-American libel law. Yet Erskine's identity – as a gentleman, a lawyer, a Whig, and a Scots Presbyterian – was multi-faceted. The paper explores how his masculine, political, legal and religious identity shaped his responses to different forms of libel charges that characterised transatlantic attitudes towards the liberty or licentiousness of the press.

Joanna Picciotto (University of California, Berkeley) The Resurrections of John Lilburne

Panel / *Session 43*, 'Enlightenment Religious Identities'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura M. Stevens (University of Tulsa)

From his late eighteenth-century revival as freedom's martyr—champion of liberty of the press, defender of the rights of juries—to his role in C.B. Macpherson's influential account of possessive individualism, John Lilburne's legacy has long been intertwined with that of liberalism itself. Conspicuously missing from this legacy is Lilburne the religious leader and spiritual seeker. Yet, as Edward Vallance has observed, during his lifetime Lilburne's enemies were more likely to portray him as "a Messianic leader of religious fanatics" than as "the organizer of a political movement." Lilburne's public career began and ended in Puritan experimental religion, first as a supporter of Laudian "martyrs" against the bishops and finally as a Quaker convert. My paper will consider the degree to which this career is rendered intelligible by J.G.A. Pocock's argument for an "early Enlightenment," which suggests that many projects of the philosophes were accomplished earlier in England using the resources of Protestant and commonwealth thought. Pocock's narrative raises the question of how, and indeed whether, to adjudicate between the "religious" and "political" strains of this enlightenment, and the concept of liberty at its heart. As Conal Condren has argued on other grounds, the negative liberty of the libertarian tradition bears little resemblance to seventeenth-century constructions of liberty as the scope of action attached to a duty: an expression of obligation rather than its opposite. For Lilburne, this concept could hardly be extracted from the discourse of Christian liberty as a whole.

I will argue that Lilburne's declaration in his final pamphlet, *The Resurrection of John Lilburne* (1656), that he was "already dead, or crucified, to the very occasions, and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal sword fightings & fleshly buslings and contests" represents not a spiritually motivated withdrawal from political organizing but an extension of it. I will conclude by suggesting that an adequate understanding of Leveller thought and its anti-individualist praxis depends not on a "post-secular turn" but on renewed attention to the complexities of secularization theory it

Isabelle Pichet (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières) Conditionnement de l'expérience du corps sensoriel

Panel / *Session 231*, 'Le corps sensoriel : sensibilité, émotions et identité(s) dans les expositions d'art au XVIIIe siècle'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marc André Bernier (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

Tout au long du 18e siècle, particulièrement dans sa seconde moitié, le Salon de l'Académie royale de peinture de Paris – en rythmant l'horizon d'attente – a su créer un habitus chez le public européen et parisien en particulier. Présenté dans le Salon carré du Louvre, le Salon devient l'un des événements les plus courus de la capitale française, voire de l'Europe entière. L'exposition des œuvres des académiciens, où s'entassent des spectateurs venus voir, se faire voir et savoir, s'inscrit comme l'image du théâtre social du Tout-Paris et, par ricochet, celui du plaisir des sens pour l'ensemble des publics cultivés d'Europe. La visite du Salon où s'entremêle la volonté de se divertir à celle de s'instruire, se présente comme une expérience où les sens sont toujours sollicités et provoquent des émotions. Il s'agira dans cette communication de brosser un portrait des éléments qui conditionnent l'expérience de la visite et la constitution de l'identité de ce corps sensoriel avant la visite de l'exposition : arrivée à la place du Louvre, déplacement à travers la cour de la Reine, montée de l'escalier et découverte de l'espace d'exposition. En 1781, l'escalier qui permet de monter à l'exposition est déplacé à l'extérieur du salon carré. Une étude comparative sur les changements des conditions d'entrée dans l'espace d'exposition et des effets que cela engendre sur le corps sensoriel et son conditionnement viendra compléter le portrait.

Christy Pichichero (George Mason University) The French Military Enlightenment Network: Digital and Traditional Approaches

Panel / *Session* 442, 'The Intellectual History of War in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ildiko Csengei (University of Huddersfield)

If the question “What was the Enlightenment?” has been rehearsed ad nauseam from the eighteenth century to our own time, scholars have only recently pursued the study of who the Enlightenment was. This is particularly the case of the French Military Enlightenment, whose agents were reduced to a small handful of theorists in pioneering works on the subject (Gat 1991). Yet more recent works have highlighted the broad engagement with the Military Enlightenment, which included the participation of ministers and men of war as well as philosophes, literate elites, playwrights, poets, novelists, artists, political theorists, historians, doctors, mathematicians, engineers, and more (Pichichero 2017). Similarly, new historiography on the “French Enlightenment network” has allowed us to begin a more precise tracing of individuals, connections, and social, professional, and academic classes that can be seen to constitute the Enlightenment (Comsa, Conroy, Edelstein, Edmondson, Willan 2016).

This paper combines these two lines of questioning to delineate the contours and functioning of a “French Military Enlightenment Network.” Using data from the University of Oxford’s Electronic Enlightenment Project (EEP) and the Procope French Enlightenment Network schema, this study applies digital history methods (ego-networks, mapping) in addition to traditional qualitative methods to study the social composition, types of relationships, and exchange of ideas at the very juncture between the military sphere and that of high philosophical and literary Enlightenment.

Anne Piéjus (CNRS, IReMus) Lecteurs et usagers du *Mercure galant* : le cas des musiciens de profession

Panel / *Session* 51, 'Les identités du lecteur de journaux'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Universität des Saarlandes)

Affichée ou tue par la rédaction, la multiplicité des contributeurs au *Mercure galant*, mensuel parisien fondé par l'homme de plume Donneau de Visé (1672-1710), a conduit la critique à proposer des études de cas, de « figures » de lecteurs, à partir de contributions d'auteurs occasionnels majoritairement issus des nouvelles élites administratives. Cette communication entend discuter les présupposés et les bien-fondés d'une telle micro-histoire du périodique en s'appuyant sur l'étude des interactions entre le *Mercure* et les musiciens professionnels. Comment, dans un périodique qui estompe sans cesse les frontières, distingue-t-on l'amateur du professionnel, a fortiori s'agissant de la profession de maître de musique, associée au loisir mondain ? et quelle valeur accorder à ce distinguo ? Peut-on analyser la participation au *Mercure galant* à partir de stratégies individuelles de carrière ? et l'auteur occasionnel est-il nécessairement lecteur ? Quelles furent les interactions entre le *Mercure galant* et la profession de musicien, considérée collectivement ? On avancera quelques hypothèses en s'appuyant sur des figures de maîtres de chapelle, de maîtres à chanter, et de musiciennes – qui, pour n'avoir pas accès aux charges, ne sont pas absentes de la sphère professionnelle.

Pedro Pimenta (University of Sao Paulo) Philosophy and the Natural Sciences in Hume's *Treatise*

Panel / *Session* 440, 'Scottish Enlightenment Identities 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Loughlin (University of Edinburgh)

The idea is to set forth the thesis that there is in Hume's *Treatise* a special relation between philosophy and physiology. In a recent, groundbreaking book, David Hume and the culture of Scottish Newtonianism (2016), Tamas Demeter has suggested persuasively that there is a good deal of affinity between Hume's philosophical theories and theoretical models proposed by physiologists of his own time. In order to understand the full import of this interpretation, we should determine the nature of Hume's appropriation of Newton's philosophy and method of reasoning (See Graciela de Pierris, Ideas evidence and method, 2015). I would like to adduce that in the *Treatise*,

especially at the beginning of books 1 and 2, Hume sees in anatomy and physiology sciences that furnish a kind of knowledge that effectively restricts the pretensions of philosophy, even of experimental philosophy, to extend human knowledge to the whole of experience. And that in the precise sense that since perceptions and relations between them are all that the human understanding has at its own disposal, it is effectively impossible to establish a cause-effect relation between the physiology of sensations (since all sensation occur in the external organs) and the logic of understanding (which depend on the structure of the imagination). In order to sustain this thesis, I will proceed by a careful reading of some passages of Hume's Treatise and eventually will come back to John P. Wright's classic reading of the Treatise, David Hume's Skeptical Realism (1983), in which the relations between imagination and physiology receive extensive attention.

Maria-Cristina Pitassi (Université de Genève) Les identités brouillés: de l'imprimé au manuscrit et retour. Autour des Mémoires concernant la *théologie et la morale* (1732)

Panel / *Session* 135, 'Identité(s) clandestines : le paradoxe des manuscrits philosophiques clandestins'.
Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Susana Seguin
(Univ. Paul-Valéry Montpellier III - IHRIM UMR 5317 ENS de Lyon - IUF)

Cette communication repose sur la découverte d'un ouvrage anonyme intitulé Mémoires concernant la théologie et la morale, imprimé à Amsterdam en 1732 (et dont la tradition, pas certifiée, veut que l'éditeur scientifique soit Saint-Hyacinthe) ; il s'agit d'un recueil de diverses pièces, toutes en français, dont deux sont mentionnées comme étant des traductions de l'anglais de Thomas Chubb ; la première est généralement attribuée à Firmin Abauzit, pour les autres pas d'attribution. Or, il semblerait que la dernière est une traduction française d'un texte de l'évêque anglican Francis Hare ; Antony McKenna en avait fourni une édition critique il y a plusieurs années à partir du manuscrit conservé à Helsinki. Or, la traduction française du recueil de 1732 est différente de celle publiée par Antony McKenna même si le volume en son entier semble avoir des relations avec les pièces du ms de Helsinki. Il s'agira donc d'étudier ce recueil imprimé en essayant de remonter la filière manuscrite ainsi que de l'analyser du point de vue des identités brouillées, puisque pour Hare (et peut-être pour Abauzit) il s'agit d'une réécriture radicale d'un texte beaucoup plus modéré.

Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval (Université Paris-Est Créteil) Mme Campan et les aléas d'une écriture historique, politique, pédagogique ou intime

Panel / *Session* 166, 'Écriture de soi et formation des identités féminines 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00.
G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford University)

Proche du pouvoir royal et très vite de la Reine par son père, son époux comme par ses charges, Mme Campan illustre à merveille l'impossible identité d'une femme dont la vie commence à la Cour, s'y épanouit, puis bascule durant la Révolution. Sa séparation d'avec la reine, les accusations auxquelles elle doit faire face, les deuils qui touchent sa famille, les difficultés matérielles qu'elle affronte et sa décision de se tourner vers l'enseignement avec la carrière qu'on lui connaît sous l'Empire en font un témoin privilégié de la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Comme beaucoup de ses contemporaines, elle vit un destin hors du commun dû aux soubresauts historiques, destin qu'elle aborde de biais dans ses différents écrits à résonance autobiographique (mémoires, roman, Journal anecdotique de Mme Campan ou Souvenirs recueillis dans ses entretiens, etc.) tardivement publiés comme une preuve supplémentaire de cette difficulté à ressaisir et à assumer son ou ses identités multiples. Ce sont ses divers écrits, leur contenu et leur histoire éditoriale qui nous intéressent dans cette quête de l'intime et du politique.

Dorothee Polanz (James Madison University) Book Illustration and the Libertine Genre: Modes of Theatricality in Visual Supplements of French Texts

Panel / *Session* 354, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 3'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30.
G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Teri Doerksen (Mansfield University of Pennsylvania)

This presentation will focus not only on eighteenth-century erotic engravings published in libertine novels, but also on illustrations unattached to a particular text or story, depicting a self-contained subject or scene. Classifying images by visual genre (libertine, erotic, or pornographic) and understanding their pan-European circulation are highly problematic in the case of libertine literature, since engravings were often reused and recycled from one text to another, and could also often function as standalone plates. Although they may appear repetitive at first glance, these images, upon closer study, reveal a remarkable diversity, the use of a wide visual lexicon, and a functional value that extends beyond that of conventional illustration. Indeed, the recurrence of certain features and patterns points to what has been described as an 'incitative' nature: the reader is not only teased sexually, but also invited to participate in an erotic game in which enigmas structured on metonymy, metaphor, and other tropes are to be understood and resolved. However, in contrast to the emblem as used in medieval and Renaissance texts, which was minutely explained in manuals such as Alciati's *_Emblemata_*, this eighteenth-century visual lexicon of the libertine genre remained in flux and was never explicated to readers, probably because of its licentious nature. Its use, furthermore, has to be envisioned within a system of canonical scenes, both textual and visual, which echo one another endlessly within the libertine corpus. The case study will explore a particular topic within this system: the reference to spectacle, through borrowings and analogies.

Robert Poole (University of Central Lancashire) 'By the law or the sword': Military Intervention at Peterloo

Panel / *Session 107*, 'IHR British History in the Long Eighteenth Century Panel: The Force of the State, 1789–1819'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Steve Poole (University of the West of England)

Why did the military attack a peaceful mass rally of reformers at Manchester on 16 August 1819? The magistrates ordered the troops in, but they did so in consultation with a government which helped them to map out a novel legal rationale for the use of force in anticipation of imminent riot. In doing so, government and law officers struggled with the problems posed by high Tory authorities in Manchester who appeared privately to believe that the only essential characteristic of lawful force was that it was exercised by lawful authority.

Frank Ejby Poulsen (University of Copenhagen) Le Barbier's 'Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen': Representing a Philosophical System and a New Political Power

Panel / *Session 314*, 'The Contribution of Images to the Enlightenment Agenda / L'apport des images au programme des Lumières 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Décultot (Universität Halle)

The object of this paper is to explore Le Barbier's representations of The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen on the fringe of (art/political/intellectual) history and (political/ aesthetic) philosophy. Reading an image involves a cognitive process, and such allegorical representations of abstract concepts and ideas involve a complex 'reading' and educated 'reader'. In any case, there are a kind of textual source, and not because of the articles themselves.

The paper will argue that Le Barbier intended the impossible task of representing a philosophical system and a new political power within the aesthetic framework of the ancien régime. The complex system in gestation is a mix of natural law, republicanism, and Enlightenment universalism, together with a constitutional monarchy. Natural law could equally be claimed by the monarchy or the nation. The monarch has a divine right, and granted liberty to the nation, the subjects of the king. The nation holds the sceptre of sovereignty, power on earth, it has wing like angels are represented with, and it points to the articles from divine power to earthly power. At the time, the nation is not yet a political concept replacing monarchy, but what is monarchy bringing in this representation? What power does it hold after freeing the nation?

Andrew Prescott (University of Glasgow) John Robison and his Proofs of a Conspiracy

Panel / *Session 28*, 'The Scottish Enlightenment and Freemasonry'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gerry Carruthers (University of Glasgow)

John Robison (1739-1805) was Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University from 1774 to 1805 and the first Secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. David Wilson has declared that 'By articulating a particularly Scottish approach to physics, he was the main conceptual link between Newton and those Victorian geniuses of Victorian physics, Lord Kelvin and James Clerk Maxwell'. But Robison's name is anathema for many freemasons, because of his sensational 1797 publication, *Proofs of a Conspiracy against All the Religions and Governments of Europe*, in which Robison documented the infiltration of Freemasonry by the Illuminati, suggesting that this had been a major cause of the French Revolution and warning that there was a similar conspiracy to destroy the British constitution. Robison's book, with Barruel's *Memoirs illustrating the History of Jacobinism*, has continued to be cited by conspiracy theorists to the present day. At first sight, this sensational book by an austere scientific follower of Newton and Black appears to be an aberration. However, Robison's concern about freemasonry mirrored major concerns in his scientific thinking. Robison was devoted to the memory of Newton and to his friends Joseph Black and James Watt. Robison was concerned that Newton's work was being used to support what he saw as the atheistic and materialist findings of French scientists and philosophers. Robison was determined to ensure that science did not become a gateway to democracy and godlessness. Likewise, in *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, Robison sought to defend the homely Freemasonry of the early eighteenth century against what he saw as the gaudy innovations of continental, and particularly French, Freemasonry. Robison was determined to honour British science and to protect its purity. He sought to fulfil a similar service for the British form of Freemasonry.

Hilmar Preuss (Independent Scholar) *Russian Identities between Cosmopolitanism and National Consciousness: Yekaterina R. Dashkova, Mikhail N. Murav'ev, and Dmitrii A. Golitsyn and Their European Cultural and Scientific Relations*

Panel / *Session 256*, 'Academies and Academics'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Dashkova, Murav'ev and Golitsyn represent different models of how to define an own national and cosmopolitan identity in eighteenth century Russia. Dashkova as a key figure of the Russian Enlightenment visited western capitols and lived in Edinburgh from 1777 to 1779. Her literary and scientific reputation enabled her to exchange ideas with philosophes and literati. In 1783 Dashkova was appointed to the Director of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences. She held a leadership position in an officially men domain. Her life and work was influenced by complex social, political, ethnic etc. conflicts.

Murav'ev corresponded with many scholars and literates in Europe. He was one of the teachers of the grandson of Catherine II. He developed educational concepts for the Russian nobility. His life was a complex symbiosis of a noble poet, educator, proponent of the Enlightenment, deputy Minister of Education, cultural politician and sensitive man. Because writers did not have their own social status in Russia and scholars stood up for an appropriate place in the prestige-defining Table of Ranks, Murav'ev tried to bridge the gap between nobles and scholars.

Dmitrii A. Golitsyn a diplomat, author and mineralogist was as intermediary, who – as one of the first native Russians – elected as a naturalist in several renowned academies such as Berlin Academy of Sciences, German Academy of Natural Scientists (Leopoldina) and the Royal Society (London).

They all engaged in the official project of promoting an 'enlightened' national identity insight the Russian nobility and equally advocated cosmopolitanism and free intellectual, individual development opportunities. Their concepts of identity developed in complex processes of cultural translation and not in one-way transfer from west to east or rejection of Western ideas and behaviour. They all belonged to the circle of those who wanted to see Russia firmly integrated as an equal partner in the European and international network.

Penny Pritchard (University of Hertfordshire) '*Inflaming the world with the love of profitable knowledge*': The Christian Humanism of the 'Cider Man' John Beale

Panel / *Session* 190, 'What Makes a 'Minister'? Clerical Identity in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Katarina Stenke (University of Greenwich)

Mayling Stubbs' substantial biographical study of Herefordshire clergyman John Beale (bap.1608-1683) introduces its subject, unassumingly, as 'an active provincial member of the Hartlib Circle and after 1663 a corresponding Fellow of the Royal Society'. This synopsis fails to acknowledge the breathtaking variety of Beales' scholarship in fields as diverse as astronomical optics, the supernatural realm as evidenced through angelic cosmology, fruit horticulture (most notably, the national propagation of particular strains of Herefordshire cider-apples, for which he is now best remembered), linguistics, and mnemonics. Such a range of topics characterises Beale as the quintessential Royal Society 'virtuoso' (a point also acknowledged by Stubbs). Given this context, the very modest number of Beale's publications (compared to his substantial extant correspondence) merits further consideration. So, too, does the spiritual impetus propelling Beale's devotion to understanding the natural world and his 'pansophic vision of the [Royal] Society's role in publicising such information'; throughout the period's political upheavals, there is remarkable consistency in Beale's support of moderation and liberty of conscience, and his calls for virtue and integrity in fellow ministers. Accused, prior to 1649, both of royalist sympathies and of Independent zeal, Beale became the target of attempts by both sides to secure his allegiance. After 1660, however, the failure of Beale's desire for a latitudinarian settlement stands in ironic contrast to the improvement of both his ministerial and scientific standing in the world, since (as Patrick Woodland's ODNB entry observes) the Restoration heralds four key appointments held until his death: two rectorships in Somerset (1660 and 1661); fellowship of the Royal Society (1663); and chaplain-extraordinary to Charles II (3 March 1665). It is ultimately this compelling juxtaposition – Beale's elevated status in both the ministerial and scientific realms with his stated reluctance to publish under the auspices of the Society after 1660 – which provides the inspiration for this paper's consideration of Beale's ministerial identity.

Bénédicte **Prot** (University of Oxford) François-Amédée Doppet (1753–1799) : littérature, médecine, identités

Panel / *Session* 106, 'Identités plurielles'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

Le médecin du siècle des Lumières est un Républicain des Lettres (1) ainsi qu'un acteur à part entière du monde des livres (2). La pratique conjointe de la médecine et de la littérature n'est alors pas rare, ainsi qu'en témoigne François-Amédée Doppet (1753-1799). A travers l'étude de cas que nous consacrons ici à ce dernier, nous explorons en particulier le caractère pluriel que peut revêtir l'identité et sur lequel le thème « Lumières et identités » met d'emblée l'accent. En effet, lorsqu'on considère l'ensemble disparate que constitue ses publications ainsi que la nature hybride de certains de ses ouvrages, on observe que Doppet se livre à une démultiplication de son identité. Certains des textes paraissent en son nom propre, d'autres sous couvert de l'anonymat avant d'être reconnus par Doppet lui-même. Le médecin-écrivain se revendique tantôt auteur tantôt éditeur et peut mettre en avant ou passer sous silence son titre de docteur. Doppet a ceci de particulièrement intéressant qu'il exprime lui-même les enjeux inhérents à ces jeux sur l'identité. Entrent alors en compte les conditions de production des ouvrages, les fonctions attribuées au texte et l'importance du public des lecteurs. Doppet révèle ainsi les points de jonctions et de tension qui existent alors entre le médical et le littéraire et soulève les questions de l'auctorialité, de la légitimité et de l'identité professionnelle. Ces variations et réflexions sont présentes dès la page de titre du livre et dans les préfaces, avertissements, avant-propos, etc. En cela, notre étude de cas souligne également le rôle et les potentialités des seuils de lecture en tant qu'espaces de construction et de démultiplication de l'identité.

(1) Daniel Roche, *Les Républicains des Lettres. Gens de culture et Lumières au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 1988.

(2) Miriam Nicoli, *Des savants et des livres. Autour d'Albrecht von Haller et Samuel-Auguste Tissot*, Genève, Slatkine, 2013.

Lucia **Quinault** (Queen Mary University of London) 'A covering for the Chinese Lady's Shoe': When Nothing is Left but the Wrapping Paper

Panel / *Session* 100, 'Collecting and Curiosity in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Richard Coulton (Queen Mary University of London)

The work of Barbara Benedict, among many others, has accustomed us to thinking of the eighteenth century as an age of accumulation. In the Muniment Room of Badminton House, the archive of Lady Anne Coventry has preserved her manuscript collection – bundles of vulnerable sheets of paper – but not her printed books, her shells, her curiosities, or her geological and entomological specimens. She was the daughter of the famous botanical collector Mary Capel, and a lifelong friend of Sir Hans Sloane; we know she owned these things, but only from the hints and gestures left in writing. My aim is to explore how these objects survive in their descriptions, and to consider the ways in which a manuscript poem is also a collectable object.

Annika Raapke (University of Oldenburg) Last Men Standing: Yellow Fever, Colonisation, and Enlightened Masculinities in the French Caribbean, 1778–1826

Panel / *Session 101*, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 1: White Masculinity and Colonial Encounters'.

Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Soile Ylivuori (University of Helsinki)

The late 18th and early 19th century French Caribbean territories held many, rather legendary dangers for those who were sent to conquer, hold, and defend them: Bloody Rebellions led by the enslaved and the oppressed; battles with the English, hurricanes, venomous animals – the list was long. Yet the one peril which, again and again, would cause blind panic even among “officers who had bravely faced death in battle a thousand times” was Yellow Fever. While various fevers were a normal part of contemporary European “diseasescapes”, especially in swampy regions, their tropical cousins were experienced as eerie, otherworldly scourges that not only wreaked havoc within bodies, but transformed the entire self. When death finally came, as it very often did, the patient was nothing but a yellow or brown, hollowed-out, ghoulish caricature of his own former glory, spewing black blood in a frenzy of fever. This fearsome disease seemed to have strange preferences, especially in the French Caribbean: French colonists and colonial military personnel were convinced that Yellow Fever did not, or would hardly ever, affect black people of people of colour, which – in the context of abolition debates – could make the disease seem like a punishment for the sin of slavery (Lee 2002). Also, contemporary descriptions suggest that the disease greatly preferred men over women, and that it even discerned carefully between different types of men. According to letters and medical treatises, it was the heroic conquerors and protectors of the colonies, those with “robust constitutions, prosperous health, active and energetic Men (...) those gifted with a lively mind, driven by a lively, burning, active imagination” who were slain by the disease. “[T]he one among all of us whose health was best, who was also the most vigorous”, as a soldier put it in 1778, was infallibly the one who would die. Cool, calm, rational men, however, men who preferred thought over action, had a much better chance of survival. This paper uses soldier’s letters and military medical observations from the French Caribbean between 1778 and 1826 to explore how different masculinities, yellow fever, and colonisation beca

Annika Raapke (University of Oldenburg) The Coquin, the Woman, and the Unexpected High Horse: Honour, Insults, and Female Identity in 1770s Martinique

Panel / *Session 172*, 'Insults and Gendered Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicola Phillips (Royal Holloway, University of London)

In the societies of the late Ancien Régime, an individual’s personal honour was of paramount importance. It was a vital aspect of selfhood, and it was, as a social concept, extremely gendered. Female honour was tied to the strict control of sexual behaviour, to concepts of chastity and “purity”. In many walks of life, however, illicit sexuality was nevertheless a ubiquitous social reality (Lebrun 2016). Yet these practices, while common and expected, would rarely have been compatible with notions of “honnêteté” for women, not even in the “libertine colonies” (Garraway 2005) of the Caribbean. For women, Honour and Illicit Sex usually did not mix. A woman who had lost all pretensions to honour by repeatedly engaging in illicit sexual relations could not claim the moral high ground in a conflict with one of her lovers. Or could she? This paper explores the contingencies of honour and feminine identity in the late Ancien Régime Caribbean colonies by looking at an unusual case; a conflict between an anonymous woman and a ship’s surgeon named Pinelle, who, in 1778, had a 3-day affair in Martinique. After Pinelle had left the colony, the woman discovered that he had infected her with a venereal disease which left her, as she phrased it, “unable to do you know what”. Furious, she composed two letters full of insults and remonstrances. She described Pinelle’s conduct in terms of

honour versus dishonour; respectability and fairness versus depravity and dishonesty. His crime was not leading her astray, but infecting her and thereby severely limiting her ability to engage in sex with other men. The letters suggest that, within the specific, mobile and mixed social framework of the colony, it may have been possible to be a sexual libertine and still identify as an “Honourable Woman” – and that, by insulting and cursing the man who had injured her, the writer was able to claim and thus reinforce that identity. This paper investigates the various, unexpected shapes which female honour, selfhood and identity could take in the Ancien Régime and enlightenment Caribbean and explores the role which name-calling and cursing could take in (per)forming and protecting these identities.

Philippe Rabaté (Université Paris-Nanterre / École normale supérieure de Lyon) *Stratégies rhétoriques et discours national dans le XVIIIe siècle espagnol* (Gregorio Mayans y Siscar et Juan Pablo Forner)

Panel / *Session* 402, ‘Lumières espagnoles’. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Le Guellec (Université de Lille)

Il s’agira dans le cadre de la présente communication d’exposer quelques-uns des recours rhétoriques les plus saillants de Gregorio Mayans y Siscar et de Juan Pablo Forner, deux des plus grandes figures des lumières espagnoles à travers l’étude de plusieurs de leurs textes. En ce qui concerne Mayans y Siscar, célèbre écrivain et éditeur des œuvres de l’humaniste Juan Luis Vives, nous aborderons sa *Retórica* et nous pencherons sur la constitution d’un goût espagnol dans la relation que Mayans tisse avec le Siècle d’or (XVIe-XVIIe siècles) qu’il soumet à une critique poussée. Nous aborderons également l’œuvre de Juan Pablo Forner, *Exequias de la lengua castellana*, satire ménippée qui s’interroge aussi sur la singularité de l’Espagne.

Peter Radford (Independent Scholar) ‘They run with surprising swiftness’: Women Foot-Racers of the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 66, ‘Bodies of Virtue’. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanna Caviglia (Duke University)

Jean-Bernard, Abbé le Blanc, wrote (1737-44) that in more than one county of England “strong robust country girls,” like those at “Olympus and Lacadæmon,” ran races with “surprising swiftness.” The author’s database of women’s footraces in the 18th century reveals that in the 18th century more than 1000 women, of all ages, ran races over a variety of distances in 33 English counties, and so supports le Blanc’s observation. There are also records of them racing in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Le Blanc was not the first visitor to notice them, Voltaire wrote about them in 1726 and also likened the games they competed in to the Olympic Games. César de Saussure, commented on them in 1728. Foot-racing for women and girls was a geographically widespread activity, and this paper analyses the races, distances run, venues, prizes, what they wore, and the runners themselves, and attempts to understand the women’s running sub-culture in the 18th century, and how their running enriched their lives and provided worthwhile prizes, and a degree of local notoriety, even celebrity. They even trained specifically for them, and age-specific races were often organised for them. These races began in the 17th century, and continued well into the 19th. Not all races were motivated by money and some may even have prefigured the spirit of the amateur age a century later. These races were held predominantly between May and October, and on any day of the week bar Sundays. There were several, types of running event; an attempt is made to reconstruct the organisational processes and personnel of a typical competition, and to reveal how women played an important role as officials and enablers, as well as participants.

Gabrielle Radica (Université de Lille) *Le statut juridique et politique des femmes dans l’Esprit des lois*

Panel / *Session* 274, ‘Le statut et l’identité des femmes dans la philosophie des Lumières’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Martin Rueff (Université de Genève)

C’est par leur place dans la famille que l’on peut étudier le statut des femmes avec Montesquieu, tant pour ce qui regarde leurs rapports personnels que leurs rapports aux biens ; mais s’il reçoit son contour du cadre domestique, ce

statut est articulé au régime où vivent les femmes, dont par exemple les « dots doivent être considérables dans les monarchies », mais « médiocres dans les républiques, où le luxe ne doit pas régner. » (Esprit des lois, VII, 15). C'est cette double détermination civile et politique qui sera étudiée ici.

Alasdair Raffe (University of Edinburgh) Church Parties and Religious Identity in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Scotland

Panel / *Session* 23, 'Religious Identities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Ahnert (University of Edinburgh)

After being re-established on a presbyterian basis in 1690, the Church of Scotland was characterised by a high degree of doctrinal uniformity and clerical discipline. Beginning in the second decade of the eighteenth century, however, a series of controversies created divisions among Scotland's presbyterians. While the exercise of lay patronage was a significant source of discord, arguments about theology also shattered the Church's harmony. By the mid-eighteenth century, a clear distinction had emerged between 'Moderate' and 'popular' wings of the Church.

This paper examines an important stage in the evolution of Scottish Church parties: the appearance of the 'Marrow brethren', or 'Representers', the first coherent party grouping. This group of twelve ministers, backed by considerable lay support, favoured the evangelical theology of the seventeenth-century Marrow of Modern Divinity, and refused to accept the general assembly's condemnation of the work in 1720. The Representers espoused conservative presbyterian values, but were willing to act divisively and court popularity. In the 1730s, moreover, Representers were at the forefront of the first major secession from the post-revolution Church. Thus the group helped to reshape the ways in which Scots understood their religious identities in relation to the national Church. Whereas presbyterians once feared Church parties and abhorred schism, the Representers normalised the former, and pioneered the latter. While standing for presbyterian tradition, they helped to create a more pluralistic Scotland.

Anjali Rampersad (University of Duisburg-Essen) 'Why may women not write Tatlers as well as men?': Feminising the discourse of Conversation in 'The Female Tatler'

Panel / *Session* 255, 'Women and Periodicals'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Williams (Northumbria University)

Words tumbling from a woman's lips often caused ripples in eighteenth-century England. Mrs Crackenthorpe, the author persona of "The Female Tatler", clamoured her way into English society. She published her prattle thrice a week from 1709 to 1710. The satiric voice of "A Lady That Knows Everything" pulled contemporary readers into her microcosmic apartment to enjoy gossip and current affairs. Conversation, hence, became the opening gambit of "The Female Tatler".

Posing as a genteel, worldly and sociable woman, Mrs Crackenthorpe synthesised orality and literacy in the periodical. It purported to refashion gossip as printed words, which had the appeal of verbal exchanges in a more enduring format while reaching out to a large audience. Her brazen adaptation of Steele's "Tatler" superficially reinforced cultural perceptions of gossip as a dominantly female activity. Despite her assertion that her work aimed to complement its male counterpart, Mrs Crackenthorpe inevitably set up her periodical for a rivalry between coffee-houses and salons, which lived on in Haywood's "The Female Spectator". Incorporating key features from John Dunton's journalistic ventures, periodicals gradually became an avenue of female self-expression, thus providing an opportunity to air women's reflections.

A polyphonic pattern is evident in the publication history of this short-lived periodical. We can observe three strands of conversations: between the author and female readers, between the author persona and its prototype, Mr Bickerstaff, and between the author and another female voice masquerading as hers. The tale of not one but two Mrs Crackenthopes, each denouncing the other as being counterfeit, led to an indictment of their prattling. The author persona herself was thwarted by the periodical being founded on the model of gossiping. Her retirement enabled the rise of a "Society of Ladies" who "ventured to take [their] own way". The discourse of conversation in the periodical evolved from self-advertisement as gossip to dynamic interactions. In an era where ideological hierarchies often undermined female agency, the female tattlers claimed a piece of the public sphere as theirs.

Earl Ramsey (University of Arkansas at Little Rock) 'The Very Best Book for Information of Manners': The Voice of Montaigne in the Later Poetry of Pope

Panel / *Session* 85, 'Literary Precedents and Antecedents'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

At one point in the margin of Chapter 25 of Book 1 in Alexander Pope's personal copy of Charles Cotton's translation of Montaigne's "Essays" (the most marked up book to have survived from Pope's library), Pope wrote "Alter ego." And for stunning testimony of influence, inside the back cover of the last volume of his Montaigne, Pope wrote this summarizing judgment:

This is (in my Opinion) the very best Book for Information of Manners, that has been writ. This Author says nothing but what everyone feels att the Heart. Whoever deny it, are not more Wise than Montaigne, but less honest.

Montaigne's influence on Pope has often been remarked, but so far not with sufficient depth and precision. We can usefully speak of Montaigne to identify one major aspect—one kind of theme, one range of tones, one manner of speaking, one accent, one idiom—of the poems Pope wrote in the 1730's. This "voice of Montaigne" is quite close to but not identical to that of Horace. We have long and well understood the Horatian voice, but the voice of Montaigne has largely eluded us, and thus something important and valuable in Pope has been underemphasized. Montaigne comes home to men's business and bosoms; he indisputably did for Pope, and it is my contention that Pope, at frequent moments in his later poems, aspires to persuade his reader that those poems convey just such heartfelt honesty and information of manners as he found in Montaigne. In some important ways, Montaigne became for Pope in the 1730's an "alter ego."

Emily Rap (University of Chicago) Enlightened Reform, Feudal Reaction: The Litigious History of a Seigneur and his Peasants in Eighteenth-Century Angoumois

Panel / *Session* 50, 'Law and the Politics of Poverty'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Peter Denney (Griffith University)

The peasantry of old regime France relied on litigation in royal courts as one mechanism for airing grievances and resolving disputes with local lords. Among the scores of popular anti-seigneurial lawsuits prosecuted in the years leading up to the Revolution, one case stands out. For more than two decades, the inhabitants of some twenty villages dotting the terrain around Ruffec—a market town just north of Angoulême—banded together to mount a complex and protracted legal challenge against the noble who had just purchased the domain. Far from a typical country squire, the new seigneur of Ruffec was none other than Charles-François de Broglie, member of a renowned family of the noblesse d'épée who had made his own name through diplomatic service to Louis XV. While the comte de Broglie is now known for his role in the secret du roi and other high-profile matters of international affairs, his activities as a rural landowner remain essentially forgotten. This paper will propose the conflict between Broglie and the peasants of Ruffec as a lens for considering the clash of two opposing archetypes of aristocratic identity that have long featured in the historiography of pre-Revolutionary France: "feudal reactionary" and "enlightened reformer." On one hand, the first initiatives undertaken by Broglie as marquis of Ruffec were efforts to expand and solidify feudal exactions on his people—including the revival of the corvée, the immediate impetus for the lawsuit. At the same time, however, Broglie was recognized by contemporaries as a progressive property manager keenly focused on modernizing infrastructure and improving output from his land, as well as promoting local welfare by introducing new crops and advocating for tax reforms. These two conflicting yet complementary identities manifested by Broglie in his capacity as rural seigneur provide new context for assessing the place of litigation as a form of popular protest in the eighteenth-century French countryside.

Mike Rapport (University of Glasgow) Terror for and against the People: The Revolutionary Tribunal, Political Justice, and the Parisian Public, 1793–94

Panel / *Session* 124, 'The Enlightened State and Political Justice: Political Trials in Britain and France in the 1790s'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Munck (University of Glasgow)

Recent work on the Revolutionary Tribunal that operated in Paris in 1793 and 1795 has been especially vibrant in deepening our understanding of political justice in revolutionary France and its relationship to 'terror', republicanism and the crisis in which all these were immersed. Moreover, there has been detailed analysis of the ways in which the Tribunal related to other instruments of political terror, from the most localised level to the revolutionary government at the centre. If, as the accumulation of research now shows, the 'Terror' of 1793-94 emerged from the complex interplay of circumstances, discourses, institutions and personalities, then the challenge for the Tribunal and its defenders was to legitimise its existence, its trials and its verdicts to a public that had grown accustomed to publicity in court proceedings and had been elevated to the status of sovereign. The problem was that the Tribunal was one of the very institutions – not the most murderous, but certainly one of the more notoriously visible – that was meant to 'terrorise' that same public.

'Terror', in other words, was both practised for and imposed among the people. So 'terror' worked in two ways: first, in a Foucauldian sense, the terror felt by the abused sovereign which then sought to restore its integrity by imposing spectacular, draconian punishment on those who violated that sovereignty. Second, it operated at a personal, human level by striking fear in every individual member of that same sovereign. It was from the resulting friction between these impulses that came the challenge of legitimising the Tribunal's proceedings. Drawing on the papers of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Series W of the Archives Nationales, this paper will explain how the court sought to resolve this friction by engaging with public opinion through the medium of print and thereby seeking to justify itself and the Terror as a whole. The paper then examines how the public (at least in Paris) responded to the political trials. This relationship between political justice and public opinion reveals much about the dynamics that drove the development of terror and the Jacobin variety of republicanism.

James **Raven** (University of Cambridge / University of Essex) Sea Monsters and Sea Serpents in the Enlightenment World: The Reception of Pontoppidan's *History* in Europe, the Americas, and India

Panel / *Session* 278, 'Monsters'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

In 1752 Erich Pontoppidan, Bishop of Bergen, published, in Danish, his *Natural History of Norway*, a pioneering exploration of the flora, fauna, topography and customs of the region. It was translated into German in the next year and then in 1755 into English. The book became a must-have addition to learned personal and institutional libraries. The story of its reception is fascinating however and offers a notable insight into the global reach of mid-eighteenth-century publication, the greatly varying reception of translated editions and their accompanying engraved images, the unexpected and unintended fame of a particular detail of such a history, its invocation of ancient mythologies, and the legacy of crypto-zoology. Pontoppidan's *History* can rightly be studied for its contribution to new scientific and historical methodologies with its emphasis on verifiable recordings and testimonies, but I shall show how, to the bishop's chagrin, one particular episode gained the greatest attention of reviewers and readers from Europe, North America and India – his description of mermaids, mermen, sea monsters and sea snakes. I shall explore this reaction in a 'book biography' that traces annotations in copies from those of Benjamin Franklin to those of the Maharaja of Tanjore and aims to explain its appeal – including why, 120 years later, Herman Melville astonishingly disrupts a beautiful flowing passage in *Moby Dick* with a reference to the squid "as described by Bishop Pontoppidan" – and why he thought this might still be recognised by his readers.

Miranda **Reading** (King's College London) Animating Identity: Social Network Analysis and the Society for the Suppression of Vice in London 1800–1825

Panel / *Session* 232, 'London'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Joanne Myers (Gettysburg College)

The late eighteenth century was a time of flux and for many in Britain, the political and social upheavals could be blamed on the growing moral depravity of the nation and the propensity of its citizens towards immorality and vice. Many individuals found new identities for themselves as opponents of depravity. On a national and local scale, these individuals banded together to create the membership of the Society for the Suppression of Vice in the early nineteenth century.

Who were the individual members of the Vice Society? What were their myriad identities, as individuals and as members of the society and what do their identities tell us about the nature of voluntary agency in the early nineteenth century? How did individuals connect with each other? This paper seeks to cast light on the social networks within the membership, utilising Social Network Analysis to visualise and analyse the network of members in the London area. It also draws on topographical techniques to map the distribution of members. Such analytical practices offer new ways of looking at networks as well as enhancing fragmentary evidence to draw conclusions that may not be evident from using traditional research methods. They can be used to explore how people were connected to each other, whether through familial, professional or other patterns and posits that connections and alliance drove adherence to particular causes and their influence on wider society.

Although Societies for the Reformation of Manners had been active since the seventeenth century, this period saw a fervid increase in moral reform activity that aimed to stamp out vices such as blasphemy, obscene literature and profaning the Sabbath. My research focuses on the Vice Society whose membership was strictly restricted to members of the Church of England as well as other conservative philanthropic societies with similar ideologies.

A rich portrait of patterns of participation is a way of illuminating connections between a mass membership, whilst a close look at the people on the ground can help us to better understand the type of person who participated in these moral projects. Membership of the Vice Society conferred a cer

Corrina **Readioff** (University of Liverpool) 'The curious felicity of the quotations prefixed to each chapter': An Epigraphic Narrative

Panel / *Session* 119, 'Paratextual Identities in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sharon Young (University of Worcester)

When Ann Radcliffe's 'The Mysteries of Udolpho' first appeared in 1794 it not only catalysed the popularity of the Gothic genre, it also focused attention upon the previously rare technique of incorporating a quotation from another writer's work at the beginning of each chapter. Traditional scholarship has tended to identify pre-chapter epigraphs as a specifically Gothic phenomenon that began with Radcliffe and that faded from literature following the death of Sir Walter Scott. As such, it has often been regarded primarily as a visual means through which popular novelists could construct a more canonical identity for themselves, a perception summarised through Gary Kelly's suggestion that epigraphs are a way in which a narrative may be 'hedged, framed, or marked off with bits of "serious literature"'.¹ This paper aims to re-examine the pre-chapter epigraph's literary identity, challenging its identification with Gothic literature and its perceived status as a visual rather than a textual element of print culture. An extensive survey of pre-chapter epigraphs in novels first-published between 1770 and 1836 will be used to disrupt stereotypical presumptions of generic association, identifying less-well-known novels that used epigraphs, such as John Davis' 'The Post-Captain' (1806). This paper will also examine experimental intertextuality in the use of the device by Charlotte Smith and Ann Radcliffe, demonstrating that their initial incorporation of this form of paratext owes more to their status as creative artists than to any attempt to self-identify with the canonical status of other authors.

1 Gary Kelly, 'English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789-1830' (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 54.

Juliette **Reboul** (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen) Forever in his Shadow: (Re)establishing Female Intellectual Identities through the Study of Book Collecting and Writing Practices

Panel / *Session* 63, 'Women, Books, and Cultural Authority'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rindert Jagersma (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

Were eighteenth-century women interchangeable? The treatment of William Jones's wife by her contemporaries and future generations certainly leads us to think so. Her case is fairly representative of the extent to which women and

female companions of 'great men' have been unfairly marginalised in history. When Anna-Maria Jones's books were sold in 1831, two years after her death, the auctioneer advertised the catalogue of books as that of her husband's. Buried for more than three decades, his input in the making of this collection was minimal. The question of the attribution and misattribution of books to Anna-Maria Jones does not end with her library. For most biographers of the famous linguist, there is no doubt that Lady Jones was the author of an anonymous collection of poems published in Calcutta in 1793 under the title 'The poems of Anna-Maria'. Few have cast a doubt on this attribution despite it being based on scant and circumstantial evidence.

Studying Lady Jones' reading and alleged writing habits opens up a range of questions surrounding the fashioning of gender identities and the overall poor consideration for female literary ambitions in the long eighteenth century. In fact, the treatment of Lady Jones must be placed within the larger context of female book collecting and authorship. Drawing on the early findings of MEDIANE, a database for bibliometric analysis including thousands of European catalogues of private libraries, this paper aims to explore the intersection between female reading communities, female authorship, mercantile and consumerist considerations, and gender marginalisation.

Tine **Reeh** (University of Copenhagen) Melancholic Murderers and the Abolition of Mosaic Law

Panel / *Session 369*, 'In Pursuit of Salvation, Subjectivity, and Sanity: Ideas and Practices Regarding Mental Illness in the Legal System of Denmark-Norway'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Søren Peter Hansen (Technical University of Denmark)

On December 18th 1767 the king of Denmark-Norway signed a law regarding so-called melancholic murderers. This law is a rupture with the previous principle of *jus talionis* deducted from the Bible, and breaks with the regulations that has been termed 'Mosaic Law' imbedded in the Danish Code of 1683.

The occasion for this step towards secularization of the legal system was a new perception of the pathological character of the murderers, but a new enlightened, humanistic understanding did not drive it. A break was already proposed in 1757 and thus predates the famous work of Cesare Beccaria. In the archives, one can trace its roots to the work some of the most influential – and radical – pietistic theologians in the kingdom, namely Jeremias Friedrich Reuss, Peder Hersleb and Erik Pontoppidan.

This paper explores the pietistic theologians' arguments that paved the way for not only new practices concerning mentally ill criminals but also a development towards a secularization of the legislation. In other words, the paper will discuss if religious pietistic firebrands for theological reasons paved the way for a durable relocation of religion or secularization in Scandinavia.

Tine **Reeh** (University of Copenhagen) Moravian Identity in a Mono-Confessional Lutheran State

Panel / *Session 307*, 'Moravian Identities and Cultural Heritage'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ulrik Langen (University of Copenhagen)

In the 18th century, the conglomerate state of Denmark-Norway was not only mono-confessional. It was also one of the largest Lutheran states, and by many considered a very powerful Lutheran stronghold. In more than one way it worked as a Lutheran trendsetter or first mover. The first Lutheran missionaries in the world were sent from the court in Copenhagen. However, the identity of the missionaries in the Danish colonies in India, Greenland, and the West Indies was not dominated by Lutheran orthodox but Moravians. And in 1771, at the zenith of Enlightenment in the kingdom, permission was granted to found a new and profoundly religious society, namely the Moravian society of Christiansfeld.

This paper will give an outline of the introduction of Moravians and religious pluralism in Denmark-Norway in the 18th century. It will present the contemporary debates on religious plurality, minority religions and state church. Finally, we shall see how it ended and discuss the legacy of the radical Moravian community with regards to the framework of what became a more inclusive Nordic model of a state church.

Lynnette **Regouby** (University of Oklahoma) *An Assemblage of Life: Physics and Philosophy in Charles Bonnet's Research on the Leaves of Plants*

Panel / *Session* 357, 'Botanical Identities 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Benharrech (University of Maryland)

For Charles Bonnet, vegetable life consisted of an organized body of matter and a vegetative soul, the latter responsible for producing and directing motions of matter. The motions of plants, however, produced something of a problem for his natural philosophy, for the responsiveness of leaves to external stimuli seems to suggest a kind of vegetable sensibility that went further than mere mechanical irritability. Bonnet argued not for the certainty of plants' sensibilité but for its possibility, and that potential proved to be a productive concept in his natural philosophy. His conviction that we do not know if they are or are not sensible—a conviction of ignorance, echoed in Buffon, Duhamel and later Humboldt—left room for Bonnet to imagine a breakdown in the boundary between plant, animal and human, a porosity that disturbed the clean lines of Linnaean classification and challenged the stasis of special creation. This paper explores how Bonnet put to work a concept of sensitive vegetable life in his natural philosophy of pangenesis. Though the potential was short-lived—naturalists who survived the Revolution would argue against Bonnet's excesses—the space his considerations made in both physics and philosophy shines a light on the currency of plant-human analogies in the period, highlights intersections between science and speculative philosophy, and demonstrates the impact of a new model of vegetable life that arose in plant physiology in the second half of the century.

Thomas **Reinhart** (George Washington's Mount Vernon) '...which if I understand you right, is the present taste in England': Crafting an Anglo-American Identity at George Washington's Mount Vernon

Panel / *Session* 244, 'Reconstructing Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Country Estate'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Taylor (The Open University)

Mount Vernon, an eighteenth-century plantation on the Potomac River in Virginia, was the home of George Washington, first president of the United States, for nearly 50 years, and it embodied his social ambition as he grew from the son of a second marriage to the leader of a new nation taking its place on the world stage. Throughout this process of identity change, Washington frequently reached back to the cultural expressions of the British Atlantic world, modeling his Virginia home after English estates he had never seen, and against whose owners he rebelled. Through decades of effort combining self-education with the labor of enslaved and free workers, Washington created a plantation that expressed his wide-ranging interests in landscape, architecture, and agriculture. During the second half of the eighteenth century, Mount Vernon grew from a middling, but pretentious, colonial gentry farm to an extensive estate that manifested its owner's personal success and his life-long concern that he, and later that his nation, show well in the eyes of the world. Two large projects undertaken at Mount Vernon during the 1780s and 1790s showcased Washington's efforts to incorporate elements of the English country estate into an American landscape. Immediately after his return from the revolutionary war, Washington undertook the last addition to his home, a large entertaining space known as the New Room. The room was a saloon, a space long associated with the country houses of England's aristocracy. In addition to adopting the form and function of such elite rooms, the New Room was finished in the neoclassical style made popular in Britain by Robert Adam. Simultaneously, Washington ordered a major reorganization of his two walled gardens and the lawn and vista they framed, drawing on British landscapes. The work included the construction of a three garden houses, which incorporated some of the fine Palladian detailing used in Mount Vernon's dwelling house. Recent research on and restoration of the New Room and the carefully designed landscape west of the mansion house have revealed the importance of these spaces in Washington's ever-evolving self-presentation.

Philipp **Reisner** (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf) *Turning Testaments, Reforming Faith: The Religious Convictions of Thomas Jefferson*

Panel / *Session* 416, 'American Enlightenment: Influences and Influencers'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30.
G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

The religious dimension of Jefferson's life and work remains a contested field in Jefferson studies. It marks not only the political crisis Anglicanism faced during the founding of the United States, but also the beginning of modernity with its emphasis on the New Testament, for example, in his rearranging of the four Gospels in *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth* (1820). The textual practice that led to this so-called Jefferson Bible harks back to earlier devotional practices. It epitomizes the New Testament turn of the Late Enlightenment and the forging of a modern Christian identity based on materialist skepticism towards an afterlife. Personal resurrection is translated into an eschatology of the state, and emphasis on individual morality and religious universalism masks the unbridgeable rifts within the early Republic between Catholicism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, and the philosophical faiths of the Enlightenment. Yet the politically sacred could not entirely replace what was lost to theology. In Jefferson's "religious materialism" and the narrowing of ethical concerns to practical morality, one can see the seedbed for the religious developments of the nineteenth century as a response to the codification of religion in political and legal terms.

Jefferson's views of religion were hence straddling the boundary between the political and the personal. His writings express the moral universalism of Romanticism, which reduces Jesus to a model moral teacher, and epitomize the anticlericalism of the Late Enlightenment, including its turn to the New Testament. Recovering the link between Jefferson's legal and political work and his religious convictions entails asking to what extent his treatment of Jesus as reformer and educator anticipates the Old Testament turn of Romanticism. Moreover, understanding his biblical theology and role in denominational history may help us understand modern religious identities more generally.

Yuan Ren (Zhejiang Normal University) *Passion, the Female Subject, and Eliza Haywood's The British Recluse*

Panel / *Session* 332, 'Female Subjects, Female Objects'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 6, Crystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ingrid Haberl-Scherk (University of Graz)

We generally regard the modern subject as one who is self-reflective and who can control his/her emotions. Such a subject is reflected in didactic or sentimental fictions from the mid-18th century on. But the origin of such a thinking subject can be traced back to the 17th century materialist philosopher Hobbes and his successor Locke and is reflected earliest in amatory fiction by Behn, Manley and Haywood. This article focuses on one of Haywood's early novella, *The British Recluse* (1722) and illustrates Haywood's depiction as well as critique of the materialist, thinking subject. While this short text reflects both Hobbesian and Lockean philosophical speculation on issue such as passion, reason, deliberation and reflection and suggests how a self-reflective subject may be born out of materialist philosophy, it also implies the insufficiency of thinking. Haywood's narrator suggests that while thinking may help women to cope with difficult situations and not fall into traps, it does not really bring them happiness. This is because of the fact that materialist philosophy encourages rather than discourages male libertine behavior, which exploits women's credulous feelings. The heroines' despair and nervous disorder are not cured by thinking, rather they are cured by another sort of passion: the heroines' mutual support and friendship. Their power of memory turns them into something more than mechanic subjects who calculate or who pursue libertine pleasure. This new sort of passion is unexpected in either Hobbes' or Locke's picture of the human subject. By changing heterosexual passion to one between women and by changing heterosexual fantasy to a female imaginary, these heroines' decision evades the darkness and deceits which materialist calculation and passion may bring.

Jane Rendall (University of York) 'The principle of mutual support': The Gendered Identities of Scottish Friendly Societies c. 1789–1830

Panel / *Session* 313, 'Scottish Clubs and Societies at the Margins of Enlightenment'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosalind Carr (Queen Mary, University of London)

In 1811 a group of women in Galston in Ayrshire decided that 'adopting the principle of Mutual Support, as the ground of association' they would 'agree to form themselves into a community, under the title of the GALSTON FEMALE SOCIETY'. Friendly societies gave working people an element of security through mutual insurance against sickness,

while also offering opportunities for regular, sometimes ritual-based, sociability. This paper examines the appearance of female friendly societies in Scotland between around 1790 and 1830, set against the background of the growth of male friendly societies: sixty-six female societies and over 1500 male societies have been identified. The differences between them give some clues as to the ways in which women identified their collective interests. Women's societies were unlikely to be occupationally based, and much more likely to relate to neighbourhood and community ties: however, some did adopt the same language of enlightened benevolence

and rational optimism as did local male societies. Their regulations were likely to be based on, and recognized, women's dual identities as workers and carers for their families. Elite women saw in such societies opportunities to extend their own local influence in a philanthropy directed to mutual self-help. And for women of all classes they offered new experiences in formal collective organisation.

Denis Reynaud (Lumière-Lyon 2, IHRIM) Le règne de l'abonné

Panel / *Session* 51, 'Les identités du lecteur de journaux'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Universität des Saarlandes)

On essaiera de répondre à cette triple question : Qu'est-ce qu'un abonnement ? Quand les mots « abonnement », « s'abonner » et « abonné » apparaissent-ils ? Quand la pratique de l'abonnement à un périodique est-elle née ? Curieusement, ce sujet ne semble guère avoir intéressé les historiens de la presse.

Notre hypothèse, à ce stade peu avancé de notre enquête, est que le phénomène de la livraison du journal à domicile, qui ne se généralise qu'après 1750, modifie radicalement le rapport entre lecteurs et rédacteurs. Un nouveau contrat plus ou moins implicite s'établit alors, dont la manifestation la plus visible se trouve dans les lettres de lecteurs, désormais souvent signées « votre abonné ». On observera cette mutation dans quelques périodiques français tels le *Courrier d'Avignon*, le *Mercure de France* et le *Journal de Paris*.

Susan Helen Reynolds (The British Library) 'A clear increase in knowledge and understanding': The Patriotic Friends of the Arts and the Establishment of a Public Art Gallery in Prague

Panel / *Session* 288, 'Aesthetics and Taste 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

The Society for the Patriotic Friends of the Arts first met on 5 February 1796 in Prague's Malá Strana. Its aims included the provision of models, direction and support to encourage Bohemian artists, the awakening of aesthetic taste, and the prevention of the dispersal and export of art from Bohemia and the Crown Lands. The author examines the statutes drafted by art experts and financial backers to protect art collections in this region which were in jeopardy as monasteries were dissolved and church property secularized. They believed in the social role of art in enhancing Bohemia's prestige at a time of emerging national identity, but also in edifying the nation by putting permanent collections on public display and providing an educational environment to foster local talent. These developments are discussed in the political and economic context of the disappointing Diet of 1790-91, suggesting that the promotion of art for the good of the nation offered founding members of the society such as Franz von Sternberg, Friedrich von Nostitz and Johann Rudolf von Czernin alternative ways of contributing to the growth of national pride and consciousness by raising awareness of Bohemia's rich cultural history. This is related to the spread of literacy through compulsory education, the re-emergence of Czech as a language of culture and literature, the establishment of the National Museum and the rise of the National Revival.

Lucas Ribeiro (Federal University of Minas Gerais) Rousseau on Cosmopolitanism

Panel / *Session* 59, 'Rousseau: Pity, Justice, Virtue'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

One intends to present Jean-Jacques Rousseau's view on cosmopolitanism, from the early praise of the cosmopolitan feeling to the thorough criticism of the latter developed in his major works. If in some minor writings of his youth, following the hegemonic position on the matter in the eighteenth century, Rousseau deemed love of humanity to be

the noblest virtue one could possess, at least since the “Discourse on political economy” (1755) this stance is profoundly revised. From then on, cosmopolitanism is regarded with suspicion if not disdain by the Genevan thinker, reputed as a “chimera”, a “paper virtue”, insofar as humanity would be too abstract of a construct to incite any kind of real attachment: “It appears that the feeling of humanity evaporates and grows feeble in embracing all mankind, and that we cannot be affected by the calamities of Tartary or Japan, in the same manner as we are by those of European nations. It is necessary in some degree to confine and limit our interest and compassion in order to make it active” (“A discourse on political economy”). More often than not, cosmopolitanism serves but as a subterfuge for those who wish to excuse themselves from civic obligations: “Distrust those cosmopolitans who go to great length in their books to discover duties they do not deign to fulfill around them” (“Emile or on education”). Rousseau’s critical appraisal of cosmopolitanism is indeed inextricable from his republicanism, and goes hand in hand with the championing of civic virtue and patriotism, two central categories of his political philosophy, which will, therefore, merit some consideration. Furthermore, one proposes to demonstrate that said criticism is a necessary corollary of his refusal of natural right as well as of his particular concept of general will.

Rossella M. Riccobono (University of St Andrews) **Cosimo III of The Medici and The Congregation of St John the Baptist: Politics of Consensus and the Safeguard of the State and the Poor in Early Eighteenth-Century Florence**

Panel / *Session* 401, ‘Long Live the Body Politic: Cosimo III de’ Medici, Carlotta De Saxy Visconti, Luigi Lamberti, and the Promotion of Welfare Between Education and Citizen Assistance in Eighteenth-Century Italy’. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

The historical phenomenon of the masses of poor seeking refuge in cities at times of famine or epidemics and the resulting overcrowding of the cities since the middle ages needed measures to take care of the multiplying population, one of the consequences being an enlarged presence of beggars, always potentially a risk for revolt and disorder. One of the resolutions throughout Europe had been that of the institutionalised reclusion of the poor in hospitals and almshouses. The city of Florence offers an example of an early culture of care due to its own model of assistance supported by an aristocracy who had been mainly opposed to the reclusion of the poor in almshouses or medical institutions, which explains the foundation of its first ‘Almshouse for Beggars’ (‘La casa pia dei mendicanti’) established only in 1621, particularly late if we refer to other examples of social control of the poor within the Italian territory, but also in Europe. In this paper, I would like to direct my attention to the development of the history of early welfare state action and the way it developed at the beginning of the 18th century in Tuscany with particular attention to the city of Florence. This is the case of the Congregazione di San Giovanni Battista founded by Cosimo III of The Medici family, whose aim was the regulation of the beggars within the city walls. Following some archival studies in Florence, I would like to make some early advancements on the work of a formidable early system of state-acted health care which operated until 1890 when it joined the Italian national Congregazione di carità. I shall do so by reading the early promulgations of the Congregazione (1701) through the lens of Roberto Esposito’s concept of immunisation, as a ‘protective response in the face of a risk’ to foster control over the population of Florence.

Although Cosimo III is not usually read as an enlightened monarch and political figure, I’d like to argue, based on a large previously unstudied documentation, that it was his reign in Tuscany which was pivotal to the preparation of the time in Florence under the enlightened government of Peter Leopold of the Hapsburg, from 1765.

Odile Richard-Pauchet (University of Limoges) **La morale des « chèvre-pieds » dans Le Rêve de d’Alembert**

Panel / *Session* 360, ‘Diderot et la Morale 2’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gerhardt Stenger (University of Nantes)

On connaît de Diderot son matérialisme athée et sa conception scientifique du monde vivant. Mais on connaît moins les conséquences de cette attitude sur le système moral de son auteur. Tout au plus relève-t-on dans son œuvre les manifestations emblématiques de cette croyance dans la prolifération infinie du vivant (sur le mode de l’animal-polype), manifestations que l’on pourrait croire uniquement poétiques. Cette capacité de l’organisme vivant à

proliférer, à se diviser et à évoluer par croisement atteint le summum de l'inventivité mais aussi du burlesque avec l'exemple du « chèvre-pied » évoqué à la fin du Rêve de D'Alembert :

Bordeu. -J'ai choisi la chèvre par des considérations qui me sont particulières.

Mlle de l'Espinasse. – Et ces considérations ?

Bordeu. – Vous êtes bien hardie ? C'est que... C'est que nous en tirerions une race vigoureuse, intelligente, infatigable et véloce dont nous ferions d'excellents domestiques [...].

Mlle de l'Espinasse. – Vite, vite, docteur, mettez-vous à la besogne, et faites-nous des chèvre-pieds.

Bordeu.- Et vous le permettez sans scrupule ?

Mlle de l'Espinasse. – Mais, arrêtez, il m'en vient un ; vos chèvre-pieds seraient d'effrénés dissolus.

Bordeu. – Je ne vous les garantis pas bien moraux (Diderot, Suite de l'Entretien)

Cet exemple nous parle aujourd'hui plus que jamais, à l'heure des mutations génétiques et du clonage. Or Diderot a-t-il pensé sérieusement, à son époque, la possibilité de concevoir génétiquement un « peuple » laborieux, dévoué aux tâches que l'homme ne pourrait ou ne souhaiterait pas accomplir, peuple affranchi biologiquement, politiquement et moralement de l'humanité dont il dépendrait ? Nous essaierons d'enquêter plus avant sur cette utopie.

Odile Richard-Pauchet (Université de Limoges) Le biographème et le fait divers, questions de déontologie dans une biographie littéraire : l'identité problématique de Denis Diderot.

Panel / *Session 13, 'Être Diderot'*. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

Quand Raymond Trousson publie en 2005 une énième biographie littéraire de Diderot en y brochant de truculentes anecdotes, il cherche à réconcilier les deux genres biographiques, la biographie scientifique « à l'américaine », et celle qui vise un plus large public. Or cette réconciliation ne va pas sans poser certains problèmes déontologiques. Il s'agit de savoir s'il ne faut prélever que les faits avérés, ou bien, tablant sur les nécessités du pittoresque, insérer également au même niveau, récits et témoignages à valeur plus incertaine. Ainsi R. Trousson ne résiste-t-il pas au plaisir de citer le récit d'une querelle ayant prétendument eu lieu en pleine rue, entre l'épouse de Diderot, dite Nanette, et Mme de Puisieux, son ancienne maîtresse, fait divers graveleux rapporté en 1751 par la « feuille de chou » La Bigarrure, et qu'Arthur M. Wilson avait prudemment passé sous silence, se contentant d'une note éloquente sur ce point.

Certes, l'homme Diderot n'a pas laissé son époque indifférente, et c'est même par ce point que R. Trousson, pour excuser son emprunt à la « presse à scandale », cherche à justifier l'anecdote : « Que le récit de La Bigarrure soit authentique ou de l'invention du journaliste, il montre Diderot devenu une sorte de vedette dont les faits et gestes retiennent l'attention des paparazzi du temps, qui s'empressent d'en informer le public ». Néanmoins le mal est fait, le doute est entré dans nos esprits. La notoriété du bonhomme Diderot de son vivant, sa peopleisation ne font aucun doute. Mais de qui donc (l'auteur, l'homme ou sa réputation) fait-on l'histoire ? C'est cette question de l'identité de l'auteur à travers ses différentes biographies que nous allons traiter, grâce à l'exemple singulier et cocasse du fait divers fourni par La Bigarrure.

Robbie Richardson (University of Kent) Encountering Eighteenth-Century Colonial Objects in Museums

Panel / *Session 198, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 4: Anticolonial Methods and Decolonising Practice'*. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Eugenia Zuroski (McMaster University)

Material culture is an important site in understanding the complex cultural negotiations of the “contact zone,” and can provide a kind of agency and voice for colonized populations. With this in mind I take students at both undergraduate and graduate level to museums in London and Paris to try to unpack the often fraught histories embodied by the objects in these museums. In this paper I will consider the pedagogical strategies of these visits, the

ideas and texts we use to approach them, the questions we ask of curators, the institutional strengths and, more often, weaknesses of these places, and how it can all relate to the literature we have been studying.

David Richter (City University of New York) Encyclopaedism and Historical Narrative

Panel / *Session 292*, 'Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Joyce Irwin (Princeton Research Forum)

"The present volume does not seek to establish a totalizing new explanation of, or a single unyielding narrative about, the complex and diffuse trends underlying the emergence of the novel in its modern form." Thus Thomas Keymer in his general introduction to volume 1 of the Oxford History of the Novel in English. Only a "stiffnecked Stalinist" like Georg Lukacs could wish to be totalizing, and none of us would be so ungentlemanlike as to be unyielding. But providing explanations is what history is supposed to do, and there aren't all that many ways of doing it.

As David Perkins has suggested, historical explanations must operate in terms of either wholes or parts, either as narrative history or as encyclopaedic history. Keymer has clearly rejected the very idea of narrative history, and has embraced encyclopaedic history without considering its perils. And so have we all: singleminded literary histories of the English novel like those of Alan Dugald McKillop, Ian Watt, and Michael McKeon, for all their deficiencies, seem to have been replaced by encyclopaedic "companions" and "handbooks" like those edited by John Richetti for Cambridge, Paula Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia for Blackwell, and Keymer, Garside and O'Brien, and Alan Downie for Oxford. (I have myself been guilty of editing such companions and handbooks, and of writing articles for them.)

But although narrative history has many drawbacks, encyclopaedic history has no virtues. As Perkins put it, "Encyclopedic form is intellectually deficient. Its explanations of past happenings are piecemeal, may be inconsistent with each other, and are admitted to be inadequate. It precludes a vision of the subject. Because it aspires to reflect the past in its multiplicity and heterogeneity, it does not organize the past, and in this sense, it is not history" (60). My talk will discuss the incoherence of encyclopaedic literary histories of the English novel, with special attention to the treatment of Richardson's Pamela.

Thierry Rigogne (Fordham University) Gendering the Eighteenth-Century French Café

Panel / *Session 202*, 'Gendering and Identity'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Pérez Hernández (Universidad Complutense de Madrid / Nottingham Trent University)

Contrary to current scholarly consensus, early French cafés were not a male space. The regular presence of women in the café forces us to reconsider the standard narrative about its development. It challenges us to rethink the gendering of public space and the public sphere in more nuanced terms. It also complicates our understanding of some of the Enlightenment debates about the place of women in society.

This paper relies on extensive new research in a wide array of archives and literary sources to document without ambiguity the actual presence of women in cafés, and to trace its evolution over time along with that of its representations. Overwhelming evidence demonstrates that many women regularly frequented early modern cafés, besides the widows, wives and daughters of café owners, who worked there, or the prostitutes who found refuge in coffeehouses. Women from all walks of life patronized all types of French coffeehouses. Contemporaries even saw this as a defining feature of the café, distinguishing it from its Ottoman ancestor and British or German cousins.

Both the actual presence of women and its literary representations raised vexing questions about the type of sociability that would be acceptable in cafés, just as the institution was developing. Conversation, in particular, was as much if not bigger a draw as the consumption of beverages. As a social and cultural practice, it crystallized and expressed tensions running through French society in the period. Models of café conversations were elaborated in everyday practices and became codified as a cultural norm in tension with/opposition to those arising from other spaces such as aristocratic salons, private calls, academies, circles, clubs, museums or taverns.

This paper argues that portrayals of the presence and role of women in the newly-created institution of the café played a central role in debates over gender definitions from the late seventeenth century through the French

Revolution. Adding café's gendered sociability, both in terms of actual practices and idealized norms, to existing debates also deepens our understanding of the history of gender and sociability during the Enlightenment.

Michael Riordan (University of Cambridge) 'Enlightened' Women in Scotland 1690–1710

Panel / *Session* 127, 'Women Writers and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30.

Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Martha McGill (University of Warwick)

Scholars have long debated the effects of Enlightenment thinking on society's attitudes towards women. While some have sought to suggest the Enlightenment as a forerunner to women's emancipation, while others see the project as a 'catastrophe' for women. In the most insightful analysis to date, Karen O'Brien has argued the Enlightenment created a language and a framework for understanding women's moral agency. This paper aims to take this argument forward, by examining the roots of this idea in the religious culture of late seventeenth-century Scotland, where the concept of 'enlightenment' emerged among a group of clerics who championed the role of the Flemish mystic, Antoinette Bourignon. These scholars believed that women were closer to God and more easily illuminated—'enlightened'—by his spirit. Men should follow them, by distancing themselves from the world, and retreating inwards into their souls. This paper charts how these claims were used to buttress the authority of European religious leaders, English mystics, and previously unknown Scottish women. It shows how the ideas of these 'Enlightened' women were received by Francis Hutchinson, who is often credited with novel ideas of women's agency. It concludes that women's enlightenment was a genuinely radical project, but one which sits uncomfortably with modern notions of women's liberation.

Mitia Rioux-Beaulne (Université d'Ottawa) La figure du savant selon les Éloges de Fontenelle

Panel / *Session* 338, 'Les éloges académiques de Fontenelle'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.16, Old

Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean Trouchaud (Société des amis de Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian)

La figure du savant telle qu'elle se dessine dans les Éloges de Fontenelle est intéressante à plus d'un titre. Au fil des Éloges, en effet, se cristallise peu à peu une image où se fixe un type social, une identité de l'académicien, qu'on reconnaît à son zèle pour la vertu, à son abnégation dans le travail pour le bien public. Évidemment, les Éloges ne célèbrent pas indistinctement tous les savants, loin de là. Et c'est là toute leur richesse que, par moments, le savant y est l'objet de critiques qui permettent de laisser filtrer que cet ethos a en fait un caractère normatif plus encore que descriptif.

Élodie Ripoll (Université de Stuttgart) Codes vestimentaires et types chromatiques dans la fiction des Lumières

Panel / *Session* 102, 'Couleurs et identités à l'époque des Lumières 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford)

Dans la fiction des Lumières, les couleurs sont souvent utilisées pour classer les personnages : on trouve des codes vestimentaires indiquant leur âge ou leurs fonctions (Sade), ainsi que de véritables types chromatiques comme la blonde réservée et la brune sémillante dont les caractéristiques sont prédéfinies et stables. Cette communication enquêtera sur ces usages emblématiques de la couleur, leurs variations et leurs évolutions à l'aune des travaux sur l'histoire des couleurs et l'épistémologie visuelle.

Vladislav Rjéoutski (German Historical Institute in Moscow) Russian Diplomats in Europe and the Introduction of New Linguistic Practices (First Half of the Eighteenth Century)

Panel / *Session* 264, 'Diplomacy, Diplomats, and Language Choice in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1'.

Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Denis Sdvizkov (German Historical Institute in Moscow)

In the first half of the 18th century the network of Russian diplomatic representatives developed very quickly. Several Russian diplomats in various European cities (Paris, London, Stockholm, Cadiz...) exchanged both amongst themselves, with diplomats and with the courts of other countries using a whole range of languages (Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish), a clear sign of the rapid westernization of an important stratum of the Russian elite. French was without doubt the most prominent among these languages. On the other hand, in their 'internal' correspondence with their ministry and with their compatriots, they invariably used the Russian language. However, we see in the exchanges of some of these diplomats amongst themselves frequent slips from Russian to French. In my paper I will analyse several cases on the basis of unpublished and published correspondence of Russian diplomats in various European countries. The following questions will be of particular interest to me: Were there any regulations on language choice for Russian diplomats at the time? What languages did Russian diplomats use primarily in non-diplomatic exchanges outside Russia? Did these exchanges have an impact on their linguistic practice in their correspondence with their compatriots? To what extent did the social origin, the outlook of Russian diplomats, their immersion into a particular social and cultural context facilitate (or block) the introduction of such new linguistic practices? What impact did the adoption of these new linguistic practices, namely the introduction of the French language as a 'universal' language of polite exchange, both oral and written, have on the work of Russian diplomats abroad?

David Robb (Queen's University Belfast) 'Trotz alledem': The Story of the German Reception of Robert Burns' 'A Man's a Man for a' that' (1848–1970s)

Panel / *Session 253*, 'Traditions of Song'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel Roberts (Queen's University Belfast)

'Trotz alledem' by Freiligrath is one of the best known German songs from the period of the 1848 Revolution but the song had originated in two versions, the first of which was a translation of the Scottish song 'For a' that, an' a' that' by Robert Burns (1795) and it was this version which asserted itself in the nineteenth-century German workers' movement, where the phrase 'Trotz alledem und alledem' ('For a' that an' a' that') became an influential slogan. After the Second World War, however, Freiligrath's second, more overtly revolutionary 'Märzenzeit' version of 1848, as a cultural representative of the democratic ideals of a new post-Nazi Germany, began to take precedence over the Burns translation. However, where the latter had been previously sung to the melody of the German folk song 'Als Noah aus dem Kasten war' (When Noah left the Arc), the 1848 adaptation was from now on sung to the original Scottish melody of 'Lady McIntosh's Reel'. This version first re-emerged in the late 1940s in workers' songbooks of the GDR and later in the West German folk revival of the 1960s. In the new social movements of the 1970s and 1980s it was furthermore textually adapted by Liedermacher (singer-songwriters) to correspond to specific political issues and events. In the history of its transmission as a song, while we see the changing nature of the social groups in Germany that sang it (from students in 1848 through to workers in the late nineteenth century and to folk song enthusiasts in the post-WWII period), the song has always been sung as a statement of anti-establishment defiance or an expression of resilience against the odds.

Yann Robert (University of Illinois, Chicago) Narratives of / on Interrogation: Reforming Justice in the Early Years of the French Revolution

Panel / *Session 70*, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

The justice system in eighteenth-century France was designed to eschew theater. Criminal trials unfolded without lawyers, spectators, or adversarial debates. The accused were interrogated separately and secretly, in deeply monological fashion: they often knew little of the charges against them, could not call their own witnesses, and were prohibited from offering information – including proof of their innocence – unless it directly responded to the question asked. The Revolution saw the birth in France of criminal trials centered on public, dialogical interrogations. In my talk, I will focus on a series of debates at the *Assemblée nationale* on the nature and limitations of judicial interrogation, which have never been studied and yet raise questions that resonate to this day. In the name of equity and individual rights, the legislators agreed that the accused should be given the same right and support as the

accuser to prepare, practice, and perform the most convincing narrative possible (hence, the accused would be given the assistance of a skilled story-teller (the lawyer), advance knowledge of the charges against them, and the chance to interrogate all witnesses). Yet the legislators disagreed on the form that these interrogations would take. Would judges lead them? Would lawyers be allowed to intervene? Would rival parties be free to interrupt each other, or would the depositions follow one another like distinct narratives? Should the interrogators seek to surprise the interrogated, throw them off-script and thereby allow the truth to surface on their feeling bodies? Or should the interrogated be put in the conditions most suited to the performance of a rehearsed, coherent narrative? Taken together, these debates on interrogation reveal an underlying conflict between competing visions of the nature of truth, and of the role of the body and emotion in discovering it.

Daniel Roberts (Queen's University Belfast) 'Teagues', Guineas, and Spirits: Migration, Imperialism, and Providential Theology in the Irish Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 167, 'Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Griffin (University of Limerick)

The narrator of Charles Johnston's popular satirical work *Chrysal; or, The Adventures of a Guinea* (1760) is 'the spirit of gold', the animating feature of the precious metal that facilitates its progress through the world in the many forms of currency that it assumes. Mined, melted, and recast in many guises (notably as an English guinea) the spirit of gold circulates through the empire, influencing human characters and actions. Johnston's narrative of the guinea may also serve as a metaphor for the shifting forms of identity that may be assumed by human beings as they move through the world. As I wish to argue in this paper, Johnston's fanciful ascription of agency to the spirit of gold and his refusal to separate sharply between animate and inanimate objects in this respect is indebted here to a line of theological thinking that was associated with the Irish divines, George Berkeley and Robert Clayton, and in particular to Robert Clayton's *An Essay on Spirit* (1751). Like Berkeley, Clayton argues for a spiritually animating conception of nature whereby all of creation is sustained by a divine being. In Clayton's more hierarchized notion of spiritual essences however, not all spirits were equally endowed; rather, they could be ranked with respect to their functions and purposes as determined by the divine author, and, hence, the 'whole world', as he put it, was 'replete with Spirits formed with different Kinds and Degrees of Abilities, according to the various Ends and Uses, for which they were designed by their Creator'. As I shall argue, this unorthodox theological conception underpins Johnston's narrative practice through much of his fictional oeuvre, enabling the migratory trajectories of his characters, both animate and inanimate, and achieving their divinely ordained purpose. Such a conception, as will be further demonstrated, admits a significantly imperial dimension to its providential view of the world.

Meghan Roberts (Bowdoin College) Claude-Nicolas Le Cat and Masculinity in Enlightenment France

Panel / *Session* 429, 'Gendering Bodily and Medical Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century France'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennifer Germann (Ithaca College)

Inspired by the ISECS theme of "Enlightenment identities," I propose a paper on the celebrated French surgeon, Claude-Nicolas Le Cat, and will use him to better understand learned masculinity and masculine reputations in eighteenth-century France. As his eulogizer noted acerbically, "peu d'hommes se sont occupés du soin de leur réputation avec autant de zèle et d'ardeur que M. Le Cat"; another writer was less diplomatic when he described Le Cat as having "un esprit intrigant et avide de renommée." Le Cat was indeed zealous in promoting his reputation: he gave public anatomy lessons and expressed his pleasure that men and women attended them; he pursued strategic marriages with other surgeons' families for himself and his daughter; he maintained a voluminous correspondence; he entered and won sundry academic essay contests; he dueled in print with professional rivals, even fabricating evidence when it suited his cause; he wrote medical advice columns for various provincial *Affiches*. These numerous strategies are all gendered in interesting ways and show Le Cat as working at the intersection of traditional and more modern tactics for managing his reputation.

This makes Le Cat a useful lens for seeing how surgeons — following the philosophes' playbook — positioned themselves as public figures whose useful learning, dedication to the common good, and social engagement made

them deserving of admiration and acclaim. Le Cat's brand of masculinity was complex: combative and solicitous in turn, aggressive when dealing with certain men like Jean-Jacques Rousseau but encouraging of women who attended his public anatomy lectures. This paper thus uses Le Cat as a case study for reaching a more nuanced understanding of eighteenth-century masculinity and argues that the development of new cultural personae, including competing brands of learned masculinity and public virtue, should be seen as a defining attribute of the eighteenth century.

Charlotte Roberts (University College London) Verse-Prose Hybridity: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Lord Hervey

Panel / *Session 455*, 'Epistles and Epistolarity'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

'My head and heart thus flowing thro' my quill,

Verse-man or prose-man, term me which you will'

Alexander Pope's claim, in the first of his Horatian satires, to a public identity as a 'prose man' as well as a 'verse man' can seem puzzling to modern readers. What does Pope mean when he claims this double, or hybrid, writerly identity? In this paper I will answer this question by examining the ideological weight given to prose and verse writing in the work of two of Pope's contemporaries: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and John, Lord Hervey. I will explore the role played by embedded verse in their personal correspondence, and will aim to show that the choice of verse or prose, and the transitions between the two modes, are used to express covert ideas and feelings.

Randy Robertson (Susquehanna University) 'Idiot Evangelists': The Collins-Bentley Debate Revisited

Panel / *Session 241*, 'Publication and Censorship'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ann van Allen-Russell (Trinity Laban, London)

Anonymous and pseudonymous publications featured prominently in the British Enlightenment, allowing writers both to cloak and to dramatize their identities. The infamous 1713 exchange between Anthony Collins and Richard Bentley is illustrative: Collins published his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* anonymously, and Bentley assumed a German identity, "Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," when he offered his scathing reply. By adopting the persona of a German intellectual commenting on English freethinkers, Bentley lends a cosmopolitan edge to his refutation of Collins. Yet such a persona also allows Bentley to dodge the part of Collins's argument based on contemporary English authors, as he pretends to be unfamiliar with their writings. Thus, despite his reputation as a stalwart Modern, in posing as a German scholar Bentley fails to engage with the British Enlightenment emerging in the late Stuart period.

The Collins-Bentley dispute has continuing relevance, as the contest between secular and religious reason persists to this day. In the early eighteenth century, readers pronounced Bentley the clear winner of the encounter, and over the centuries most scholars have concurred with Bentley's and his contemporaries' assessment of Collins. Even Leslie Stephens, an agnostic, observes that "Bentley's book had, undoubtedly, all of the outward appearance and some of the reality of a conclusive refutation of his antagonist." In my paper, I revisit the Collins-Bentley debate, revising the common estimate of Collins's performance upward. I argue that given the constraints of censorship, Collins was all but forced into the subterfuge with which Bentley charged him. Indeed, by ignoring the constraints that Collins faced and by posing as a German scholar, Bentley proved as disingenuous in his argument as Bentley accused Collins of being. In sum, I address the legacy of an important Enlightenment dispute by canvassing the antagonists' authorial identities, which were both constructed and partly concealed.

John Robertson (University of Cambridge) From the National to the Universal: The Supercession of Sacred History in the Thought of Giambattista Vico and Francesco Mario Pagano

Panel / *Session* 162, 'Between Universal History and National Histories: Building the Past in the Age of the Enlightenment 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Patrizia Delpiano (University of Turin)

This paper reverses the movement from the universal to the national, to look at the way in which one particular national history, that of the ancient Hebrews, was set aside in favour of a universal history originating in the religious practices of the Gentile peoples of the world. For long assumed to be the earliest complete – and hence exemplary – narrative of human social and political organisation, by 1700 the Old Testament history of the Hebrews had been rendered problematic by Spinoza's disturbingly heterodox interpretation of it in his *Theological-Political Treatise*. In their alarm, the institutions responsible for maintaining intellectual orthodoxy within Roman Catholic Church set new restrictions on the interpretation of the text, chronologies and narratives of the Bible. These restrictions, I shall suggest, help to explain just what Giambattista Vico was doing when he set aside the history of the Hebrews (the descendants of Shem) in favour of an account of the formation of human societies which began with the Gentile descendants of Ham and Japhet. Vico worked from inside the orthodox conventions of sacred history outwards to a universal history which respected, indeed celebrated, the particular origins of the Gentile nations. It was an intellectual feat which almost defied contemporary comprehension, including that of the Church, whose only attempt to condemn the *Scienza nuova* was ineffectual. While unappreciated elsewhere, however, Vico's lead was followed in Naples by Francesco Mario Pagano in his *Saggi politici* (1783-5, 1791-2) – 'Political essays on the beginnings, progresses and decline of societies'. With explicit acknowledgement to Vico, as well as to French authors of the mid-century, notably Boulanger, Pagano developed an account of the origins of all human societies through their religious practices, an account which accorded no priority to the sacred history of the Hebrews.

Brianna **Robertson-Kirkland** (University of Glasgow / Royal Conservatoire of Scotland) A New Model for Interdisciplinary Collaboration and Eighteenth-Century Performing Arts Research: The Eighteenth-Century Arts Education Research Network

Panel / *Session* 225, 'Eighteenth-Century Arts Education Research Network'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leonie Hannan (Queen's University, Belfast)

Historical performance (HP) is typically seen as a music-centered area of research; however, drama, dance, crafts, and art practices all have historical 'recreation' research strands that have developed independently of music. Though these subject areas have, in the past come together in performance projects, discipline-specific professionals tend to work independently, only coming together for the final rehearsal and performance, where any issues as a result of the collaborative process are pragmatically solved without addressing the tension between disciplines. As a result, HP collaborative projects lack methodological consistency leading to questions about its legitimacy and rigor. However, the Royal Society of Edinburgh funded Eighteenth-century Arts Education Research Network (EAERN), since 2016 has put interdisciplinary collaborative methods at the heart of the project. Practitioners and researchers from across arts subjects come together to collaborate on practice-based workshops, where no single discipline dominates the discussion. This project highlights the need for consistent practical demonstration and interdisciplinary discussion from the beginning of the collaborative process allowing performer-researchers to address tensions across the disciplines. The project develops a new methodology that incorporates interdisciplinary collaboration into the HP research process, maximizing its potential to enable a deeper insight into historical materials.

Philippe Sarrasin **Robichaud** (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières / Sorbonne) Played like a Fiddle. Iatric Music, médecins philosophes and the Margins of Truth

Panel / *Session* 306, 'Medicine'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gemma Tidman (St John's College, Oxford)

"The influence of music becomes each day more necessary in this corrupted century where courage is often but cowardly ferociousness, love a vile libertinage, and sensibility cold calculated egotism," prefaces Étienne Sainte-Marie in year XI of the Revolutionary calendar. He writes this in an introduction to his translation of J.-L. Roger's *Traité sur*

les effets de la musique sur le corps humain (1758), a treatise that served as the basis of Ménuret de Chambaud's thoroughly optimistic Encyclopédie article on the effects of music.

In troubled post-revolutionary Paris, hygienists and physiocratic reformers incorporate music in their plans for better society, defending its value with a battery of scientific "proof". In the wake of the Institut national's formation, many médecins philosophes indeed showed marked interest in the study of "curative" or "iatic" music. J.-L. Desessart's speech at the Institut printed as *Réflexions sur la musique considérée comme moyen curatif* (1802) seems to have invited the translation of Roger's *Traité* as well as the translation of Mojon's *Mémoire sur l'utilité de la musique* (1803). Moreau de la Sarthe, after having witnessed the effect of the ranz des vaches on nostalgic soldiers, develops lengthily on the therapeutic virtues of music (1803). Young physician Desgranges publishes an *Essai sur la musique considérée dans ses rapports avec la médecine* (1804) and ambitions to renew Roger's findings. Even one of the period's best-selling novels, Sophie Cottin's *Malvina* (1800), features a physician character that lengthily discusses the effects of music on his patient, the protagonist.

More than mere vogue, this enthusiasm bears witness to a strong faith in music's moral powers over the human body. However, this begs the question: whose faith? If, as Sainte-Marie cites from Francis Bacon, the "office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man's body and to reduce it to harmony", to what extent might medical discourse have played its listeners like a fiddle?

Charlee Robinson (University of Winchester) '... left as god had disposed it': Jane Barker's Breast Tumour and Patient Agency

Panel / *Session* 317, 'The Variable Body'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Chris Mounsey (University of Winchester)

This paper will be a close study of Jane Barker's letter concerning her breast tumour, which she deduced to be cancer. The discussion will explore relationship between Barker's Roman Catholic faith and her medical training, which clashed between her empirical observations of her changing body, her diagnosis, and her unwavering (and successful) use of a cloth on which James II's blood was smeared as a remedy for her illness. The paper will conclude with remarks on the question about Barker's decision to be active or passive in regard to her own health – a topic on which she came down hard on the side of passivity in her love life in *Love Intrigues*.

Noémie Rochat Nogales Dorado (Université de Lausanne) Senancour et l'origine de l'humanité: le récit de la Genèse revisité

Panel / *Session* 243, 'Quêtes d'identité : pensée, histoire et projections du religieux au tournant des Lumières (1780–1815)'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

Dans un texte rédigé durant ses jeunes années, *Les premiers âges. Incertitudes humaines* (1792), Senancour offre une réflexion sur les origines de l'homme et une interprétation personnelle de quelques versets des premiers chapitres de la Genèse. Ce texte met en lumière un certain nombre de réflexions sur l'homme, ses origines et son histoire, qui ont nourri tout le XVIIIe siècle et qui ont contribué à remettre en question la lecture du récit de la création du monde proposée dans le livre de la Genèse.

L'intervention se propose de présenter ce texte assez méconnu et de réfléchir aux innovations de Senancour par rapport au texte fondateur, puis sur ce que cela peut impliquer dans le débat philosophique et théologique en cette période des Lumières finissantes.

Elisabeth Rochon (Université du Québec à Montréal / Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)
Démâser voleurs et maquignons : le rôle des inspecteurs Guillotte au marché aux chevaux de Paris (1758–1779)

Panel / *Session* 245, 'Regards sur les intermédiaires culturels au XVIIIe siècle : des savoirs aux pratiques'.

Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Lise Andries (Université de Paris-Sorbonne)

Depuis le 17e siècle, le marché aux chevaux de Paris est installé dans le quartier de la place Maubert, situé sur la rive gauche de la Seine. Ce marché souffre d'une grande désorganisation et est propice aux vols de chevaux ainsi qu'aux fraudes. Les cas sont nombreux au 18e siècle et les marchands de chevaux gagnent une mauvaise réputation. Le roi et la police parisienne interviennent alors afin de mieux gérer ce marché et prévenir les crimes qui y sont perpétrés. Les sieurs Guillotte, père et fils, sont nommés inspecteurs du marché aux chevaux. En plus de veiller au bon déroulement des activités lors des jours de marché, ils doivent arrêter les voleurs, démasquer les fraudeurs et venir en aide aux victimes. De 1758 à 1779, ils travaillent de manière préférentielle avec J.-B.-C. Lemaire. Notre communication dressera un portrait du rôle encore assez méconnu des inspecteurs Guillotte au marché aux chevaux de Paris. La question sera abordée sous 3 aspects. D'abord, nous détaillerons les actions posées par les inspecteurs lorsqu'un conflit éclate sur le marché aux chevaux entre deux individus ou lorsqu'un crime est commis. Ce sera l'occasion d'observer comment les tâches attribuées par le lieutenant général de police aux Guillotte sont concrètement mises en œuvre. Ensuite, nous nous intéresserons au rôle joué par les Guillotte entre le commissaire et les victimes. Nous aborderons ici le travail des inspecteurs hors du marché et qui se prolonge dans le bureau de Lemaire. Enfin, nous aborderons les étapes qui suivent la déclaration devant Lemaire pour vol ou pour fraude et où les Guillotte ont un rôle important à jouer, notamment dans la capture du coupable et/ou la mise en fourrière du cheval. Nous espérons ainsi mettre en lumière le déroulement de la procédure de police menée à l'occasion des vols et des fraudes de chevaux ainsi que la part importante jouée par les Guillotte dans le règlement de ces affaires.

Lizzie Rogers (University of Hull) Representing Female Curiosity: Collecting and Enlightenment in the English Country House

Panel / *Session* 164, 'Collections, Costumes, and Representations: London and the Country House'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Serena Dyer (University of Hertfordshire)

Curiosity as a practice, an act of seeking to know more, of assembling objects and of looking, is something that has been consistently both praised and vilified throughout history. It has been a paradox: both a virtue and something to frown upon. For women, it has had an even more chequered history: a woman exercising curiosity was often read as pursuing illicit desire in the eighteenth-century, rather than admirable for her individual pursuit of knowledge. Collecting was a way to satisfy elite women's intellectual curiosity, with the country house a perfect place for women to assemble and curate their collections, legitimising their curiosity.

This paper will examine the female-driven country house collection: how and why eighteenth-century women collected, why the country house was an excellent and safe space for women to make tangible their curiosity about the world and create their own educational resource. Working with the case studies of Elizabeth Percy, first Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776) of Alnwick Castle, Mary Montagu, Duchess of Montagu (1712-1775) of Boughton House, and the letters of Henrietta Fermor, Countess of Pomfret (1698-1761) and Frances Thynne, Countess of Hertford (1699-1754), this paper will look to connect the personal papers of these women with their objects. What do their collections tell us about the past operation of female curiosity within the country house and their fascination with Art, History, Literature and Geography? And how did collecting within the country house connect individual female intellectual curiosity with the wider Enlightenment? Ultimately, this paper will look to discuss how the country house and its collections can be understood as a learning space for women, and a place to further understand the complexities of eighteenth-century elite female curiosity and education.

Carlo Enrico Roggia (Université de Genève) What Is Linguistic Identity? an Italian Viewpoint at the End of Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 272, 'Identités italiennes'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Colombo (Università degli Studi di Verona)

Italy is a well-known case study of how problematic and precarious the elaboration of a collective identity can be. Devoid for a long time of any political background, forced to rely on cultural bases, confined to a thin layer of high cultured population, the search for a shared identity comes to a turn point by the second half of Eighteenth Century. Language always played a prominent role in this search, as it is proved by the long-lasting discussion on what Italian is and should be (the so called “questione della lingua”). Nevertheless, Eighteenth Century is commonly identified as a period of “crisis” for Italian: its weakness being challenged both by dialects in everyday speech, and French in intellectual exchanges. Linguistic debates grow thus increasingly intense across the Century.

But what is, finally, the linguistic identity of a nation? And what is itself the identity of a language? Languages are intrinsically indefinite objects. Linguistic change, internal differentiation, permeability to external influences are inherent to all languages: a pure language simply cannot exist. How is their identity defined, then? And does it make any sense to defend and protect this identity?

The paper deals with these themes focusing in particular on the thought of Melchiorre Cesarotti (Padua, 1730-1808), as it emerges from published works and unpublished lessons. Cesarotti is a primary figure in Italian Eighteenth Century debates, mostly known abroad for his translation of Macpherson’s Poems of Ossian. Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Padua, Cesarotti refines his philosophy of language dealing both with ancient tongues and contemporary Italian. In his view, no “purity” can be invoked, neither for languages nor for human groups. Instead, linguistic identity should be defined dialectically: it rests on an unstable equilibrium of acquisition and loss, of permanence and change. No protection of this identity is therefore possible, if not in dialectical terms.

Hanna **Roman** (Dickinson College) The Aesthetics of the Terraqueous Globe in French Enlightenment Earth Sciences

Panel / *Session* 126, ‘The Science of Aesthetic Experience’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Joanna Stalnaker (Columbia University)

This presentation seeks to examine the aesthetics of the study of the earth sciences in mid eighteenth-century France. It will use examples from physical geography (the study of the Earth’s structure), natural history, and philosophical systems to demonstrate a shared language of knowing the world that used the laws of the visible and familiar to reveal the nature of unknown, invisible areas such as mountains, volcanoes, and the undersea. Aesthetics in this case are defined not simply in terms of the search for beauty and the experience of pleasure, but more precisely the discovery of natural relationships and laws through philosophical perception and judgment. Aesthetics were a way of knowing, resulting in the creation of an ordered body of knowledge, a science. The study of the formation, history, and structure of the Earth involved the process of transforming the world into a product of human contemplation and comprehension, finding beauty and order where they had once been obscured, and creating rational continuity and understanding where there had once been chaos and speculation. To understand the undersea, for example, one had to begin with what could be seen and what already had a language—*islands, cliffs, beaches, shores*—and draw analogies towards the unseen. Natural philosophers had to be capable not just of observation, but of perceiving the entire arrangement of the world from above and revealing its underlying harmony. They sought to unite visible and invisible through the terms of one language, making all aspects of the terraqueous globe logically continuous with one another through what they thought of as a universal grammar of nature. Through the aesthetics of the seen they sought to render the unseen accessible, coherent, and worthy of consideration in the grand system of nature.

Matthew **Romaniello** (Weber State University) ‘The Continuance of my Duty’: Merchant Families and Transnational Commerce between Britain and Russia

Panel / *Session* 114, ‘Marchands sans frontières? Cultures, Networks, and Identities of Early Modern Capitalists 1’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Felicia Gottmann (Northumbria University)

Family businesses prospered from the commercial exchanges between Britain and Russia, even while the diplomatic relationship between the two empires ebbed and flowed in the eighteenth century. One of the most prosperous of this era was the Shairp family of Edinburgh. Similar to many of the most successful merchant families, their business was not contained to one market but rather spread across the British Empire and its trade partners. Walter Shairp

began his career working for his father's business in Jamaica in the 1740s, but he was sent to St. Petersburg in 1748 to manage the Baltic side of the business. His position in Russia was solidified with his marriage to Elenora Bredall, the daughter of a Russian admiral. Walter Shairp's career in Russia, and his connection with the family business in Edinburgh, demonstrates the ways in which merchant families, and their firms, could navigate the contested waters of relations between the two empires, even when the empires were at war. Other historians have demonstrated the extent of family networks extending into multiple empires and around the Atlantic; the Shairps, among others, demonstrate these networks extended through the Baltic Sea to Russia and beyond.

Marion **Romberg** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) Maps, Timelines, Search, and Indices: Digital Tools in the Continent Allegories Database

Panel / *Session* 391, 'Eighteenth-Century Digital Humanities in Central Europe'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Wallnig (University of Vienna)

During the late Renaissance, around 1570, humanists developed a new "shorthand" way for representing the world at a single glance: personifications of the four continents (Europe, Asia, Africa, and America). During the next 230 years, this iconic scheme proliferated widely. All known media were employed to bring the four continent allegories into the public and into people's homes. Within this prolonged history of personifications of the continents, the peak was reached during the late Baroque period and especially in the South of the Holy Roman Empire. In 2012 a project team from the University of Vienna started work on a project which first objective was to conduct a systematic survey. The second objective was not merely to create a big data pool, but to develop an interactive database with various means to access the data (maps, timeline, grids). This article will focus on a particular instance of continent allegories with the objective to provide another example on how to use the database for research. Its narrative string is repeatedly interrupted by technical explanation to tools implemented into the database.

Marion **Romberg** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) The Imperial Image: Visualisation Strategies of the Empresses

Panel / *Session* 251, 'The Empress in the Public Eye: Communicating Power around 1700'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Klaas Van Gelder (Ghent University)

Crown Princess Victoria of Sweden, Duchesses Kate and Meghan, and Queen Elizabeth II are determining the public image of dynastic representation today. From the first TV broadcast of a coronation in 1953 to the current official social media channels of European royalty, media and media change have become increasingly important for the image of royal rule and everyday dynastic life. Media communication by rulers and dynasties is not a recent invention, however. In my talk I would like to draw the audience's attention to a time when the importance of visual media as a means of disseminating courtly representation was increasing—as was corresponding media echo. The focus of my talk lies on the two Empress consorts Eleonore Magdalena of Pfalz-Neuburg and Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. As will be shown, the growing media presence of the selected women manifests itself in a comparable fashion to that of their male counterparts across the entire spectrum of existing media (paintings, medals, prints, murals etc.). Each of the two formed a working couple with their consorts by taking on complementary responsibilities such as duties of representation in courtly everyday life, or by acting as deputy in the case of the emperor's absence, sickness, or inability to rule as well as having responsibilities towards their subjects, e.g. by performing charitable deeds or being a patron of the church. The analysis is based on a systematic survey of pictorial representations of the two empress consorts as carried out in the ongoing research project "Empress and Empire. Ceremonial, Media and Dominion 1550 to 1740/45" at the Austrian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Modern and Contemporary Historical Research in Vienna (<https://kaiserin.hypotheses.org>).

Elena **Romero-Passerin** (University of St Andrews) 'The gardener is in charge of stopping troops of ordinary people': The Building of a Professional Identity in European Botanic Gardens

Panel / *Session* 472, 'The Meaning of Nature'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Easterby-Smith (University of St Andrews)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, botanic gardens in Europe saw their public evolve. This evolution was due both to a new interest in science in the general public, which brought in more people, and to the restrictive policies put into place by the gardens to try and control this new afflux of visitors. The audience for botanic gardens in general had diversified. Botany had become a popular hobby for the elite. Botanic gardens were recognised as important attractions for tourists going on their Grand Tour in Italy. Even the lower classes of society were now invited to wander around the gardens.

This diversity of the visitors, who had traditionally mostly been students, meant that there were new ways of enjoying and interacting with the botanic collections. Some of these new attitudes conflicted with the development of botany as a discipline which tended to turn the gardens into professional spaces of research. This paper will investigate this tension between the wider attractiveness of botanic gardens and their status as professional research spaces. It will demonstrate that this tension led to the development of professional identities both for the people working in the gardens and for the gardens as space themselves.

The analysis will be based on the examples of relatively small gardens on the European scale at the time: Edinburgh, Florence, and Pisa. Those gardens followed very different evolution but still exhibit some of the same trends on the matters of visitors and access, which shows a European movement.

Laura Rosenthal (University of Maryland) Charles Sedley's *Bellamira* and the Drama of Enslavement

Panel / Session 169, 'Fashioning Slavery: The Restoration Debate about Tyranny, Property, and Identity'. Tuesday /Mardi 14.30 – 16.00. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Daniel O'Quinn (University of Guelph)

In this presentation, I will suggest the complicated ways in which Charles Sedley's play *Bellamira* foregrounds the operations of empire and offers a window into feelings about the African slave trade and the system of slavery that are more complicated than previously thought. I do not argue that Sedley objects morally to slavery, but that he exposes its cruelty in ways that audience members appear to have been somewhat aware. *Bellamira* does this in coded form, and through intertextuality.

According to much scholarship (Simon Gikandi, Susan Amussen, and Joe Roach), the slave system was even less visible in seventeenth-century culture. My paper suggests, on the contrary, that slavery was actually far more present to Restoration theater audiences than has been recognized. The presence of slavery has been overlooked in part because it is not represented in specifically realistic ways, or in ways to which readers would later become accustomed, but appeared in symbolic and encoded forms that were necessitated by the investments of Charles II and his brother James, who served as the governor of the Royal African Company, in the trade and in the system. But this doesn't mean it was absent. In this paper, I will focus on Charles Sedley's *Bellamira*, based on Terence's play *Eunuchus*. Sedley's rendition features a subplot with an enslaved young woman who is identified as white, but was enslaved in the West Indies and recently brought back to London, still as a slave. In Terence's play, she is an Ethiopian, and thus the character is strongly suggestive of the population of enslaved Africans in England's West Indian colonies. A young man disguises himself as a eunuch to gain entrance to the house in which she has been purchased because he had fallen in love with her. He admires her up close, gains her trust, but then rapes her while she is taking a bath. When the play was first performed James II still governed the Royal African company and entertained Sedley's daughter Catherine as royal mistress, making it even more likely that Sedley intended *Bellamira* to bring slave system and its degradations into the public eye.

Trevor Ross (Dalhousie University) Origins of Intentionalism

Panel / Session 112, 'Literature, Meaning, and the Unfathomable'. Tuesday /Mardi 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephanie Insley Hershinow (Baruch College, CUNY)

This paper is drawn from a larger study of changing assumptions about literary meaning. Its focus is the idea of authorial intention, an idea that has received renewed attention from aesthetic philosophers. The consensus view

among these philosophers is that, according to one, intentionalism “has been wedded to the—typically realist— assumption that the meaning of a work may be practically unfathomable, because an author’s intention may be inscrutable due to our lack of sufficient evidence.” In this paper, I investigate the origins of this assumption, which I date to the later eighteenth century. I argue that it became possible to think of literary meaning as unfathomable only once the author’s intention came to be seen as inscrutable. By the later eighteenth century, literary authors were increasingly believed to interpret the determinable world in accordance with their subjective perceptions of it. Once literary works became valued as their authors’ highly distinctive interpretations of the world, their meaning had to be perceived as unfathomable since there was no way that this meaning could ever be rendered determinate without vitiating the author’s valuably creative otherness.

Sibylle **Röth** (Universität Konstanz) The Constraints of Reason: How the Enlightened Concept of ‘Reason’ Obstructs the Claim for Equal Political Liberty

Panel / *Session* 176, ‘Oppressive Enlightenment? Discourses and Practices of Knowledge/Power 1’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexei Evstratov (Université de Lausanne)

If there is any key-concept of European Enlightenment, it is reason. Generally this is assumed to lead to the central values and political institutions of ‘the West’: Liberty and equality, being implemented by civil liberties, rule of law and democracy. While during the 19th century critique of reason regularly indicated a conservative position, this changed in the 20th and 21st century. Starting with Horkheimer and Adorno going to the recent critiques from a postmodernist, postcolonial or feminist point of view, enlightened reason has been considered to pervert itself to an only instrumental use or as a suppressive concept of elitist, male, European superiority.

Confirming heteronomous aspects in the enlightened concept of reason, I will argue that they can’t be reduced to a common denominator: ‘Reason’ like all highly political concepts is an empty signifier, to be filled with numerous meanings. I will discuss this variety, demonstrating that only one of these concepts affirms the revolutionary model of democratic legislation. While here, universal reason and its principle of reciprocity are transposed into a political equality, in all other cases reason is contrasted to the empirical will of the many, blamed to be as arbitrary as the rule of an absolutist monarch, causing unjust, selfish or imprudent decisions. But this consensus against democracy is not accompanied by a coherent concept of *raison* and how to implement it in politics. This leads to a spectrum of political models, reaching from more liberal to more conservative, but not crossing the border to be counter-enlightened.

Apparently those concepts can be and have been used to legitimize colonial, patriarchal and elitist politics, but this is neither by being expression of a misuse of enlightened principles, nor by showing its true nature. To differentiate the multiple concepts of reason allows a differentiated relation to ‘the’ Enlightenment and its legacy, as well as to our own understanding of reason.

Eva **Rothenberger** (Universität Augsburg) Les écrits voltairiens à motifs orientaux, comment conditionnent-ils à la création d’une identité nationale ou personnelle ?

Panel / *Session* 337, ‘Les ailleurs des Lumières’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicolas Brucker (Université de Lorraine)

Dans l’œuvre féconde de Voltaire, on découvre de nombreux écrits à motifs orientaux. Les plus connus sont certes des pièces de théâtre, tels que *Zaïre* et *Mahomet*, et des contes philosophiques, tels que *Zadig* et *La princesse de Babylone*. En choisissant le décor oriental, Voltaire répond, d’un côté, au goût de ses contemporains pour ce monde lointain et exotique, un monde qu’on découvre de plus en plus grâce aux récits de voyages. De l’autre côté, il confronte les spectateurs et les lecteurs occidentaux avec la culture orientale et remet leur perception de soi et leur perception de l’autre par ce moyen en question. L’effet de distanciation ouvre la voie à de nombreuses réflexions bien que le conte oriental ou la tragédie ne soient pas forcément les genres par excellence ni de réflexion théorique sérieux sur la politique ou sur l’Église, ni de critiques sociales directes. Leur orientation est plutôt didactique car ils incitent le lecteur à de propres réflexions.

La question que cette exposé tend à éclairer est de savoir quels effets ces écrits provoquent auprès d'un lecteur, contemporain de Voltaire et/ou de nos jours, concernant la formation de son identité. Les écrits à éléments orientaux « impose[nt] tout d'abord une conception relativiste des institutions humaines » (Voltaire, *La Princesse de Babylone*, Présentation et notes de Marie-France Azéma, Livre de Poche, Paris, 1994, p. 7sq.) ce qui nécessite la réflexion sur la propre place dans la société. Comment est-il alors possible de se construire à travers l'image d'une culture étrangère, à savoir orientale ? Ce procédé, conduit-il à la formation d'une identité nationale ou favorise-t-il plutôt la création de une identité personnelle ? D'une part, la comparaison de la propre société à d'autres permet d'en découvrir les points forts et faibles et de remonter à aux éléments constitutifs. De l'autre part, l'identification du lecteur avec les protagonistes des contes et des tragédies laisse place à une remise en question de la propre personnalité dans la perspective de l'améliorer et de construire son identité.

Maria Rottler (University of Vienna) Before and After the Secularisation: The Correspondence of Roman Zirngibl, Benedictine in St Emmeram, Historian and Archivist

Panel / *Session 52*, 'Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Veronika Capska (Charles University in Prague / Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

The Imperial Abbey of St. Emmeram was gradually developed into a centre of learned studies during the second half of the 18th century under its last prince-abbots, especially under Frobenius Forster. Large ambitious learned projects and the acquisition of new materials for the abbey's collections required extensive correspondence.

One of the convent members encouraged by Forster was Father Roman Zirngibl; he became a historian and one of the most successful members of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Zirngibl's diaries, his letters and the letters he received from St. Emmeram are an essential source for St. Emmeram covering the final decades of its existence. He kept letters he received from relatives, scholars, (ex-)members of his own abbey and other religious men and women as an integral part of his diaries, but also promised a friend to destroy his letters should necessity require it. In his letters he expressed his fears regarding the increasing criticism of monastic life, the secularisation in Bavaria at the beginning of the 19th century, and finally the dissolution of his abbey.

After the secularisation Zirngibl continued to work as an archivist in several former monasteries and convents in Regensburg. He became a member of the Bavarian administration. As an Archival Custodian he had to send monthly reports to the head of the General Imperial Archives in Munich. These reports include regesta as well as attachments with material about records and collections; they provide information about the working conditions in archives, but also about appraisal discussions. While the director was almost exclusively interested in medieval charters, Zirngibl argued other sources such as letters from the 18th century might also be of archival value. Although this was primarily supposed to be a correspondence with a superordinate agency, it was also a learned correspondence between two historians.

A digital scholarly edition is currently being prepared.

Maiwenn Roudaut (Université de Nantes) Aufklärung, droit naturel et identités religieuses / Aufklärung, Natural Law, and Religious Identities

Panel / *Session 19*, 'Nature, identité, authenticité : perspectives croisées sur les Lumières européennes / Nature, Identity, Authenticity: Crossed Perspectives on the European Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Pierre Carboni (Université de Nantes)

Il s'agira lors de cette conférence de s'interroger sur la manière dont la tradition de réflexion sur le droit naturel est réinvestie dans les textes des philosophes des Lumières allemandes, permettant une convergence des différentes identités religieuses au siècle de la tolérance. En effet, le droit naturel est souvent conçu comme le socle sur lequel se développe un discours de tolérance envers les diverses croyances religieuses et en faveur du pluralisme religieux. On pourra cependant s'interroger sur la nature de cette concorde : relève-t-elle de la soumission des différentes identités

religieuses à un schéma totalisant ou bien de la reconnaissance véritable de celles-ci, offrant de ce fait la voie à une expérience d'authenticité au sens herderien du terme ?

Le papier se penchera sur deux figures centrales des questionnements sur les identités religieuses dans le XVIII^e siècle allemand, à savoir Moses Mendelssohn et Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Il s'agira, à partir de l'analyse de différentes controverses auxquelles ils ont participé sur ce thème, de mettre au jour le caractère ambivalent du droit naturel allemand qui, au siècle des Lumières, oscille entre un droit social et civil à l'égalité de tous et une maxime anthropologique. La contribution s'achèvera sur une courte réflexion concernant les implications de cette ambivalence.

David Roulier (Université Paris-Nanterre) L'identité personnelle, une question de technique narrative ? Le discours sur soi dans les romans d'Isabelle de Charrière

Panel / *Session* 271, 'Identité personnelle et universalité 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Brunet-Fontaine (Université d'Ottawa / Université Paris-Nanterre)

À l'aide et à propos des œuvres romanesques d'Isabelle de Charrière, nous interrogerons divers cas de construction du discours sur soi. En effet, dans un roman épistolaire polyphonique tel que les *Lettres neuchâtelaises*, l'identité n'apparaît pas comme un attribut immuable (inné ou définitivement acquis) de l'individu ; elle n'existe qu'en interaction. En particulier pour le jeune Henri Meyer, et peut-être autant pour Marianne de La Prise, c'est tout un de tisser des liens avec d'autres individus (ou des groupes entiers) et de tisser sa propre identité. L'identité personnelle des protagonistes se présente ainsi comme narrative, au sens où le passé y a moins un rôle d'expérience révélatrice que de récit constituant pour le présent. Par ailleurs, puisque le roman se rapproche d'un huis-clos, puisque la Neuchâtel décrite peut donner l'impression (selon une projection anachronique assumée) de constituer le cadre d'une expérience de psychologie sociale, il convient de s'interroger sur le statut attribué aux « savoirs » qui se dégagent d'une telle fiction.

Notre propos consistera donc d'abord à étayer cette lecture, puis à nous demander dans quelle mesure elle peut aussi rendre compte des autres romans de Belle de Zuylen : cette construction se fonde-t-elle sur des présupposés anthropologiques reconnaissables ? et le cas échéant, ont-ils une valeur « universelle » ou s'interprètent-ils prioritairement en termes d'imaginaires de classe sociale, d'âge, de genre etc. ? Ou à l'inverse apparaissent-ils comme une construction pleinement littéraire, moins dépendante des références de la fiction que des techniques narratives employées (roman épistolaire ou non, polyphonique ou non, récits en première personne ou non, protagonistes ou non, etc.) ?

Chris Roulston (University of Western Ontario) Questioning Enlightenment Identities: Anne Lister and the Boarding School Years

Panel / *Session* 299, 'Homo- and Heterosocial Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Wells (University of Greifswald)

This paper examines the relationship between queer Enlightenment identities and their construction through thin and partial archival materials. Taking as its example the boarding school years of the Yorkshire diarist, Anne Lister, who attended the Manor school in York between 1805-1806, we will examine how the space of the boarding school has been read by scholars as central to the formation of Lister's queer identity, in spite of the fact that this archive contains only the following sources: a list of the boarders and the organization of the dormitories, a few jottings by Lister of notes and packages exchanged with Eliza Raine, her intimate friend, and references to the school in Lister's and Raine's correspondence once Lister leaves the school and Raine remains behind as a boarder. There are also several later diary entries by Lister referring to her time at the Manor school. Yet the boarding school years have been presented by scholars, such as Patricia Hughes, as the founding queer origin narrative of the Lister archive. While the Lister archive is asymmetrical in that its later years contain one of the richest late queer Enlightenment collections we possess, the boarding school years remain extremely thin. This paper argues that the fragmentary and partial quality of this early section of the Lister archive should create a resistance to the scholarly drive to fix and stabilize identity in the name of a coherent narrative. In her later diary entries referencing her boarding school experience, Lister

constructs her own narrative of what those years represented. This reflexive turn to the past models a self-fashioning that invents as much as it records the affective power of those early years. This reflects Regina Kunzel's claim that archives are "less depositories of documents than themselves historical agents, organized around unwritten logics of inclusion and exclusion, with the power to exalt certain stories, experiences and events and to bury others." Rather than confirming an origin narrative, Lister's boarding school years question the very idea of an origin, and of the Enlightenment's drive to produce coherent, intelligible and sustainable identities.

Olga Roussinova (National Research University Higher School of Economics) *The First Russian Royal Equestrian Monuments: Prince and Sculptor Managing the History*

Panel / *Session* 453, 'Enlightenment Rulers'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jonathan Singerton (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Monument to Peter the Great by Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli was finished as a model in 1724 and approved by the monarch, yet it was not established as a public monument until 1800. It became the second Russian city monument, and the first one was inaugurated in 1782 ("The Bronze Horseman" by Etienne Maurice Falconet). The comparison of both monuments is often reduced just to the known rivalry between Catherine II who commissioned the monument to Falconet and her son Paul I who ordered to finish and establish Rastrelli's equestrian.

Despite that, the obvious stylistic difference makes us discuss two opposite artistic images of the founder of the Russian Empire.

In the suggested presentation I examine both monuments as the attempt first to set the certain myth about enlightened Russian ruler in 1782, and to "make things right" again in 1800. Yet was the "injustice" fixed really? Or was it just one more way to control state of the art?

Michael Rowland (University of Sussex) *Inheriting Identity: Fathers and Sons in Lord Chesterfield's Letters and James Boswell's London Journal*

Panel / *Session* 228, 'Gentlemanly Identities'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Montana Davies-Shuck (Northumbria University)

In the increasingly commercial and competitive world of eighteenth-century British society, it became more important than ever for fathers to instil in their sons the right education, deportment and mental attitude. A young man unversed in politeness, business and 'the ways of the world' could be fatally flawed from the outset. This talk looks at two bodies of private papers that reveal what it was like to stand on either side of the line between fathers and sons in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. What room was there for personal identity in these relationships? How did young men negotiate the 'advice' of their fathers? How did fathers handle their sons' yearning for independence?

I argue that by paying attention to the varying emotions on display in Lord Chesterfield's letters to his illegitimate son Philip Stanhope, and James Boswell's reflections on his relationship with his father in his personal diary, we find that even when the worldly stakes were high, individual identity ultimately counted higher. Both Chesterfield and Boswell are able to step away from their own goals to see and engage with their counterpart on his own terms. This was not always easy however, and the paper explores the complex emotions – frustration, anger, resentment, shame – that are felt and deployed in order to shape masculine identity.

In doing so, the paper engages with critical thought in affect studies and the history of emotions. It considers Ute Frevert's suggestion that institutions and affects shape one another as a lens through which to understand the polite culture that both Chesterfield and Boswell value. If politeness is an affective institution, then identity too is shaped by institutionalised affects. I pay attention to the ways in which private writing in the letter and the journal responds to and utilises institutionalised affect as a way of shaping identity, but this same writing is also able to make space for recognition of individuality outside of these paradigms.

Stéphanie Roza (Université de Montpellier 3) *L'étrange XVIIIe siècle de Michel Foucault : pour une lecture critique de Surveiller et punir*

Panel / *Session* 434, 'Liberté et sécurité dans la pensée pénale des Lumières 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Philippe Audegean (Université Côte d'Azur)

Malgré un concert de louanges persistant, certains commentateurs ont fait remarquer que *Surveiller et punir* révélait en Foucault un « adversaire féroce des Lumières » (J.-G. Merquior). Et pour cause : le combat de certains de ses représentants pour une réforme pénale radicale est relu comme l'habillage idéologique d'une transition historique vers des formes de techniques disciplinaires moins violentes, moins spectaculaires, et par là d'autant plus pernicieuses et plus efficaces. Nous tenterons d'examiner par quels moyens heuristiques Foucault parvient à un tel résultat. L'analyse des ressorts de son argumentation permettra de mettre en évidence la distorsion que la démarche foucauldienne fait subir aux réflexions des penseurs des Lumières. Nous proposerons également une interprétation des raisons de cette démarche.

Joanna Rozendaal (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen) *Creating the Female Reader: The Representation of Women in Private Library Sales Catalogues*

Panel / *Session* 63, 'Women, Books, and Cultural Authority'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rindert Jagersma (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

Can we use catalogues of private libraries to understand how female intellectuals legitimised their intellectual authority? Using the case of Elisabeth de Wale (1691-1753) the erudite lady of Ankeveen as a primary example, this paper will examine how (sales) catalogues of women's libraries contributed to the making of early modern female intellectual authority.

In 1751, Lady de Wale's library was praised for its excellence and learnedness in a poem published within an anthology of occasional poetry. A few years later (in 1755) this very library was sold at auction. Without the catalogue accompanying the sale, the exact contents of de Wale's library would have been lost. Her book collection – described on the catalogue's title page as 'exquisite and rare' – contained books on a wide variety of subjects.

It is not all too common for an eighteenth-century woman to be praised so publicly for her intellect or her library, but other examples do exist. With the help of a corpus of several catalogues of other book collections owned by women, I would like to discuss how the presentation of these libraries helped to shape the reputation of women library owners. Was there a common discourse in describing these women's libraries? How was their learnedness highlighted (or downplayed) to market their book collections? Finally, by comparing catalogues with other sources, can we better grasp the ways in which female personas were (self-)fashioned?

Kelsey Rubin-Detlev (University of Southern California) *Maria Theresa's Letters to Her Children as an Epistolary Mirror for Princes*

Panel / *Session* 189, 'The Monarch as Author 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : László Kontler (Central European University, Budapest)

Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (1717-1780) is notable among eighteenth-century monarchs for her lack of interest in literature. She never deigned to correspond with writers or artists, much less to produce her own literary works. In her letters, her direct, didactic manner is a far cry from the literary fireworks produced by the likes of Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great. And yet, her correspondences with her ten surviving children represent a vast and still undervalued corpus for understanding not only her intellectual life, but also the writing practices of eighteenth-century European elites more broadly. This paper aims to build on Rita Krueger's apt description of Maria Theresa's instructions to her daughters as "epistolary treatises" offering the young women "a method of exerting female power behind the throne" ("Maria Theresa's Enlightenment: The Habsburgs, Generational Challenge, and Religious Indifference," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 46 (2017), 69-80 (p. 76)). Considering Maria Theresa's corpus of letters to her male and female children as a unified text—a mirror for princes outlining a clear and consistent theory of government that she hoped to see implemented across all of Catholic Europe—I shall analyse the core teachings

that the empress put forward, such as absolute devotion to the dynasty and careful gathering and distribution of information, as well as the rhetoric by which she asserted her authority as parent, ruler, and letter-writer. Through a curious combination of didacticism and devastating self-analysis, she makes herself a mirror for her children: their conduct reflects on her while her behaviour models and responds to theirs. Devoid of literary ambitions, Maria Theresa nonetheless proves a savvy manipulator of the play of self-images inherent in the epistolary form's address to the Other.

Martin Rueff (Université de Genève) *Le feu de l'amour : Anthropologie des passions chez Rousseau*

Panel / *Session 235*, 'Passions et autorité chez Rousseau'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Johanna Lenne-Cornuez (Paris-Sorbonne)

Selon Rousseau le langage n'est pas né pour dire le monde, mais pour dire l'amour. Au 18ème siècle, cette thèse originale déplace les lignes car elle met l'expression des affects au cœur de la communication : ce n'est pas pour assurer la référence que nous parlons mais pour instituer le monde de nos passions. Ce fil traverse et unit les écrits du philosophe et ceux de l'écrivain. Il y a plus et plus important – là où Rousseau noue anthropologie des passions et doctrine de l'expression, un mystère quotidien nous attend. C'est celui par lequel ce que nous disons de ce que nous sentons ne se distingue plus en droit de ce que nous sentons. Un amour est comme un feu : s'il se déclare, il existe autrement. Il est plus vif, plus intense. Plus dangereux aussi.

Valerie Rumbold (University of Birmingham) *Pope and Swift: Comparing Material Perspectives*

Panel / *Session 436*, 'New Perspectives on Editing Pope'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Marcus Walsh (University of Liverpool)

The Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope offers a new focus on the landmark material texts designed by author and printer (e.g. the Works of 1717). How might comparison with the material texts of Swift help us to think about the specificity and significance of Pope's carefully curated volumes? At the basic level of format, for instance, the folio and large quarto so important to the material texts of Pope were hardly relevant at all to lifetime publications of Swift, whose texts were most characteristically instantiated in octavos and half sheets. As might be expected for two authors of different generations, nations, religious confessions and professional strategies, their methods of bringing work to press, in line with the models of authorship represented by each, were also crucially different. In addition, later perceptions of generic interest and political orientation would give very different emphases to their later reception. Such comparisons help to focus the particular challenges and opportunities that material texts present for the C21st editing of Pope.

Laura Runge (University of South Florida) *Global Identities, Digital Scholarship, and Women's Book History*

Panel / *Session 426*, 'Digital Humanities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melanie Conroy (University of Memphis)

While publication of Enlightenment scholarship shifts toward digital forms, the focus remains on reproducing simulacra of print genres with roots in the seventeenth century: the book and the journal article. Outside the world of academe, the global reach of short form, visually rich, and mobile communication continues to accelerate. Using a case study of Women's Book History (WBH), this paper assesses ongoing digital scholarship and engages the international members of the field in questions about institutional practices, scholarly audiences, and the legacy we leave to the next generation of educators.

Monographs remain critical to the advancement of knowledge, but room needs to be made for alternative long-form and short-form scholarship to adapt to changing media, technology, and audiences. The field of WBH benefits greatly from advanced forms of digital scholarship in the way of databases, such as the Orlando Project, the Women Writers Project and Women in Book History Bibliography. Many new projects are in the DIY stage.

Beginning with the premise that digital scholarship is important to the advancement of the field, the following concerns require attention. In terms of sustainability, validity, and impact, how can we be more intentional about the creation of digital forms? How can we connect digital scholars and projects for sustainable production and maximal use? What role does the global audience play in the dissemination and direction of our scholarship? Do we want immediacy, response, and productive afterlives for our scholarship? Can we be idealist and inventive within the current labor structure of our universities (skewed toward monographs/articles)? How can we prepare for the digital identities of our students, the future enlightenment scholars? What legacy can we leave them? As the editor of an open-access online journal for early modern women and gender, I believe international scholars and connected conversations are keys to shaping this future.

Oleg **Rusakovskiy** (Higher School of Economics, Moscow) 'Foreigners are said to be wise and honest but they teach us false things': 'On Military Tactics' (1700/01) by Ivan Pososhkov and the European Military Tradition

Panel / *Session 442*, 'The Intellectual History of War in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ildiko Csengei (University of Huddersfield)

The paper focuses on "On Military Tactics" ("O ratnom povedenii"), written in winter 1700/01 and considered to be one of the first analytical military treatises written in the Russian language. Its author, Ivan Pososhkov, a mid-ranking official of the royal mint in Moscow who was never in military service himself, proposed a complex program of military reforms as an immediate reaction to the catastrophic defeat of Russian troops at Narva in the first major battle of the Great Northern war. Pososhkov praised the good individual qualities of Russian-born soldiers and heavily criticized foreign influences on native warfare. In particular, he discussed the advantages of aimed fire when practiced by experienced riflemen over the coordinated volley fire that Russian troops had been trained in by foreign drillmasters. He also questioned Western know-how in infantry and cavalry tactics, military engineering and gunnery introduced by the Tsar Peter I in the Russian army in the previous years. Pososhkov's attitude towards Western military and intellectual culture was, in fact, ambivalent. In spite of his conservative opinions and sometimes naïve criticism of foreign novelties, Pososhkov was clearly influenced by European military writings he knew from Russian translations and adaptations. As no Russian tradition of writing about warfare existed, Pososhkov followed Western examples in his authorial strategies, argumentation patterns and text structure. His own work as an independent intellectual offering a military reform proposal for a monarch was entirely new for Russian culture, though quite usual in Europe. Though Pososhkov was unable to attract the Tsar's attention, his treatise can be considered a unique way to think and write about warfare through critical appropriation of foreign intellectual culture.

Deborah **Russell** (University of York) Domestic Tyranny: Gendering the Madhouse

Panel / *Session 339*, 'Marital Subjects'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sijie Wang (Justus Liebig University Giessen)

In Eliza Parson's 1793 novel *The Castle of Wolfenbach*, the heroine is assured on arrival in Britain that "here are no lettres de cachet [...] in England no violence can be offered to you in any shape". Conservative formulations of British identity that emphasised the nation's civilized liberty often drew on this contrast, as William Godwin notes in *Caleb Williams* (1794): "'Thank God', exclaims the Englishman, 'we have no Bastille!'" As Godwin's example indicates, this aspect of the nation's self-image was subject to considerable interrogation in the years immediately after the French Revolution. Radical and reformist literary works put particular pressure on claims about British liberty via depictions of arbitrary and corrupt confinement in private madhouses. Maria's famous assertion in *Wollstonecraft's The Wrongs of Woman* (1798) that "Marriage had bastilled me for life" is spoken from one such institution, for example, while in the 1803 novel *The Chances*; or, *Nothing of the New School*, a crowd attacking an asylum chants, "down with the bastille! [sic]"

This paper will examine how post-Revolution Gothic texts exploit existing concerns about the regulation and running of private madhouses (as evidenced in parliamentary committees and debates in the 1760s and 70s and the early nineteenth century), and then inflect them to focus on a gendered experience of arbitrary domestic power. Drawing

on Wollstonecraft's novel alongside Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1794), Mary Robinson's *The Natural Daughter* (1799), and Matthew Lewis's monodrama *The Captive* (1803), I shall argue that this strain of Gothic literature strategically deploys the image of the unjustly confined wife to demonstrate the relationship between sexual coercion, economic corruption, and political silencing. In doing so, it emphasises the intersections – and the tensions – between national and gendered identity.

Gillian Russell (University of York) *Intermedial Siddons: Theatre, Fiction, Art, Salon*

Panel / *Session 69*, 'Character, Theatre, Novel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.16, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

The engagement of novelists with the theatre and drama is apparent not only at the level of the deployment of the figurative meanings of theatre in relation to concepts of character, theatricality, and questions of the 'real' and the 'fictive'. It is also manifested in representations of theatre-going, actual theatres, the ephemeral print media of play-going such as playbills and tickets, and references to celebrity performers such as David Garrick and, in particular, Sarah Siddons. This paper explores how prose fiction contributed to Siddons's reach across a range of media in the late-18th and early 19th centuries, specifically citations of her name, acting style, and authority as a public figure – Britain's Tragic Muse. My focus will be on Siddons's presence in the work of Irish writers such as Edgeworth and Morgan, as evidence of the actress's importance to the narration of character as well as a medium of homosociality between women artists.

Andrey Ryazhev (Russian Academy of Sciences) 'They must belong either to us or to you': Uniates (Greek Catholics) of Eastern Europe between Catholics and Orthodox (the Last Third of the Eighteenth Century)

Panel / *Session 273*, 'Intermediate Churches and Confessions in Early Modern Times'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Erica Camisa Morale (University of Southern California)

The quote in the title of the paper is the words of the Russian Emperor Paul I, sounded in his conversation with representatives of the Catholic Church. These words largely characterize the attitude to the Uniates (Greek Catholics, or Greek Latins), which established in societies of the Russian Empire, the Habsburg monarchy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the eve and during the Polish partitions. The paper mainly concentrates on the issue of religious and political relations between Greek Catholics and the Orthodox and Catholic churches in Poland and Lithuania, Romania and Transylvania, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other. It also traces the process of development of the Uniate confession during this time, shows the change in its position in connection with the partitions of Poland and Lithuania under the rule of the Russian and Austrian monarchies, identifies the social composition of communities in the city and rural areas, the structure of communities, the specifics of their material situation in comparison with Orthodoxy and Catholicism, characterizes the reasons for the stability of the Uniate confession of Eastern Europe in the Orthodox and Catholic environment. The role of the Uniate Church in the plans of the papacy for the development of missionary work in Eastern Europe and the Middle East is also marked. A special issue of the paper is the fate of the first generation of Uniate hierarchs in the Russian Empire.

Generally, the paper expands the scholar notions of the social role of intermediate confessions, the specifics of religious relations in the largest ethno-confessional contact zones of Eastern Europe – Lithuania, the Danube region in the 18th century.

Louise Ryland-Epton (Open University) *The Impact of Popular Participation in the Development of English Social Policy: Gilbert's Act 1782*

Panel / *Session 50*, 'Law and the Politics of Poverty'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Peter Denney (Griffith University)

The development of proto-democracy within English historiography of the eighteenth-century has suggested popular participation within the electoral process was wider and more sophisticated than previously identified. This paper extends the argument to the creation of legislation and demonstrates that with English governments pre-occupied with foreign policy, it was possible, even necessitous, for domestic policy to harness popular input and support across the country to drive reform within Westminster. It elucidates this by an examination of the enactment of Gilbert's Act, a piece of welfare legislation, which drew heavily upon a participatory political culture to create legislation and add momentum to a parliamentary campaign networked through its sponsor, Thomas Gilbert.

Gilbert was a backbench M.P. who campaigned for two decades to achieve a reform of the poor-law. These individual endeavours were energetic, increasingly sophisticated and unallied to a particular agenda but were highly receptive to, and dependent on, the public beyond Westminster. He turned to these forces when his parliamentary campaign was at risk or needed drive. He used their knowledge and experience to ensure the legislation was practical and had support. It was achieved through direct correspondence and political pamphlet material and enhanced through adept use of political spin and burgeoning print culture. Gilbert sought and embraced the widest range of opinion and social prejudice. The provisions of the legislation were the result of a collaborative effort.

The paper employs a biographical-historical approach to illuminate the work of a skilled political operator, who created a campaign shaped to fit the realities of eighteenth-century political life. By doing so, it also suggests that treatments of eighteenth-century politics should consider the wider social, cultural and media-based context to properly capture the participatory character of the political world at that time.

Hyewon **Ryu** (Korea University, Seoul) The Identity of Cross-Dressing in the Autobiographies of Hannah Snell and Charlotte Charke

Panel / *Session* 180, 'Private Women, Public Consequences: Domesticating the Enlightened Subject at Home and Abroad 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nancy Cho (Seoul National University)

My presentation addresses the craft of spatial mobility and the building of porous identity through the reading of two eighteenth-century female autobiographies. *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke* (1755) features an actress and author notorious for cross-dressing both on and off the stage. *The Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell* (1750) deals with the life story of a woman who disguised herself as a man and joined the Royal British Marines. A plethora of ballads and broadsides that deal with cross-dressers and hermaphrodites began to circulate starting in the seventeenth century. Although partly following commonplace patterns of such commercial literature, the autobiographies of Charlotte Charke and Hannah Snell are differentiated in that their own clear self-identification as transvestites allows them to make their crossover into economic agents. I examine the ruses they employ to traverse spatial boundaries and to participate in exclusively male domains. Their cross-dressing permits the construction of more mobile, porous, and fortuitous identities. While the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of domestic subjectivity pivoted on the secluded private space, the two autobiographies signal that an antithetical type of identity also arises by breaching the more rigid division by dint of spatial mobility.

Abstracts of Papers / *Résumés des communications*

S – Z

Abstracts are listed in alphabetical order of presenter. Names, paper titles, and institutional information have been checked and, where necessary, corrected. The main text, however, is in the form in which it was originally submitted to us by the presenter and has not been corrected or formatted. Abstracts are provided as a guide to the content of papers only. The organisers of the congress are not responsible for any errors or omissions, nor for any changes which presenters make to their papers.

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Wout Saelens (University of Antwerp) Enlightened Comfort: The Material Culture of Heating and Lighting in Eighteenth-Century Ghent

Panel / *Session* 454, 'Enlightenment Spaces'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Fritz (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

As enlightened inventors like Benjamin Franklin and Count Rumford were thinking about how to improve domestic comfort through more efficient stove and lamp types, the increasing importance of warmth and light in material culture is considered to have been one of the key features of the eighteenth-century 'invention of comfort'. Daniel Roche (1997) has already described how the struggle against cold and darkness shaped the organisation of the early modern domestic interior. Yet, the material culture of heating and lighting remains largely unexplored, since in the classic historiography on early modern consumption and material culture it has mostly been overshadowed by a luxury world of goods craving for novelty, fashion and pleasure. However, according to John E. Crowley (2001), the consumer revolution in early modern Britain especially concerned a greater sensibility within the material culture of heating and illumination. Physical comfort became an important cultural category in the home, and as such the interest of philosophes in its improvement gained in importance as well. In this paper, I wish to investigate the rise of this 'enlightened comfort' through the spread of new fuels, fuel appliances and ways of distributing artificial heating and illumination in eighteenth-century Ghent, a cultural and economic centre on the Continent at the time. By drawing upon the evidence recorded in probate inventories as the main source material, I will collect and analyse the types of energy sources used (firewood, charcoal, peat, coal, vegetable and animal oils), the types of heating and lighting appliances employed (hearths, stoves, braziers, candles, lamps, mirrors, etc.), as well as their relative number, spatial distribution, and relation to other aspects of household life. While most historians have tried to explain changes within the domestic interior through the cultural values that appear in the discourses on comfort in the Age of Enlightenment, probate inventories allow for a better insight into the way these values were (or were not) actually popularised within the material practices of daily life.

Mahbouba Sai Tlili (Université de Tunis) La femme orientale face à l'altérité dans l'Essai de Voltaire

Panel / *Session* 304, 'Lumières, femmes et identités en Orient'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Halima Ouanada (Université de Tunis El Manar)

Dans l'Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations, Voltaire s'intéresse au statut de la femme arabe dans l'islam. Il soulève des questions relatives à sa place dans la famille et la société, par rapport au divorce, à la polygamie, etc.

Cependant, l'approche historiographique et anthropologique de l'Essai – présenté comme « Histoire universelle », ne trahit pas moins, nous semble-t-il, la démarche polémique du philosophe : en montrant à l'Europe un autre exemple de civilisation, Voltaire pointe du doigt l'intolérance de l'Église chrétienne et l'absolutisme de l'Ancien Régime. L'Essai gagnerait serait ainsi à être interprété comme appel à une réforme chrétienne. Dans cette intervention, nous entendons analyser les prises de positions de Voltaire par rapport à des traits spécifique de la société orientale en démontrant, paradoxalement, leur ancrage dans l'actualité européenne et chrétienne.

Sho Saito (University of Tokyo) 'How to Write Good Dialogues': Johann Christoph Gottsched as Translator of Fontenelle

Panel / *Session* 364, 'Enlightenment Style: Strategic Use of Fiction for Persuasion and Entertainment'.

Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Masaaki Takeda (University of Tokyo)

The dialogue as literary genre flourished in the Age of Enlightenment. This popularity is related to classical examples such as Plato, Cicero and Lucian. In this respect, the use of dialogue form in the eighteenth century can be seen in connection with its tradition reaching back to antiquity. It is not surprising then if theoretical reflections on the genre often took up some of the issues of the "Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes".

In this paper, I will focus on Johann Christoph Gottsched as the translator of Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle and especially on his "Discourse on Dialogues in General", written as the introduction to his translations (1727/1760). Fontenelle, who himself was a prominent figure in the Querelle, not only resuscitated the Lucianic subgenre of "Dialogues of the Dead", but also introduced an innovation with his "Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes", inspiring many scientific dialogues in the eighteenth century.

While Gottsched diagnoses his own time, in contrast to the classical period, as rather unfavorable for dialogues as such, he regards the genre as a promising vehicle for popularizing modern scientific knowledge. In answer to the question: "How to write good dialogues", he develops his project of prescriptive poetics of dialogue, proposing four essential "rules" to follow. I will examine in detail these rules and their supposedly universal validity.

Takashi Sakamoto (Rikkyo University) The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter and the Orphic-Pythagorean

Panel / *Session* 355, 'Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 3 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

In the Tale of the Bamboo Cutter, the oldest Japanese prose narrative dated to 10th Century, a princess Kaguya goes back to the Moon, from where she was sent to the earth for the compensation of her sin on the Moon. Here is observed the typical Folklore- system which can be classified into the Swan maiden together with the older Chinese cosmological folklorish topos of Moon palace. If this topos of Moon palace would have been described in a tale on the side of the western world, it would have required some cosmological background which is commonly held only by the Atomist and the Orphic-Pythagorean. Based on their own cosmology, they imagined a habitable another world also on the surface of the Moon. Why could be present the topos of Moon Palace in the Japanese narrative based deeply on the Folklore which seems to have no coherence to the ionic and atomic view of the world? Or is it possible to find some traces of the Orphic-Pythagorean doctrine in The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter, in which the return to the Moon could be interpreted as the Orphic Metempsychosis into the Moon? Here will be pursued a cosmological paradigm of the Orphic-Pythagorism which can be applied also to the oldest Japanese narration.

Simona Sala (Université de Lausanne) The Necessity of Religion for Founding the Republic:
Germaine de Staël's *Des circonstances actuelles*

Panel / *Session* 243, 'Quêtes d'identité : pensée, histoire et projections du religieux au tournant des Lumières (1780–1815)'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

Intégrée à un travail plus vaste qui est en cours sur la religion dans la pensée et l'œuvre de Germaine de Staël, l'étude proposée aborde le cas particulier de "Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer la révolution et des principes qui doivent fonder la république en France". Cet ouvrage écrit en 1798 et resté non publié jusqu'en 1906 comporte un chapitre intitulé "Des religions" qui fera l'objet d'un examen détaillé dans le contexte de la réflexion politique menée par G. de Staël, avec Benjamin Constant, sur la question brûlante des principes à respecter pour la nécessaire refondation de la république en France au temps où il s'agit de "terminer la révolution".

Fernão Salles (Federal University of São Carlos) The Decline of Enlightened Nations and Language: Condillac's Remarks on Poetry

Panel / *Session* 168, 'Equation and Equivalence'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Clemis (Mount Royal University, Calgary)

What we intend to do in this paper is to reconstruct the thread connecting Condillac's observations about poetry to his diagnosis concerning the decline of enlightened nations. Somewhat marginal, at first glance, such observations acquire importance when examined more closely; it is in them that the philosopher introduces the theme of the use of figures of speech, paving the way to show that this use is a possibility inscribed in the very nature of signs. As the philosopher says: "in its origin language is always figurative." That is, because for Condillac there is no connection of essence between sign and meaning, the act of naming objects will always be, in some sense, a figuration, and names can always be shifted from its original meaning to refer to something that has not yet been designated. This is not necessarily bad: it represents a considerable extension of our capacity for expression.

However, if that displacement enlarges the possibilities of language, it also opens the door to abuses that make the signs empty, the speech frivolous, and the thinking obscure. Conceived according to the model provided by the generation of animals, the history of the rise and progress of language, written by Condillac in his *Essay*, implies that "the same movement which was a principle of life becomes a principle of destruction", as it happens when it comes to the development of living beings. This decline in languages in general then seems almost inevitable. And since it is from the progress of language, among other factors, that depends the state of arts and sciences, this will directly affect the philosopher's view of civil history and the progress of enlightened nations, as we shall try to show in our exposition.

Anna Maria Salvadè (University of Milan) An Episode of the Italian Enlightenment: Alessandro Verri Discovers London (1766–1767)

Panel / *Session* 232, 'London'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Joanne Myers (Gettysburg College)

In October 1766, Alessandro Verri and Cesare Beccaria were welcomed with full honours in Paris by the philosophes, as exponents of the Lombard Enlightenment reformist group who, with the treaty "Dei delitti e delle pene" and the journal "Il Caffè", had just known a European enshrinement. But at the moment of the highest glory the break takes place: Beccaria, affected by anxiety and strong nostalgia for his family, returns precipitously to Milan, while Alessandro continues his journey to London; his own return to Italy will happen later, to sanction the end of that shared experience, not in Milan, capital of the Enlightenment, but in the Rome of archaeological and antique splendor. In England, between December 1766 and February 1767, Alessandro, now free from the bonds of friendship and collaboration that had often influenced him, wrote about twenty letters to his brother Pietro, which, in a lively and easy prose, compose a detailed picture of that nation's society and customs. Fascinated by the mercantile world and by the ease in building public relations (here he meets, among others, the young Charles James Fox, destined to important political tasks, and visits Laurence Sterne, who was then completing the edition of the *Tristram Shandy*), Verri discovers a reality not devoid of contradictions, between freedom and progress, while developing a passion for antiquity that, even when he will permanently reside in Rome, will keep him constantly in contact with England.

Samara **Samara Cahill** (Nanyang Technological University) Peru, Systems Thinking, and the Imperial Eye

Panel / *Session* 151, 'Sciences et Mouvement des Lumières dans les campagnes/Science and Enlightenment Movement in the Countryside'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (Université de Lille)

Mary Louise Pratt, in her canonical *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), argued that one aspect of the colonial gaze was the erasure of indigenous peoples in favor of a georgic vision of cultivating landscape for greater productivity. When examining the children's literature classic *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783-89), it is clear that—in addition to being a cross-class critique of frictionless consumption combined with a censure of slavery—the novel essentially endorses a georgic imaginary of Peru in the service of colonial endeavor. This paper, building on David Fairer's defense of the "eco-georgic," explores the extent to which the ecologically useful mode of the georgic nevertheless lends itself to a potentially colonial vision of ecological holism.

Javier **San Julián** (University of Barcelona) Adam Smith in the Chairs on Political Economy and Trade in Spain, 1780–1823

Panel / *Session* 287, 'Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations in Spain, 1780–1830 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jesús Astigarraga (University of Zaragoza)

The penetration of Adam Smith's ideas in the Iberian Peninsula did not take a long time to be effective. One key source for the diffusion of Smithian ideas was the actual use of the *Wealth of Nations* as a textbook in the courses supplied by some chairs on political economy and trade scattered all along Spain. Sponsored by Enlightened societies, or by local boards of trade, these chairs gained momentum and respect in the last decades of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, they becoming a way for the spread of foreign economists' ideas, particularly French and Italian. It is in this framework that Smith's ideas made their appearance, directly through translations or adaptation of the *Wealth of Nations*, or indirectly through other texts of Smithian inspiration. Slightly later Universities ensued, creating chairs on economics, in which, among some others books, Smith's was used, even if Say's *Traité* quickly replaced it as the main textbook.

This contribution to this IESC Congress analyses the diffusion of Adam Smith through the chairs of political economy held by this group of institutions. There are some works available that have already addressed the issue of economic teaching in Spain in this period, from a general perspective and local. It is our purpose to complement this literature by revisiting the whole process of penetration of Adam Smith in particular in the teaching institutions of this period, shedding more light on the adoption of the *Wealth of Nations* as a text for teaching, and its eventual replacement with Say's *Traité*. In spite of a relatively ephemeral presence of Smith as a central source in the training of Spanish economists at the beginning of the 19th century, he remained nevertheless as a highly appreciated economic authority, present and quoted in virtually every text on political economy written in Spain all along the century.

Alain **Sandrier** (Université de Caen) L'instrument numérique et la main de l'homme : dynamique scientifique et travail collaboratif

Panel / *Session* 48, 'L'ENCCRE et les recherches sur l'Encyclopédie à l'ère du numérique : résultats et perspectives 2'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Le Sueur (CNRS, Institut Camille Jordan)

Loin de tout traitement purement automatisé, une entreprise numérique comme celle de l'ENCCRE vise à inscrire au cœur même de sa démarche la place et l'apport d'une activité de recherche, tant en cours que cumulée, mettant en jeu des scientifiques d'horizons variés, à la mesure de l'ouverture encyclopédique elle-même. Cela constitue autant un défi qu'une ambition invitant à ne pas succomber aux sirènes d'une informatisation précipitée qui manquerait la spécificité de l'objet auquel elle s'applique. D'un côté, il s'agit d'intégrer les connaissances sur l'Encyclopédie dans un cadre unifié respectant cependant la multiplicité des angles d'attaques, pour mieux cerner un objet qui ne se donne

nullement d'emblée dans son identité véritable mais qui se découvre au contraire dans sa richesse par l'exploration active et humaine. D'un autre côté, il s'agit de convertir et d'éduquer ceux qui rejoignent cette démarche aux bénéfices d'une gestion numérisée du travail d'édition. Le séminaire de l'ENCCRE, né en 2013, tente d'articuler ce double travail à travers des dispositifs originaux, ouvrant sur de nouvelles formes d'appropriation du fonctionnement des interfaces. C'est à l'exploration de ces nouvelles formes (ateliers personnalisés ou d'initiation, etc.) et au retour critique sur la vie d'un séminaire à visée numérique que nous nous attacherons, en mettant en valeur la dimension collaborative appelée par le développement de l'ENCCRE, et les enjeux, notamment numériques, qu'elle révèle.

Susannah Sanford (Texas Christian University) **Breaking Vows Outside the Nunnery: Isabella's Sexuality and City Limits in Aphra Behn's *The History of the Nun***

Panel / *Session 3*, 'Aphra Behn'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hilde Neus (IMWO/AdeKUS University of Suriname)

In Aphra Behn's *The History of the Nun*, or, *The Fair Vow-Breaker*, Isabella is the most virtuous form of womanhood a reader could imagine. She is virginal, a nun, later a dutiful wife, a faithful widow, and again a compliant wife to a second husband. For Isabella, sexual power is tied to her location, and she must wield that power through the flaunting of her virtuous character and the approval of nuns. Isabella is first characterized as virtuous and perfect, then her sexuality augments as she agrees to change locations between town and countryside multiple times throughout the novella. For example, Isabella's first sexual encounter must not occur in the same city as the nunnery, but her (celibate) widowhood does. Isabella's second marriage flourishes at the country estate of her second husband, rather than in a distant town as in the first marriage.

Aleksandra Hultquist has argued that Isabella's extreme responses, such as the surprise double homicide, are to the patriarchal structures that attempt to control her sexuality. Isabella's father requires her to make her choice—nunnery and virtuous peace or a fortune and life in a city—at the age of thirteen. Her future encounters with men, sexual or otherwise, hang on this decision. Further examining the nature of Isabella's sexuality, this time in the context of her physical movements, I plan to investigate the implications of setting in the novella, focusing on Isabella's travel between cities and homes, and its effects on her sexuality and her presumed virtue of character. I argue Isabella's sexuality must remain outside the town in which she is courted until she has been married and absolved of her crime of breaking her sacred vows and fleeing. She returns to Iper and renews her bodily purity, and finds peace and financial stability in her virtuousness.

Matthew Sangster (University of Glasgow) **Collaborative Versions of the British Metropolis**

Panel / *Session 476*, 'Visual and Literary Topography'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Cynthia Roman (The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University)

As London grew into a city of over a hundred thousand buildings and a million people over the course of the eighteenth century, it presented new kinds of representational challenges that often proved insurmountable for single observers. While a few bold attempts were made by individuals to encompass the metropolis – one of the most notable being Richard Horwood's decade-long struggle to produce his immense Plan (1792-9) – literary writers often turned away in horror from the city, seeing it, like William Wordsworth, as a 'monstrous ant-hill on the plain/ Of a too busy world'. However, this was also a period during which topographical forms less invested than poetry in the value of individualism proliferated through embracing intertextuality and cooperation. Drawing on my digital mapping project, Romantic London (<http://www/romanticlondon.org>), I will explore how publisher and patron-led collaborations including John Thomas Smith's *Antiquities of London* (1791-1800) and Rudolph Ackermann's *Microcosm* (1808-10) brought together recognizably disparate talents and discourses in attempting to account for the metropolis. I will also examine the ways in which published works established themselves as fora for reconfiguration and personalization, considering how later editions and extra-illustration projects both modest and elaborate transformed Thomas Pennant's *Of London* in dialogue with topographical traditions and the burgeoning print market.

Aaron **Santesso** (Georgia Institute of Technology) Enlightenment Liberalism and the Rhetoric of Radicalism

Panel / *Session* 406, 'Popular Politics and Radicalism'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

John Wilkes and Charles Churchill were close allies and friends, and worked together on the radical newspaper *The North Briton*. Both produced famously aggressive, often virulent work. But whereas Wilkes, no matter how slanderous or harsh his attacks, always remained an advocate of democratic rights and individual liberty, Churchill, in his satires especially, sometimes moved into darker territory, arguing against both toleration and individual rights. Indeed, in works like "The Times," Churchill is willing to recommend the use of organized "terror" against those who pursue what he regards as immoral or shameful behavior. Wilkes is generally unwilling to cross that line. What inspires this difference? Why would two political partners operate in such different rhetorical and philosophical modes?

This paper would investigate what might move one author away from radicalism, into something closer to proto-fascism. What is the transformative moment that divides the work of these two friends? Is genre the crucial element (that is, is there something about working in poetic satire that shifts Churchill's worldview)? Or does the divide lie rather in the way each understands and engages with the concepts underlying the radical wing of Enlightenment liberalism? Ultimately, Churchill's work allows us to explore what happens when liberalism gives voice to those who hold anti-liberal positions, and enfranchises the opponents of toleration and democracy – a paradox and a problem we are very much facing again today.

Zaigham **Sarfraz** (Government College University Faisalabad) How Enlightenment Thinkers Influenced the Colonial India: Understanding Adam Smith and *Wealth of Nations* in Indian Context

Panel / *Session* 395, 'Indian Identities'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Tina Janssen (University of Warwick)

Enlightenment thinkers influenced and modernised the world and brought paradigm shift in state and society relations. In this context, Understanding economy particularly Colonial Indian market is very important. This aspect has never been widely addressed or discussed. This paper aims to examine why nations failed generally in socio-economic terms, contextualising Adam Smith and his magnum opus *Wealth of Nations* purely in agrarian societies as that of India. This paper also inquires why the post colonial states such as India and Pakistan failed to address its core economic and development challenges in the twenty first century owing to sheer neglect of enlightenment thinkers policies and research studies. Consequently, witnessing reverting pattern of regression in socio-economic terms and for the welfare of the people. Lastly, It will highlight the importance of the Enlightenment thinkers and how they should be taught in universities around the world, particularly third world countries and most importantly enhancing in contemporary Pakistan and India.

Dhrubajyoti **Sarkar** (University of Kalyani) Polite Merchants: The Crisis of Politeness and the British East India Company

Panel / *Session* 89, 'Politeness and Civility'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh (Swansea University)

As the doldrums of boom and bust cycles settled over the affairs of the British East India Company, the 1693 Charter and 1709 union of the Old and the New companies ushered in a period of spectacular prosperity for the Company. However, at home, this is also the period of cultural transition from the Restoration Courtly culture to the Augustan culture of Politeness. It is now a matter of common parlance that Shaftesbury's proposition of the attitude of the bourgeois sociability called 'politeness' manifested itself in diverse fields of literature and culture (e.g. Addison, Steele and Behn). Thus, it may be expected that the United Company of Merchants that started its reinvigorated operations in the East Indies in 1709, would have also manifested its participation in the constructionist project of politeness.

However, the idea of politeness is not often applied to the texts of historical domain. This paper attempts to study the communications of the East India Company during this period to trace the adoption of vocabulary of politeness by East India merchants. In particular, this paper proposes that the limits of the idea of politeness manifest itself in the crisis of the emerging normativity. Robert Clive onward the East India men – the ‘Nabobs’- were the subject of sustained criticism, particularly as rich upstarts lacking taste. (Holzman; Smylitopoulos)

In conclusion, this paper proposes that social antagonism and disgust at ‘Nabob’s may be seen as a veritable reaffirmation of politeness itself and its concomitant standards of taste (Hume 1757) through ‘othering’. Finally, in historical terms, the actual manifestation of this crisis of the idea of politeness and taste can be seen in the vilification of the ‘nabobs’ that culminate in the resignation (1784) and subsequent Impeachment (1788-1795) of Warren Hastings.

Holzman, James H. *The Nabobs in England*. 1926.

Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East (1602-'17), 6 vols. ed. F.C.Danvers (Vol I) and W. Forster (Vols II-VI), London, 1896-1902.

Smylitopoulos, Christina. “Rewritten and Reused: Imagining the Nabob through “Upstart Iconography””. 2008.

Sora **Sato** (Toyo University) Truth, Order and Religion: Burke, Hume and Anglican theology in Eighteenth-century English Historiography

Panel / *Session* 125, ‘The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 1’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30.

Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Iain McDaniel (University of Sussex)

Recent major scholarship on Burke has revealed the extent to which Burke owed his views on history and politics to one of his eminent contemporaries, David Hume. Yet the systematic analysis of the intellectual relationship between them is still left to be conducted. Although Burke frequently took Hume’s political and historical arguments critically, some of his political and historical ideas, including those on monarchy in modern Europe, seem closer to those of this Scot than his explicit comments in texts suggest. Their other ideas, not confined to those on religion, seem to still remain irreconcilable. The achievements of Richard Bourke’s Empire and Revolution are the starting point for this paper, and its analysis is expanded to the less-known textual evidence.

Francesca **Savoia** (University of Pittsburgh) Giuseppe Baretta and the Royal Academy of Art

Panel / *Session* 457, ‘Giuseppe Baretta (1719–1789) Turns 300’. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Fabio Forner (University of Verona)

In 1768, few months after the foundation of the Royal Academy of Art and the unanimous election of Sir Joshua Reynolds as its first president, Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and Giuseppe Baretta were appointed, respectively, Professor of Ancient Literature, Professor of Ancient History and Secretary of Foreign Correspondence of that institution. The positions were entirely honorary and did not carried salaries or responsibilities; however, they allowed the three authors to attend the meetings of the Academy, as well as its annual dinners. Considering that England’s laws did not favor foreigners and individuals of different religion, Baretta was justified in feeling particularly honored by this appointment.

Although he did not actually conduct foreign correspondence for the Academy, he translated and published into Italian seven of the discourses delivered by Reynolds to its members (*Delle Arti del Disegno discorsi: discorsi del Cav. Giosuè Reynolds, presidente della Reale Accademia di Londra ... trasportati dall’Inglese nel Toscano idioma*. Firenze: n. p., 1778) and wrote *A Guide through the Royal Academy* (London: T. Cadell, 1781). Baretta had known Reynolds, as well as the architect William Chambers since the mid 1750s, and two of his most intimate and long-term friends were the sculptor Joseph Wilton and the Florentine born painter Giambattista Cipriani, both members of the Academy. Baretta knew also Angelica Kauffman and praised her work, and was of help to young artists such as Maria Cosway and Francesco Bartolozzi. My paper would like to illustrate how Baretta’s knowledge of figurative arts was far from superficial, and the function he played in the London artistic community he frequented was not as perfunctory as it is usually believed.

Panu Savolainen (University of Turku) Shopping in Eighteenth-Century Swedish Towns: A History of Architectural Semiotics

Panel / *Session* 123, 'Shopping Practices and Experiences in Eighteenth-Century Scandinavia'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : My Hellsing (Uppsala University)

This paper examines the history of experiences of shopping through the lens of architectural semiotics in Swedish towns during the long eighteenth century. Shop windows, product disposal and textual or pictorial signs, as well as the overall architecture of shops and retailing, offers an interesting semiotic scope to examine how shopping was visually and spatially exposed and perceived in urban contexts.

The paper tackles the experiences of shopping by asking how shops evolved as architectural concepts and spatial typologies. Furthermore, it explores visual signs and symbols that were applied to demarcate and to highlight the places of shopping in the urban space. The architectural concept means here a specific building type, intended for the purposes of retailing with direct access from street and customised design of the shop interiors for different specialised repertoire of products. Architectural drawings from the long eighteenth-century make visible the evolution of this spatial typology, and the origins of indoor commercial spaces of Scandinavia.

The enquiry stems from a variety of sources, including diaries and letters, architectural drawings, tax registers and other administrative documents, newspapers, artefacts from museum collections and other evidence of material culture as the physical remains of built fabric.

Kirsten Saxton (Mills College) The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Murderess Mary Blandy

Panel / *Session* 138, 'Making Stars: Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Nora Nachumi (Yeshiva University)

Mary Blandy was hung on April 6, 1752, for poisoning her father. Her case was a spectacular media event; she was a young(ish) woman of means, of a "good" family; the trial was the first to feature forensic evidence and the first in which evidence was marshalled by lawyers into the narrative structure of a story organized by circumstantial evidence, then considered the highest of evidentiary standards. The trial centered on the question of intent: whether or not Mary Blandy knew the "potion" she mixed with her father's daily oatmeal was, in fact, arsenic. Even after the verdict, public opinion remained sharply divided: Was she a lovesick and pathetically naive young woman, a conniving and ruthless minx, or something in between? In her own era, she was the subject of countless articles, treatises, ballads, visual interpretations letters, speeches, broadsides and more. During the 19th-century she remained a popular subject for adaptive remix and editorializing. She is the subject of romantic pulp 1950s fiction, a 1980 BBC TV show true crime show, a shadow puppet show on YouTube, and a recent Norwegian rock ballad. The Malmaison Hotel, the refitted Oxford Castle prison where she was incarcerated, stages her story for edutainment, and students of the paranormal and ghost tour operators hunt for her spirit. Working within a frame of literary interpretation, cultural studies, and museum studies, the paper considers Blandy's extensive transmedia adaptive history and examines how the ghost tour ("non-official" curation) and the Oxford Prison ("official" curation) create fictional constructions of women. The paper explores how Blandy is staged through literary adaptations and curatorial tourism. The paper explores how Blandy is staged through literary adaptations and curatorial tourism and examines the cultural work done by adaptations of her case. In particular it thinks about how Blandy's restaging as a celebrity murderess positions "insider/outsider" and interprets vulnerability, guilt, gender and crime.

Belinda Scerri (University of Melbourne) The Unbearable Lightness of Seeing: Mirrors and 'la Vie Privée' in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris

Panel / *Session* 454, 'Enlightenment Spaces'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Fritz (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

During the final years of the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1715) Paris began to metamorphose. In the area around the Place Vendôme wealthy Parisians were building town residences. These were the first to accommodate a new way of

living that had privacy and pleasure as its central tenet. In 1690, the term 'vie privée', defined as "the opposite of public life", first appeared. For the nobles and haute bourgeoisie, identity could be constructed not merely through activity in the public sphere. It could be manifest in a concrete way, through the construction of private spaces.

Art critic La Font de Saint-Yenne wrote derisively of the privileged place afforded mirrors and ornamentation in these early eighteenth-century Parisian interiors. In 1747 La Font bemoaned: "the science of the brush has been forced to cede its place to the brilliance of the looking glass. The mechanical facility of [the mirror's] perfection, & its abundance, has exiled the most beautiful of the Arts from homes". The establishment, in 1655, of the Royal Glass Manufactory, overcame the need to import Venetian glass – a costly and fraught endeavour. In 1688 another important technical innovation occurred with the invention of poured plate glass enabling greater use of glass in private interiors.

Ornemaniste sculptor Nicolas Pineau (1684-1754) was one of France's leading decorative artists and, through engravings, his designs for mirror frames, chimney pieces and related furniture were disseminated throughout Europe. An examination of Pineau's innovative designs for mirrors, and the patrons who commissioned them, provides insight into the integrated and innovative decorative arts in early French Rococo interior schematics. The installation of mirrors as ornamental elements was not a mere transposition of one decorative element for another – reflective glass for paintings. The abundance of mirrored surfaces reflected not only private spaces but also private lives. Though invariably these were not purely private. The decorative interiors were often expressions of a very public desire for recognition and status, whether that be as an arbiter of taste, a connoisseur, or a social aspirant.

Marie-Cécile **Schang** (Université Bretagne-Sud) De la bergère poudrée à la victime cloîtrée : valeur politique des larmes dans l'opéra-comique de la période révolutionnaire

Panel / *Session* 20, 'Opéra-Comique and Identity During the French Revolution'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

L'opéra-comique de la période révolutionnaire rejette les larmes qui symbolisent la sensibilité de la société d'Ancien Régime, mais valorise la représentation de victimes opprimées par l'usage arbitraire du pouvoir dans cette même société. Quand les larmes coulent à flot, leur dimension est tantôt sérieuse, tantôt parodique. Comment interpréter une telle variété dans le recours aux larmes ? La question esthétique est indissociable d'une analyse de la valeur politique des larmes, et corrélativement du rire, dans l'opéra-comique révolutionnaire.

Elizabeth **Schlappa** (Newcastle University) 'I cou'd not pass by setting a Stigma upon such Creatures': Unchaste and Unstable Femininities in Early Eighteenth-Century Anti-Masturbation Discourse

Panel / *Session* 414, 'Women and Sexual Agency in the Eighteenth Century'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Karen Harvey (University of Birmingham)

In the early days of the anti-masturbation movement, female masturbation was treated by commentators not only as a new problem, but as a distinctive one. Credit for popularising the idea of onanism as a deadly vice is given to the infamous Onania; or, the heinous sin of self-pollution, and all its frightful consequences, in both sexes. Published anonymously around 1716, this hybrid medical/religious tract proved hugely successful over its many editions. This paper explores the gender-inflected anxieties about female masturbation in the Onania and its critics, and argues that rather than launching an equal-opportunities vice, these texts demonstrated a gendered specificity in line with the sexual politics of the time.

Despite the superficially egalitarian approach suggested by its title, Onania's portrayal of female masturbation betrayed sex-specific concerns. Later editions, particularly, evidenced a shift towards overtly sexualised portrayals of women in comparison with male subjects. While its threatening qualities were most dramatically exemplified in the figures of the hermaphrodite and the tribade, female onanism in the Onania was also disruptive to virginity, motherhood, marriage, and to female sexuality as a governable force.

For all its influence, Onania's treatment of women was not uncontroversial, and sparked particularly robust condemnation in the critical pamphlet Onania Examined, and Detected. Alongside accusations of quackery, indecency

and misuse of scripture, this rebuttal accused the Onania of unjustly defaming the fairer sex. Yet despite his staunch objections, even such a committed detractor was unable to resist using female masturbation as a synecdoche for every possible social transgression that a woman might commit. This paper proposes that whether her sex was physically inscribed or socially located, the discursive beginnings of female onanism were fraught with worry about what a self-pleasuring woman, in particular, meant for her society.

Philippe Bernhard **Schmid** (University of St Andrews) 'L'illustre nom que vous portez': Memory and Civility in the Beausobre Family

Panel / *Session* 89, 'Politeness and Civility'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh (Swansea University)

When in 1752 Louis de Beausobre was received at court in Potsdam, adopted by the King, and sent to Paris for further studies, Paul Ernst Jablonski, his former professor in Frankfurt an der Oder, congratulated him, saying that it is consoling to see that 'un grand Monarque scait si bien reconnoitre les merites des grands hommes, et qu'il est genereusement porté à les recompenser, meme dans leurs fils et descendants'. This turn of events, as indicated by Jablonski, was largely owed to the memory of Louis' father Isaac de Beausobre, 'la meilleure plume de Berlin', as the King Frederic II. used to say. Changing attitudes to death and dying in the eighteenth century lead to more elaborate forms of memorialisation in scholarly communities, such as the development of a canon of scholars. But what role did civility play in remembering the deceased within scholarly circles? This paper presents a microstudy of the Beausobre family, its friends, and enemies, over the course of three generations, using unprinted sources. The dramatis personae includes Isaac, first generation Huguenot refugee, minister and scholar, his wife Charlotte Henriette, née Schwarz, his energetic son Charles-Louis, a minister such as his father, Frederic II. King of Prussia, young Louis, son to Charlotte, Jean Henri Samuel Formey, minister and mediator of the Berlin refuge, and many others. While Charles-Louis was preoccupied preserving the legacy of his father by editing and publishing his manuscripts, Louis profited a great deal from his fame, being invited by Titon du Tillet to join the figures of his 'Essais sur les honneurs et sur les monumens accordés aux illustres savants' for the 'illustre nom que vous portez'. As this paper argues, social customs such as civility, familial duty, and friendship, as well as their limits, are significant for understanding memory culture. What could be expected from the living, and what could be asked from the dead, has always been a matter of debate.

Susanne **Schmid** (Freie Universität Berlin) Nagging and Cantankerous: Ill-Humoured Women

Panel / *Session* 450, 'DIGIT.EN.S: Unruly Sociability? Gender and Constructions of Identity'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Emrys Jones (King's College London)

Amanda Vickery has argued that eighteenth-century women actively participated in the public sphere but that their access to could differed from that enjoyed by men. Furthermore, women certainly cultivated and actively shaped the social or sociable sphere, the sphere of mutual visiting and intercourse. To women, this participation occurred within the family, but also within wider social and geographical contexts. Since sociability is an experience of immediacy, the spoken word is essential to it, as a large number of essays on speech as well as conduct books prove.

My paper aims to look at female sociable speech that is deviant as regards values often associated with eighteenth-century culture: politeness, sensibility, decorum, Christianity. My examples are (1) a satirical tract on conduct books as well as (b) a female literary character, Tabitha Bramble, in Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (1771) as well as reactions to her in the decades following the publication of this epistolary novel.

Jane Collier's 1757 *Essay on the Art of Ingeniously Tormenting* is a satirical reaction to advice literature: she advises on the art of nagging (stereotypically considered to be a female activity). Collier deals with questions of how to verbally handle or rather abuse servants, friends, and family, how to torture one's poor companions, thus satirically pointing at issues in the social hierarchy, human interaction and particularly at prescribed images of femininity.

Old spinsters like Tabitha are often outside the dominant literary marriage plot (although the ill-humoured Tabitha eventually marries a very odd character). Novels often focus on younger heroines finding suitable matches. The predominance of such, in the words of Susan Lanser, "heteronormative plots" leaves a difficult position for older unmarried or widowed women, who are frequently cast as bizarre, sex-starved, or comic and whose speech is notoriously inappropriate.

Freek **Schmidt** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) Criticism and the Question of Originality in Eighteenth-Century Architecture

Panel / *Session* 120, 'Planning and Architecture'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Amalia Papaioannou (Hellenic Open University / Democritus University of Thrace)

The eighteenth-century witnessed an increase in 'architecture in print' in both quality and quantity. Recent investigations have demonstrated how architecture, the most public of the arts, attracted a wide audience of practitioners, ranging from craftsmen, builders, to architects, engineers and architects, but a growing readership among amateurs, dilettanti, cognoscenti and virtuosi, all accross Europe. Writers on architecture came from various backgrounds and often had very specific aims in mind. Up until now, the emergence of architectural criticism as a special genre has been hard to uncover. Rather than look for architectural criticism in periodicals and the popular press, this paper will concentrate on some architectural surveys and books that contain descriptions of important buildings and monuments from different times, including, but not limited to Vitruvius Britannicus, Architecture Française, and Entwurff einer Historischen Architektur. On closer inspection works such as these, with their intermingling of historical description, spatial analysis and detailed engravings, can be seen as important instruments in the formation of professional judgment in architecture and were thus highly relevant for the development of contemporary architecture.

Christophe **Schmit** (CNRS, Observatoire de Paris) La philosophie naturelle de Nicolas Malebranche au XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session* 238, 'Philosophie et apparences'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sophie Audidière (Université de Bourgogne)

Cette communication examine la philosophie naturelle de Nicolas Malebranche et son devenir au cours du XVIIIe siècle. Nous montrons que de nombreux savants énoncent ou discutent des principes, des lois et des méthodes explicatives dont l'origine est à chercher dans De la recherche de la vérité (1712 pour la dernière édition), et cherchons à établir des critères permettant de définir l'identité d'un groupe se réclamant du mécanisme malebranchien. Nous soulignons alors que la présence de Malebranche au siècle des Lumières se manifeste par un occasionalisme physique et par une critique de la force des corps au repos de Descartes, ce qui conduit à une conception nomologique de la causalité et à un rejet de la force d'inertie, et par une interprétation des phénomènes physico-chimiques à l'aide de la théorie des petits tourbillons jusque dans les années 1770. Malebranche est ainsi à l'origine d'une des formes prise par la philosophie mécanique dont nous nous proposons de donner les caractéristiques essentielles.

Jens Ole **Schneider** (Universität Jena) The All-Seeing Eye: Transformation of a Religious Image in the Age of Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 314, 'The Contribution of Images to the Enlightenment Agenda / L'apport des images au programme des Lumières 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Elisabeth Décultot (Universität Halle)

The Enlightenment takes up the image of the all-seeing eye especially when it comes to an adaptation of the idea of God in the sense of the highest secular moral claims. Thus the image of an 'all-seeing eye' can be found above the Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen of 1789 and apparently stands there for a supreme authority that checks the observance of human and civil rights and has both the ability to survey and review. Quite different groups and institutions make use of the image of the all-seeing eye. For example, various Masonic lodges in the 18th century also used the image as a central symbol. Especially in the use of the 'eye image' by the secret societies the ambivalence of an Age of Enlightenment diagnosed by Kondylis or Koselleck becomes clear, which programmatically differs from theological-church as well as from early modern-state traditions, but at the same time falls back on their semantics of absoluteness.

Melissa **Schoenberger** (College of the Holy Cross) *The Muncher's and Guzler's Diary: John Armstrong's Pseudonymous Almanac*

Panel / *Session 466, 'Orientalisation'*. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tina Janssen (University of Warwick)

The poet-physician John Armstrong is best known for having written *The Art of Preserving Health* (1744), a didactic medical georgic. In this paper, I seek to build on recent critical interest in the Art—indicated by Adam Budd's edition, and David Fairer's regular treatment of Armstrong in essays on the georgic form—by looking to the broader range of genres in which Armstrong experimented. Although his works vary in scope and quality, most share an interest in teaching others: how to care for themselves, how to think well, and how to detect quackery. Yet at times, Armstrong taught by not teaching: in my paper, I discuss his mock-almanac, *The Muncher's and Guzler's Diary* (1749), which revels in its own inaccuracies and digressions. Perhaps most strikingly, the Diary is narrated by a voluble figure named Nouredin Alraschin. To date, there is no account of this or Armstrong's other pseudonyms, which at times are similarly orientaling. Although at first glance the Diary may appear simply to be trafficking in xenophobic stereotypes about credulous easterners, we might understand this construction with more nuance if we consider the fact that the Scottish Armstrong, whose medical degree from the University of Edinburgh was deemed “foreign” by authorities in London, also wrote passionately in his *Sketches* about the senselessness of nationalist prejudice. Although it may be impossible to ever fully to reconcile the almanac with modern artistic, critical, and socio-political values, the Diary, which inverts the project of Art, must be accounted for in any serious investigation of Armstrong's participation in the creative milieu of his age.

Adam **Schoene** (Cornell University) *Graffigny's Quiet Temple*

Panel / *Session 286, 'Trauma and Response'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kristin Eichhorn (Universitaet Paderborn)

Raised in the silence of the Temple of the Sun in Peru, Incan princess Zilia of Françoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* is abducted during the Spanish conquest, a trauma that nevertheless introduces her to the world beyond her temple, offering an empowering silence in nature's more expansive temple, which evokes a sense of wonder in Zilia that she seeks to capture in writing. “J'ai goûté pendant ce voyage,” she writes to her lover Aza, “des plaisirs qui m'étaient inconnus. Renfermée dans le temple dès ma plus tendre enfance, je ne connaissais pas les beautés de l'univers.” While Graffigny's work pays clear homage to Montesquieu, she inscribes her own voice in the epistolary form, mobilizing it to create a different representation of female identity and emancipation. This paper traces how Zilia's encounter with the landscape and language of France inspires a newfound autonomy and empowerment driven by her curiosity and fascination for nature, the world around her, and the act of writing. Instead of succumbing to despair or isolation in a foreign landscape, Zilia embraces its silence, channeling it to fuel literary creation, and a way of life that offers a model of female liberation.

Martina **Scholger** (University of Graz) *The Spectators Press: A Digital Edition of a Trans-National Phenomenon*

Panel / *Session 310, 'Real and Fictitious Identities in Relation to Political, Social, and Cultural Spaces in the European 'Spectators' 2'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Völkl (University of Graz)

The enlightened Spectator press of the 18th century constitutes an important cultural heritage of the world with a highly identity-forming character. “The Spectators in the international context” is an ongoing digital edition project, which has been running since 2008. The objective of this project is not only to build a central repository for all periodicals from Europe and even beyond, but also to give insight into the formation of trans-European ideas, literary techniques and cultural practices. Currently, the text corpus encompasses more than 4000 discourses in six languages: French, Italian, Spanish, English, German and Portuguese.

The contribution will present the theoretical basis and practical implementation of the digital edition of the Spectators and will discuss the benefits and potentials of a digital and sustainable representation of the texts. The data model using the standard of the Text Initiative (TEI), a workflow for data acquisition, the long-term preservation of the discourses in the Humanities' Asset Management System GAMS and the dissemination of the data will be introduced.

The text corpus builds the basis for the application of quantitative methods to enhance and improve the studies on micro-narration and the transnational-transfer of this literary genre: a report gives insight into the current research on the Spectators in this respect.

Theresa **Schön** (Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Appropriating Sacred Space: Fashionable Immorality in Addison and Steele's Periodicals

Panel / *Session* 152, 'Shaping Sacred Space in the Enlightenment 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura M. Stevens (University of Tulsa)

Famously, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele devote their collaborative periodical writings to the reformation of contemporary (London) manners, proposing a more secularised approach to contemporary morality. In this endeavour, they use religious space in several ways to expose fashionable misconduct. In my paper, I analyse selected texts from *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, and *The Guardian*, focusing on how a number of (allegedly) immoral types, notably, the Coquette and the Beau, appropriate and exploit sacred space as a setting – a stage – for their prototypical and decidedly non-religious activities (i.e. flirting). Even more so, the Idol and the *Dévotee*, two subtypes of the Coquette that are specific to *The Spectator*, take the devotion they demand of (and receive from) their adorers, to an extreme by setting themselves up as objects of quasi-religious worship, essentially presenting their body as a (pseudo-)sacred space. Through these instances I shall discuss the tension between sacred and secular space in Addison and Steele's texts as well as the impact of this relationship on the mental and mnemonic space(s) that character sketches (traditionally) establish and negotiate.

Winfried **Schroeder** (Marburg Universität) Lost 'atheistic' texts of the Renaissance and their clandestine 'remakes'

Panel / *Session* 135, 'Identité(s) clandestines : le paradoxe des manuscrits philosophiques clandestins'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Susana Seguin (Univ. Paul-Valéry Montpellier III - IHRIM UMR 5317 ENS de Lyon - IUF)

Abstract not supplied

Helga **Schwalm** (Humboldt University Berlin) Embedded Biographies in Interaction: Brief Lives in Dictionaries and Encyclopedias

Panel / *Session* 452, 'Embeddings, Neighbourings, Webs of Lives: Transformations and Migrations of Brief Biographies'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Lisa O'Connell (The University of Queensland, Brisbane)

Eighteenth-century collective biography has long been studied in view of processes of canonisation and nation building, as a project of collective identity articulated, above all, in the national "monument" of the *Biographia Britannica*. Little attention, however, has been given to the intertextual and paratextual interactions of such brief lives embedded in larger volumes. This paper sets out to investigate the dynamics of such interactions in the context of an Enlightenment poetics of biographical knowledge: What are the operations of selection, reduction and compression of biographical data in biographical dictionaries, or in more versatile works undertaking the popular dissemination of knowledge? How do such brief lives cope with the demands of brevity given that the Enlightenment poetics of biography favoured a certain amount of circumstantial detail to allow for a sympathetic reading? Addressing these questions, the dynamics between condensation and explosive paratextual footnotes will be explored in particular, as will the intertextual dimension of embedded brief lives as they occur in the medial neighbourhood of others.

Sabine **Schwarze** (Universität Augsburg) L'ordre naturel et son importance pour l'écriture scientifique. L'apport de la traduction du français à la formation de la prose scientifique italienne

Panel / *Session* 433, 'L'identité italienne en jeu face à l'hégémonie du français : la traduction et la question de la langue 2 (Textes philosophiques et scientifiques)'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Silvia Tatti (Sapienza Università di Roma)

Au cours du 18^e siècle, la vocation de la langue française à « l'universalité », telle qu'elle est proclamée pompeusement par Rivarol en 1784 dans sa célèbre dissertation De l'universalité de la langue française, couronnée par l'Académie de Berlin, est due surtout au prestige des grands œuvres philosophiques et scientifiques, souvent attribué non seulement au contenu mais aussi à une particulière clarté et précision du style. Par conséquent, la polémique qui se déclenche sur la qualité des langues française et italienne dès le début du 18^e siècle se focalise souvent sur « l'ordre naturel » perçu comme qualité intrinsèque de la langue française et son importance pour « suivre fidèlement l'arrangement des pensées ».

La capacité et le mode de transmission de la langue source à la langue cible sans pertes d'ordre conceptuel ainsi que la possibilité de contribuer moyennant la traduction à l'évolution de la langue cible, en apportant des changements surtout conceptuels (c'est-à-dire dans le domaine de la signification des signes linguistiques) devient un des sujets principaux de la réflexion des traducteurs de textes philosophiques et scientifiques du français à l'italien dans la seconde moitié du 18^e siècle. Notre communication illustrera par l'analyse du métadiscours qui se crée à propos dans les paratextes aux traductions ou encore dans les traités théoriques, l'évolution d'une conscience linguistique plus approfondie parmi les savants italiens souvent liée à la réflexion sur la nécessité de recourir justement à « l'autentica costruzione » afin de « presentar le idee tali, quali l'intendimento può concepirle ne' loro rapporti necessarj di connessione » (Giovanni Carmignani, *Dissertazione critica sulle traduzioni*, 1808, p. 42).

Ruggero **Sciuto** (Hertford College, Oxford / Voltaire Foundation) Diplomatic Correspondences at the Crossroads of Local and Supranational Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 449, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIII^e siècle – La lettre entre les nations 2 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth Century – Letters between Nations 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

Traditionally, the Enlightenment has been either studied as a unitary, global phenomenon or parcelled into a variety of national movements. Charles Withers has shown that, taken singly, neither of these approaches is in fact sufficient. The Enlightenment, as he puts it, 'was national and local and international'. If the key to understanding the Enlightenment resides in an approach that is simultaneously local/national and transnational, analysing the correspondences of eighteenth-century diplomats can help researchers to get a better sense of how the Enlightenment originated and what it actually was.

Besides being in epistolary contact with other French diplomats across the Italian Peninsula and beyond, Luigi Lorenzi, French resident minister to Florence from 1735 to 1765, was at the very centre of an extensive network of cultural contacts that included Voltaire, Condillac, La Condamine, Trublet, and the circle of the Encyclopédistes, as well as a large cluster of academics and savants from Tuscany and Italy more broadly. In my paper I shall look at Lorenzi's passive correspondence to reconstruct the picture(s) that the French, notably Parisian, philosophes had of the Lorraine Enlightenment in Tuscany and vice versa. Notwithstanding the Tuscans' desire to emulate and attract the attention of the French philosophes, their notion of who the philosophes were and what their agenda was often remained quite vague. Meanwhile, the French tended to view the Italians as particularly skilled antiquarians and scholars with close ties to academic and university milieus. I shall argue that Lorenzi's diplomatic status put him in a perfect position to mediate between these two different cultures of Enlightenment, and that he therefore played no minor role in the creation of a supranational Enlightenment.

Ruth **Scobie** (University of Oxford) Henry Bate Dudley, Fiction, and the Celebrity Gossip Industry

Panel / *Session* 465, 'Media and the Mediation of the Individual'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Senkiw (Mansfield College, Oxford)

Famous as “A Canonical Buck, Vociferous Bully/ A Duellist, Boxer, Gambler & Cully”, Sir Henry Bate Dudley was also the public face of the late eighteenth-century British gossip industry. As editor and sometime proprietor of the London Morning Post and then the Morning Herald, he was widely regarded as having established a new kind of print trade, one based on anonymously authored newspaper paragraphs, the publication of stolen or forged letters, and an underground market in reputations. In his papers, the illusion of knowledge of individuals became not simply potentially publicly available, but was efficiently commodified as content for an anonymous mass readership. Whether or not this industry was entirely new, it was perceived by many contemporaries as a cataclysmic shift in the workings of the public sphere. Under the cover of an older discourse of (masculine) satire as moral discipline, editors like Bate Dudley wielded genuine power over the reputations and lives of their subjects, yet paradoxically tended to disavow any serious guarantee of the authenticity or origins of the texts they circulated.

This paper will consider fictions thematizing women’s experience of being mediated by this emerging gossip industry, from Richard Brinsley Sheridan’s *The School for Scandal* (1777) to Maria Edgeworth’s *Helen* (1834). While some characters fear and some celebrate becoming the subject of celebrity, each of these fictions recognises that the aggressively commercialized model of textual production championed by Bate Dudley created a distinctive epistemological vacuum, and required a specialized mode of reading. I will end by suggesting that an awareness of this gendered, commercialized, and conspicuously unreliable model of textual mediation might inform the development of better interpretative strategies for scholars reading and citing eighteenth-century newspapers today.

Ruth **Scobie** (University of Oxford) On New Perceptions of Celebrity Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Panel / *Session* 341, 'Newness in the Eighteenth Century: Launching the BSECS/Boydell and Brewer 'Studies in the Eighteenth Century' Book Series'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

Many eighteenth-century Britons perceived themselves as living through a revolution in the nature of fame, a change so disorienting it could only be grasped by comparison to the exotic people and places newly encountered in Oceania. This paper will focus on a series of reader-generated 'Otaheitean Letters' published in the London Chronicle between 1778 and 1780. In their authorship, circulation and content, these letters explored the novel possibilities of celebrity culture, adding as they did to a new and powerful metropolitan myth of Oceania.

Denis **Sdvizhkov** (German Historical Institute in Moscow) Enlightened Christianity as a Form of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Russia

Panel / *Session* 467, 'Orthodoxy and Dissent'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Roger D. Lund (Le Moyne College)

The emergence of an enlightened empire in Russia in the late 17th-early 18th centuries was accompanied by sweeping changes not only in the socio-political status of the Orthodox Church, but also in broader religious culture. The concept of multiple “enlightenments” and religious influences on Russia’s Enlightenment experience have become well established in the field. But there is a dearth of analysis into several important questions about what exactly this new religiosity meant. How did it fashion the self-identity of men and women who considered themselves both religious believers and enlightened subjects in 18th-century Russia? Of what was this “symphonic,” rather than hybrid, identity composed? And when did it become obsolete?

This paper proposes to explore these questions by exploring “spiritual autobiographies”—diaries, letters, memoirs, and other personal documents of both clergy and lay members of society written during Russia’s “long 18th century.” The paper will explore what narratives, metaphors, and behavior proved crucial in forming the modern religious personality in Russia. Which relied on tradition and which emerged as novelties? To what extent did state policies and

borrowing from the West influence the innovations? The documents under consideration demonstrate, for example, that initially Jesuit and Scholastic, and later revivalist (Jansenist, Pietist, Puritan etc.), influences affected Russia. The broader question concerns the impact of this Christian enlightened identity on the history of the modern Self in Russia.

Silvia Sebastiani (EHESS) and Bruce Buchan (Griffith University) From Humankind to Human Races: Adam Ferguson's *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*

Panel / *Session* 285, 'The Humanity of Enlightenment: from Humankind to Human Kindness'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Ahnert (University of Edinburgh)

Recent scholarship on the Scottish Enlightenment has emphasised the increasing importance of the concept of race as a means to interpret and classify human variety in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Yet race was a conceptual, moral and taxonomic puzzle for Scots intellectuals who mixed both physical and moral criteria as indexes of racial classification. Race, like language or institutions of government, or methods of warfare, was an ethnographic criterion like any other, subject to the vagaries of nature, such as climate and geography, but simultaneously to mores and morals, laws and literature. For this reason, race and humanity was traced through a diverse range of sources ranging from standard medical and natural historical texts, to Biblical and philosophical sources, colonial correspondence, travel literature and, very prominently, other historical and moral philosophical authorities at the heart of the Scotland's Enlightenment, among them Adam Ferguson (1723-1814). Ferguson held the chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh from 1769-1785, and the influence of his published works – especially his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), has received wide scholarly attention. Curiously, the content of his teaching has yet to receive the attention it deserves, despite the fact that we have privileged access to his curricula in his own surviving lecture notes between the years 1775 and 1784/5. These notes indicate that race occupied an important part of the teaching of what he called: 'Pneumatics... or the physical science of mind', the 'foundation of moral philosophy'. Race and physical anthropology constituted the opening section of the course – roughly 10% of the total number of lectures in the course. The evidence we can glean from these notes is suggestive rather than conclusive, but they offer us a unique window into the development of thought on humanity and human diversity, at the disciplinary intersections of moral philosophy, natural history and medicine, and the cross roads of Edinburgh's curricula and British colonisation.

Gerold Sedlmayr (University of Dortmund) 'Man and not moveables is the object of just legislation': John Thelwall, the Law, and Political Economy

Panel / *Session* 173, 'John Thelwall 1: The Rule of Law'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christoph Houswitschka (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg)

One of the leading spokesmen of the radical republican movement in the mid-1790s, John Thelwall found himself accused of High Treason, along with Thomas Hardy and John Horne Tooke. In the published version of his defence during the so-called Treason Trials of 1794, *The Natural and Constitutional Right of Britons* (1795), he counters the accusations against him by asserting that his actions had always been in accord with the legal and constitutional basis upon which British society rests, which in turn allows him to expound on his ideas regarding the very nature of this foundational framework. With the threat of the death sentence hanging over him, he claims that he has found himself in a paradoxical position because the crime he is accused of is a constructed and hence ultimately fictive crime: "instead of it being lawful for the people to do whatever the law has not forbidden [...], [the judge] is to be at liberty to punish every thing, and in every manner which the law has not positively declared shall not so be punished." Conspicuously, many of Thelwall's observations regarding the constitutional and legal structure of Britain intersect, both metaphorically and factually, with remarks that pertain to the sphere of economics: "it is property, we are told, that ought to be represented, because by property government is supported." When he re-interprets such arguments in his favour by saying that "Property is nothing but human labour" and that "The most estimable of all property is the sweat of the poor man's brow," he apparently avails himself of certain key claims by 18th-century liberal economists in a decisively republican spirit, for example Adam Smith's notion that "the division of labour [...], in a well-governed society, [will extend] universal opulence [...] to the lowest ranks of the people." By investigating how Thelwall, in this and other texts, connects political, legal, and economic discourses in order to promote his own democratic agenda,

this paper will shed light on the manner in which the intersection of these discourses was formative for the ideological climate of the 1790s.

Maria Susana Seguin (IRHIM-ENS de Lyon) L'ethos du savant selon Fontenelle : étude textométrique des Éloges

Panel / *Session* 338, 'Les éloges académiques de Fontenelle'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean Trouchaud (Société des amis de Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian)

Au-delà du portrait des individus que propose Fontenelle dans les éloges qu'il dresse de ses confrères et des correspondants de l'Académie des sciences, il est aussi possible de découvrir le portrait d'une nouvelle figure héroïque, celle du « savant » des Lumières. Cette étude propose d'analyser ces textes grâce à l'analyse textométrique rendue possible par l'édition numérique des Éloges de Fontenelle.

Saki Sekiguchi (Waseda University) Historiography and Fanaticism as the Problem of the Civil Society: On the Dialogue between Rousseau and Voltaire

Panel / *Session* 156, 'The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Hiroki Ueno (Hitotsubashi University)

The aim of the paper is to reconstruct the debate or the dialogue on fanaticism as a problem of the civil society in eighteenth-century France. On the one hand, in the age of the Enlightenment, it was considered to be an enemy of the political society which was being separated from the religious sphere. As we can see one of the examples in the article « Fanatisme » contributed by Alexandre Deleyre in the *Encyclopédie*, it was accused on the basis of the historiography from the ancient Rome to the age of the European wars of religion. In addition to that, this paper examines the debate between Voltaire and Rousseau and shows that an attack on fanaticism was accelerated from a new point of view, according to which it was a menace to the civil society and the domain of political economy. On the other hand, as Deleyre suggested in his article, there was a kind of fanaticism which would be supported. It was « Fanatisme du patriote ». This paper pays attention to the usage of the historiography and makes clear that it also contributed to praising the heroic actions for defending the fatherland. In short, this investigation clarifies that the « fanatique » label was applied to a threat to the political society and it was employed for indicating the distinction between citizens and enemies in a community. Thus, this paper would contribute to shedding light on the political aspect of historiography in the age of the Enlightenment.

Anna Louise Senkiw (University of Oxford) What's so Funny About Female Dramatists?

Panel / *Session* 21, 'Professional and Amateur Identities in Women's Writing'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (University of Oxford)

The character of the female dramatist on stage is laughable, pitiable, deluded, and silly. She is certainly not a professional. Indeed the very fact that she is a 'female' dramatist marks her out as part of a theatrical sub-culture – the 'not-a-man' sub-culture. That is not to say that male writers are not occasionally figures of fun too, but it is their profession, not their sex, that is funny. Moreover the representation of female playwrights as ludicrous is at odds with the fact that, from Aphra Behn to Joanna Baillie, we find many women working as theatre writers throughout the long eighteenth century.

Using Catherine Clive's *The Rehearsal*; or *Bayes in Petticoats*, George Colman's *The Female Dramatist*, and Frances Brooke's novel *The Excursion* as my starting point, I will investigate the idea of professionalism and the 'female dramatist' both on stage and off, and consider the idea of 'amateurism' as a defence as well as a slur. I will suggest that 'professional' is an unhelpful measure and instead consider the multivalent ways in which women writers came to negotiate the vexed 'professional' space of the theatre. I will conclude by thinking about the implications for other roles within theatrical culture – as managers and as critics, for example – in which women were marginal, but not wholly absent.

This paper, sadly, remains timely: I will conclude with some brief remarks on the long-term implications of the laughable, the lesser, the ludicrous 'female dramatist'. Near the close of the second decade of the twenty-first century, female playwrights remain under-represented on major UK stages – now that's a joke.

Artem Serebrennikov (St. Tikhon's Orthodox University) *A Knight Wounded in the Loins: Shandean Echo in Daniil Kharms*

Panel / *Session* 85, 'Literary Precedents and Antecedents'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

The paper analyses traces of Sterne's influences in the short story *Rytsar'* (A Knight) by Russian avant-garde writer Daniil Kharms (real name Daniil Yuvatchov; 1905 – 1942). A part of the short story collection *Sluchai* (Incidences), written between 1933 and 1939 but first published in 1974, the novella manifests Kharms' trademark mastery of dark humour and grotesque social satire while bearing marks of Sternean influence (Kharms, a good friend of Viktor Shklovsky, was profoundly interested in Sterne's work).

The protagonist of the novella, Aleksey Alekseevich Alekseev, is what the narrator calls a "veritable knight". His intensely chivalrous attitude to women and tendency to rescue those who he perceives to be damsels in distress leads to constant misadventures and injuries. A fervent patriot, his love for all things military is so great that he is unable to utter the words "banner", "fanfare", and "epaulettes" without shedding a tear. During the Great War, in characteristic Uncle Toby fashion, Alekseev is wounded "in the loins" and discharged from the army. After the October Revolution, he makes a living by begging alms "for a man who suffered with his loins for the revolutionary cause" and singing a rousing song exhorting self-maiming and dying for the Revolution. Unwittingly embroiled in what is heavily implied to be an anti-Soviet plot, Alekseev is first exiled for 10 years to "the northerly regions of this country", then, after his return, mysteriously disappears after being arrested by secret police.

With his groin-wounds, military past, and quaint chivalry, Alekseev greatly resembles a Captain Toby transplanted into a grim Soviet reality. In addition, the constant bodily harm suffered by the character is contrasted with his quaint idealism and lack of common sense, making him something of a latter-day knight-errant in the vein of Don Quixote.

Catriona Seth (University of Oxford) 'No small vexation': Katherine Read's Brilliant Career and Absence from the Canon

Panel / *Session* 389, 'Beyond the Amateur: Reintegrating Women Artists into Eighteenth-Century (Art) History 1 (Co-chaired with Paris Spies-Gans, Harvard University)'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Hyde (University of Florida)

Katherine Read (1723-1778) was born near Dundee into a wealthy family with Jacobite connections; she trained as a painter in Paris and Rome; she practised her art in London and India and was a well-respected artist in her lifetime. She clearly developed a professional strategy which paid off when she became one of the most celebrated portraitists in Britain, commanding high prices for her art. Aspects of her career reflect her consciousness of what her position in life entitled her to do, and whilst she showed regrets at many of the limitations imposed on her as a woman, she was also capable of using her sex to her advantage when seeking certain commissions. I will reflect on how being a woman artist might help us understand some of Read's choices and how these, in turn, help to explain her—regrettable—absence from the canon.

Catriona Seth is the Marshal Foch Professor of French Literature at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of All Souls

Divya Sethi (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) *Contemporary Contexts: Tracing the Trajectory of Crime, Gender, and Community in Eighteenth-Century Marwar*

Panel / *Session* 432, 'India and the Enlightenment'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Mona Narain (Texas Christian University)

Maintenance of law and order constituted the organising principles of the social order in eighteenth century Marwar. This paper explores the relationship between crime and gender, focusing on what were possibly the central premises upon which law rested in early-modern north-western Rajasthan, and through the medium of which cases of disputes and conflicts were adjudicated. The petition records lying in the attics of state archives are a reflection of the various processes that shaped men, women, social institutions and the notions therein in contemporary times. They help towards an understanding that is not confined to the limited set of questions conditioning the status of women but to look instead at the structural framework of gender relations across different aspects of their day-to-day lives. The notion of purity of women held a centrality in societal patriarchy and was closely related to the caste hierarchy therein. Crimes of the same nature were considered reprehensible contingent upon being perpetuated by individuals belonging to different communities and gender. This widespread phenomenon throws up the close interconnection between the aspects of crime, gender and community. Thus, the paper shall attempt arriving at an understanding of the relationship between crime and gender by utilising the Bikaner archival repository. And to what extent did the aspect of community play a role in this relationship, i.e. the nexus between the status of an individual vis-à-vis his/her community and the realm of crime and justice in eighteenth century Rajasthan.

Namita Sethi (Janki Devi Memorial College, University of Delhi) *Me, but Better Than Me: Self-Representation in Delarivier Manley's *The Adventures of Rivella* (1714)*

Panel / *Session 419, 'Autobiographical Narratives'*. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

Eighteenth-century British art and literature reflected a growing concern with the value of individual experience in arriving at ideas of truth; partly owing to the influence of John Locke. The practice of virtue in public and private life was another common theme of Enlightenment reflection in satires, secret histories, autobiographies and appeal memoirs written by women in the long eighteenth century.

This paper examines strategies of self-representation in Delarivier Manley's *The Adventures of Rivella*, a fictional autobiography of a political writer of partisan secret histories such as the *New Atalantis*. The work attempts to vindicate Manley's struggle as a woman writer in a hostile literary marketplace in a playful manner that establishes her desire to "serve her country" as well as her superiority as an author who "treats well of love". Rivella takes pride in rooting her identity in being British, Tory and Protestant (defining Britishness in opposition to the "bigotry" of France) often giving a very heroic account of her career. Simultaneously keeping one eye on her readers, she tries to seduce by marketing a certain image of the desirability of the author herself: her body and writing skills.

Rivella also includes detailed descriptions of certain law suits whose representation in the text locates her in a peculiar space, at the margins of the legal and political public spheres yet an effective mediator between the parties involved in these cases. Rivella seems to manage the arenas of law, politics and writing as dexterously as the author Manley negotiates public and private selfhoods.

Anne Seul (Washington University in St Louis) *The Woman as a Fetishized Object in *Le Pied de Fanchette**

Panel / *Session 332, 'Female Subjects, Female Objects'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Ingrid Haberl-Scherk (University of Graz)

Réstif de la Bretonne's 1769 novel *Le Pied de Fanchette* presents the eponymous protagonist as a young woman whose identity is transmuted by the text's male characters. From the start of the novel, Fanchette is defined as an object that her father has the power to give away upon his death. This treatment of women is not irregular in French novels of the eighteenth century, but Réstif de la Bretonne characteristically pushes this idea to the limit— Fanchette is not only "objectified" in the figurative sense, she is reduced to the point that an actual object becomes representative of her person, all due to the extraordinary beauty of her foot. Despite its literary and cultural significance, the scant amount of attention devoted to *Le Pied de Fanchette* has centered on its role as the first documented foot fetish in literature. This fetish is even more significant when it is considered under the auspices of critical writing about fetishism and the exchange of objects by thinkers Luce Irigaray and Bill Brown.

In this paper I will argue that de la Bretonne utilizes Fanchette's inferior social position that is perceived to be inherent for her sex, and the appropriately-named concept of 'retifism,' to diminish her value. She begins as an object that is circulated among men, yet they come to think of her metonymically as a foot or even as a shoe. Fanchette loses her human identity and is instead reduced to an object that comes to be representative of her entire person. She becomes an object that belongs to men, and the beauty of her foot inspires the male protagonists to reduce her even further to a fetishized object— her shoe becomes her apparent identity.

Alexandra **Sfoini** (Institut de recherches historiques / Fondation nationale de la recherche scientifique) Un homme des Lumières néohelléniques : l'identité complexe de l'Athénien Panayotis Codrica (1762–1827)

Panel / *Session* 15, 'Identités complexes'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jacques Wagner (Université Clermont Auvergne)

Panayotis Codrica naquit à Athènes en 1762 ; il avait le privilège d'appartenir à une ancienne famille noble de la ville, laquelle jouissait d'un ascendant politique héréditaire et qui, quoique barbarisée par la conquête ottomane, conservait quelques traces du prestige du passé. Cet Athénien prometteur quitta le foyer paternel à un âge encore tendre afin d'entamer une carrière à Constantinople comme employé (secrétaire) du Patriarcat de Jérusalem, du drogman de la flotte et du souverain de Valachie puis de Moldavie dans les Principautés danubiennes. Dans l'entourage du prince, il s'imprégna de l'éducation des Lumières et s'impliqua activement dans le mouvement des Lumières néohelléniques en traduisant l'ouvrage de Fontenelle *De la pluralité des mondes*, qui fut condamné par l'Église. Dans cette traduction, il aborde pour la première fois la question controversée de la corruption de la langue par rapport à son modèle antique, et il prend position en faveur de la langue des « nobles », soutenue par le système de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique et politique de la Nation. À cette époque, Codrica est séduit par le climat des Principautés danubiennes et par l'aisance « des gens du monde et de l'esprit » qu'il fréquente, tourné vers l'Europe des Lumières, et il devient un expert des questions de politique européenne et de diplomatie. Cela lui sera particulièrement utile dans sa future carrière en France, pays où il se trouvera à partir de 1797 en tant que membre de la délégation turque, et où il demeurera jusqu'à sa mort en 1827. À Paris, en même temps qu'il s'applique à ses devoirs professionnels de traducteur au Ministère des Affaires étrangères et à sa vie familiale et sociale (il fréquente les salons de madame de Staël et de madame de Genlis), il suit la vie politique et intellectuelle et intervient lorsqu'il le juge nécessaire en rédigeant des brochures anonymes sur le combat des Grecs pour l'indépendance, dans lesquelles il associe l'amour de la patrie à ses ambitions politiques, toujours actives. Codrica réunissait tous les attributs qui lui permettaient de s'intégrer aux élites administratives de l'Empire ottoman (et non seulement) : le talent, le mérite, l'éduc

Julie **Shaffer** (University of Wisconsin Oshkosh) The New Britannia: Defining and Uniting the Nation in Mary Charlton's *Andronica*

Panel / *Session* 291, 'Bardic Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosamund Paice (University of Portsmouth)

In her 1797 historical novel *Andronica*, Mary Charlton produces an alternate myth for the civilizing and Christianization of England through the story of its eponymous female protagonist. *Andronica*, fictional daughter of Constantine IV, ends up a refugee in Northumbria and forges alliances between kings and princes of competing kingdoms in the septarchy.

Once there, *Andronica*, whom everyone believes should be able to serve as queen in her own right, leads everyone with any good qualities to convert to Christianity after they meet her out of admiration for her and all for which she stands. Representing not only Christianity but also the golden age of antiquity, *Andronica* thus brings to England not only a means out of religious paganism but a way out of social/cultural barbarism as well. The path is not completely smooth, however, as kings and princes fight over her; father fighting son in some cases, sisters slaughtering sisters. The virtuous finally succeed, and their triumph, driven by love and trust of *Andronica*, represents the triumph of right over tyranny and immoral might – the beginning of a consensual alliance, based in chivalry and Christian love, that constitutes one myth of England's origins as a unified and civilized country.

Particularly interesting is that Charlton comes up with this “feminization” of England’s history when she does. The Hanoverian male reign was well ensconced: George III, after all, had a number of sons. It took the disastrous relationship of George IV and Caroline and their inability to divorce for Britain to recognize once more that a queen – Victoria – might reign. Furthermore, when *Andronica* was published, British culture was arguably better defined by John Bull than Britannia, masculine in opposition to the supposed effeminacy of France. As this paper will demonstrate, Charlton replaces the myth and figure of John Bull with a myth of Britannia, and with her, Boadicea and Athena, as England’s formative and defining figure.

Feroz Mehmood **Shah** (Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences) Kant on Conscience

Panel / *Session 376*, ‘Moral Self-Constitution: The Conscience in the Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Frank Grunert (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg)

In Kant’s ethical theory, conscience judges us according to the demands reason itself puts on the process of moral reasoning and how it leads to acting. But what is the form of judgement that deals with such an object as our inner life of thought? In this paper, I argue that conscience is reason’s self-reflection that is best seen as resulting in reflective judgements. This view builds on recent attempts to present a Judgement View of Conscience that does in fact take it to be an evaluative cognitive function (Shah 2017; Kazim 2017; Vujošević 2014; Moyer 2008), rather than taking it to be an instinct or a form of feeling. The most important discussions in the literature has so far been about whether conscience is redundant or important for Kant’s overall account of ethics, and whether it is best understood as something like a felt clue or an instinct, or if it is better understood as a sort of cognition. I argue that conscience plays a crucial part in how human rational beings can live up to the demands of morality, and that it does so by self-oriented reflective judgements about our moral deliberation and character.

Julia **Shapchenko** (Russian State Library, Moscow) Voyaging from St Petersburg to Moscow in the Age of Catherine II: Imperial Palaces en route on the ‘Monarchic’ Road

Panel / *Session 192*, ‘Women, Identities, and Travel in Eighteenth-Century Europe’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sutapa Dutta (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla / Gargi College, University of Delhi)

The construction of palaces outside the Russian capital and the big cities was originally connected with the Russian monarchs’ trips around the country. They used such palaces en-route for short stops on long journeys. The golden age of such palaces was in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially during the reign of Empress Catherine II. In total about 20 en-route palaces have been preserved since that time. After the imperial court’s departure, these palaces served either as post offices, state offices or as hotels. Sometimes they were even rented by governors or bishops.

Catherine II was an epic traveller across the huge Russian Empire. Since her voyages sometimes lasted for several months, there was an urgent need to accommodate her imperial escort, which could number some 2000 people, including foreign ambassadors.

This paper looks at the imperial palaces, built at state expense, on the so-called “Monarchic road” (the highway between St. Petersburg and Moscow). They were built in dominant sites, with good views. Key locations included the towns of Klin, Solnechnogorsk, Tver, Torzhok, Vyshny Volochok and Valdai, where the imperial palaces played an important role in urban architecture and planning. Above all, these en-route palaces were designed not only to accommodate the imperial court but also to enhance the standing of an enlightened monarchy. Catherine II portrayed herself as a caring monarch who constantly had the good of Russian subjects’ lives at heart. Interestingly, under her successors, the custom of widespread imperial travelling and of en-route palace building came to an end. Thus Catherine II’s visits across the country illuminate key issues of power, Russian imperial identity, and also gender.

Teodora **Shek Brnardić** (Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb) Private Letters, Public Interest: The Roles of the Published Correspondence in Central and Southeastern Europe

Panel / *Session* 52, 'Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 1'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Veronika Capska (Charles University in Prague / Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

The practitioners of the eighteenth-century natural sciences created a powerful international communicative network and a community corresponding beyond the social boundaries. On the other hand, the pursuit of the regional natural sciences could inspire patriotic feelings because it was focused on the particular as opposed to the universal.

"Regional science" was grounded on compiling information about local and regional environment, on collecting samples of natural products, on describing useful inventions, and finally on making an "inventory of useful knowledge" which would serve for the improvement of regional industry and agriculture.

The correspondents in naturalist networks were supposed to present mineralogical, geological and meteorological observations, as well as descriptions of geographical features, mineral waters, as well as lists of useful and harmful plants and animals. Their travel accounts included not only naturalist remarks; this genre also aimed to depict the social, economic and cultural conditions of the surveyed land and. Sometimes the language of politics (public utility) was used in order to negotiate with potential patrons embodied in the enlightened monarch and nobility.

In my paper I will analyse the editors' choices in selecting and translating letters, censoring actions, the narrative dimensions and the roles of the published correspondence between the Italian naturalist Alberto Fortis and Count Tomo Bassegli from the Republic of Dubrovnik (*Lettere geografico-fisiche sopra la Calabria, e la Puglia, 1783*) and between the scientist Ignaz von Born and Count Francis Joseph Kinsky from the Kingdom of Bohemia (various mineralogical letters from the period 1775-6 and 1783-4). All the correspondents were mutually linked either through friendship, Masonic or family ties and shared an interest in volcanoes. The original letters are lost, so that the published editions assumed the roles of "epistolary archives".

April **Shelford** (American University) Experience and Authority: A Colonial Naturalist at Work in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica

Panel / *Session* 324, 'Botanical Identities 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Giulia Pacini (College of William and Mary)

The papers and drawings of Anthony Robinson (1719?-1768) provide a rare opportunity to glimpse how a colonial naturalist worked. A surgeon-apothecary by training and an early convert to Linnaean taxonomy, Robinson emigrated from England to Jamaica in the 1740s and spent the next two decades crisscrossing the island to study its flora and fauna. This paper focuses on his botanical work. It shows how he continuously tacked back and forth between what he himself observed, what he learned from specimens and information provided by other European colonists and slaves, and what he read in published authorities. All these "inputs" made his project simultaneously deeply experiential and bookish, and it required him to develop strategies to reconcile inconsistencies and contradictions. Published texts "disciplined" the "what" of observing and provided models for recording his findings in descriptions and drawings. With respect to plants, for example, Linnaeus specified what mattered, how to encode an observation to make it intelligible to naturalists beyond its immediate context, and how to slot what Robinson learned into an emerging and (hopefully, eventually) complete vision of the natural world. Also important were the published works of naturalists who visited the island before him, especially Hans Sloane's *A Voyage to the Islands* (1707; 1725) and Patrick Browne's *A Civil and Natural History of Jamaica* (1756). Travel accounts and popular horticultural publications also provided other points of comparison. Thus, Robinson was in constant dialogue, sometimes debate, with his "authorities," combining an attitude of respect with intellectual independence.

Richard B. **Sher** (New Jersey Institute of Technology) Boswell's Move from Edinburgh to London, 1784–86: New Evidence and New Perspectives

Panel / *Session* 421, 'Boswell between Scotland and England'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Deidre Dawson (Independent Scholar)

In his mid-40s, James Boswell decided to give up a reasonably successful legal practice as an Edinburgh advocate and move to London with his wife and five children. Since becoming the Laird of Auchinleck after his father's death in

August 1782, Boswell had pursued a pattern of living in the family's large, comfortable, centrally located, moderately priced rented home in Edinburgh while the Scottish Court of Session was open for business, staying at his Auchinleck estate in Ayrshire for portions of the late summer and early autumn, and making a jaunt to London for a month or two each spring to visit Samuel Johnson and other friends in the metropolis. He could have continued that tripartite pattern after Johnson's death in December 1784, possibly someday following in his father's footsteps as a judge in Scotland. Instead, he undertook a risky, ultimately unsuccessful "experiment" (though it would turn out to be permanent) at the London bar as he wrote his magnum opus. He subsequently struggled to get by in expensive London, while his consumptive wife suffered from the foul London air and eventually returned to Auchinleck to die. Drawing upon new information (including a previously unknown letter to Johnson from Boswell's close friend and financial advisor Sir William Forbes) and fresh interpretations of existing materials, this paper will investigate the complexity and ambiguity associated with Boswell's decision to abandon his native city and remake himself as a Londoner.

Juliet **Shields** (University of Washington) Elizabeth Keir of Corstorphine, 'Authoress'

Panel / *Session 127*, 'Women Writers and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30.
Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Martha McGill (University of Warwick)

My paper will discuss women's authorial identities in Enlightenment Scotland, taking as a case study, Elizabeth Keir (1747-1834), who spent most of her life in Corstorphine, at that time a rural area well outside the city of Edinburgh. Keir published two sentimental novels, perhaps in an effort to earn some money following her husband's death. *Interesting Memoirs* (1785) declared itself to be "by a lady," and *The History of Miss Greville* (1787) by "the author of *Interesting Memoirs*." While these novels are as blandly generic as their titles suggest, Keir also filled almost 900 manuscript pages (now held at the National Library of Scotland) with lively and original unpublished poetry that reveals a thorough acquaintance with the literature of her time.

Keir at her best easily stands comparison with contemporaries such as Joanna Baillie, Anna Seward and Charlotte Smith. Why, then, didn't she seek to publish her poetry? Recent research on eighteenth-century manuscript culture indicates that this is perhaps the wrong question to ask. Her poetry is deeply tied to the landscape of Corstorphine and Edinburgh and much of it is written to or about her friends and family members. Keir was connected by friendship and marriage with the Keiths of Ravelstone, through whom she met Alison Cockburn and Walter Scott, among other leading lights of Edinburgh's intellectual elite.

Keir seems to have perceived the novel as an impersonal and convention-bound genre in contrast to the intimacies of poetry. In a letter prefacing the first of her two volumes of manuscript poetry, Keir asserts her right "to please myself in retirement with this harmless amusement, and to become Authoress, without danger of becoming ridiculous." For Keir, becoming an "Authoress" evidently did not require print publication, but merely the circulation of her manuscript among her friends and relations.

Akiko **Shimbo** (Shibaura Institute of Technology) Dissemination of the Ideas of Physical Beauty: Mind, Movement, and Space in Enlightenment Identities

Panel / *Session 66*, 'Bodies of Virtue'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanna Caviglia (Duke University)

While it is known that physical beauty was thought to reflect inner virtue, especially for women, it is also worth considering how movement of the body became important to express feelings and experience in the age of Enlightenment. The age of Enlightenment brought new ideas of beauty to Europe. 'Beauty' in aesthetics during the era put emphasis on human nature and science instead of a theological point of view. Therefore, as opposed to the concept of beauty based on the classical proportion that had been dominant until then, intellectuals in the age of Enlightenment analysed physical beauty from experience and feelings. Edmund Burke, for example, denies that physical proportions make for beauty but, rather, discusses experience and feelings as the real causes of beauty.

This paper focuses on female physical beauty, looking at movement to reflect mind, and its relationship with space, and further explores how these ideas were disseminated to wider groups of people. The paper first gives an overview

of the discussions of beauty in eighteenth-century European aesthetics and outlines the way that ideas as to what constituted female beauty, became connected with 'movement'. It then analyses the relationship between mind, movement and space to form physical beauty, referring to contemporary descriptions of furniture, architecture, and medical books, as well as to conduct books. Finally, it explores the dissemination of these ideas to the public, considering contemporary magazine articles, book reviews, letters, diaries, and a wide variety of visual evidence to examine whether and to what extent these ideas of physical beauty were shared in British society in the age of Enlightenment.

Ingi Sigurðsson (University of Iceland) **Belief in Progress among Icelanders in the Period 1750–1830**

Panel / *Session* 352, 'The Worldview of Icelanders in the Period 1750–1830'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Kristín Bragadóttir (University of Iceland)

Belief in progress is generally regarded as one of the hallmarks of the Enlightenment, and such belief was certainly an important aspect of the worldview of the proponents of the Icelandic Enlightenment. Although belief in progress was not exclusive to the period under review it became more evident then as can be seen in books and periodicals, some of which were translated or adapted from Danish and German; the Icelandic Enlightenment was an offshoot of the German-Danish Enlightenment.

Progress was often used as a yardstick by which periods in history were evaluated. In a book by Magnús Stephensen (1762–1833), the most prominent champion of the Icelandic Enlightenment, on the history of Iceland in the eighteenth century, he analyzed certain important fields with regard to whether or not progress had been made. The application of penal law was a matter of great controversy. Magnús Stephensen, who was for a long period Chief Justice of the High Court of Iceland, regarded increased leniency in this field as progress, but there was strong opposition to his views as regards this matter.

It seems as if belief in progress was not widespread among the common people despite efforts of the champions of the Enlightenment to influence and inspire people to this effect with their publications. Various setbacks, most notably a huge volcanic eruption with disastrous consequences, were important in this respect.

The educational works that were published for the people of Iceland in which belief in progress is clear cover a wide field. Among topics that much was written about were farming, public health, the natural sciences and religion. As far as religion was concerned there was a controversy. There were those who advocated a new approach, laying more emphasis on morals than dogma. They saw this as progress in the field of religion.

Geoffrey Sill (Rutgers University) **Fashioning the Duke: Defoe's authorship of the *Memoirs of the Duke of Shrewsbury***

Panel / *Session* 72, 'Daniel Defoe 1'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Holly Kruitbosch (University of Nevada at Reno)

Charles Talbot, first Duke of Shrewsbury, was the subject of several political biographies upon his death in 1718. One of them, *Memoirs of Publick Transactions in the Life and Ministry of his Grace the D. of Shrewsbury*, was attributed to Daniel Defoe by William Lee in 1869 and by several subsequent bibliographers, but was de-attributed in 1994 by Furbank and Owens. The paper I propose will re-attribute this early English biography to Defoe in part by focusing on narrative techniques through which the author fashions the identity of the Duke of Shrewsbury.

In the *Memoirs*, Shrewsbury is presented as the new model of the enlightened English gentleman who placed service to the nation above personal ambition. Shrewsbury's identity was complex: he was a Roman Catholic who converted to Protestantism; an Englishman who lived much in Italy, and married an Italian woman; a Williamite who maintained friendships in the court of St.-Germain. He preferred country life, but reluctantly accepted a ministerial appointment that saved the Hanoverian succession. In fashioning an international yet English identity for Shrewsbury, Defoe drew on narrative techniques more commonly used in fiction than in biography, such as secrets, dramatic dialogues, interior monologues, enigmatic circumstances, and catastrophic reversals that make the narrative strange

and surprising. Defoe's biography not only gave Shrewsbury an identity as an urbane politician that he had not had in life, but gave Defoe the means for spreading enlightenment ideas in the form of the novel.

Anne **Simonin** (EHESS) Les séances des 31 mai et 2 juin 1793 ou comment les Archives parlementaires ont tenté d'expulser les Girondins de l'Histoire

Panel / *Session* 303, 'Les Archives parlementaires and Revolutionary Data'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Keith Baker (Stanford University)

Il est généralement admis que la plus significative des opérations de réécriture dont les Archives parlementaires ont fait l'objet est l'oeuvre des post-thermidoriens, de la "réaction" du Directoire. Or la réécriture du procès verbal des séances parlementaires de la Convention, ce compte rendu présenté comme impartial et objectif, "exact" selon le mot des fondateurs des Archives Parlementaires, commence bien avant Thermidor an II et la chute de Robespierre.

Depuis leur origine, les Archives parlementaires sont une source qui déploie, sous la bannière de l'impartialité, un narratif politique dont il pourrait être intéressant de mettre au jour et répertorier certaines modalités.

La communication ici proposée ambitionne à partir d'un cas, la déconstruction du narratif des séances des 31 mai et 2 juin 1793, d'appeler les historiens et les historiennes à un usage : une double lecture des Archives Parlementaires.

Une lecture extensive permettant de repérer les noeuds du débat que la numérisation des Archives parlementaires et la recherche par mots clefs que cette numérisation rend possible renouvelle suivie et une lecture intensive. Plutôt que de multiplier les propositions abstraites concernant cette pratique de lecture, on choisit ici d'explorer et de mettre à jour ses modalités à travers un cas : les séances des 31 mai et 2 juin 1793.

Comment mieux (plutôt que bien) lire les Archives parlementaires ? En opérant, de façon classique, un retour aux sources référencées (presse de l'époque et série C pour l'essentiel) en portant un intérêt particulier aux informations disponibles non utilisées.

Faire l'histoire de ces "journées mémorables", selon les contemporains, à partir d'informations et de détails écartés permettra (peut-être) de dégager le sens immédiat que les rédacteurs de la Convention ont donné à la lutte contre les Girondins ; le sens rétrospectif que la version des séances parlementaires publiée aux Archives Parlementaires a diffusé et validé.

Natasha **Simonova** (University of Oxford) 'In Revenge & Despair, I believe I shall translate all Petrarch': Amateurism and Intellectual Labour in the Grey Family Circle

Panel / *Session* 21, 'Professional and Amateur Identities in Women's Writing'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (University of Oxford)

Like the female playwright, the pedantic scribbling aristocrat was a stock comic figure, later folded into pejorative descriptions of the Bluestocking circle. By ranging beyond the more famous (and more public) members of that group, however, this paper uncovers a range of serious literary study and composition among women who had only a glancing relationship to print.

Examining the epistolary exchanges of Jemima, Marchioness Grey and her daughter Amabel Polwarth with their close female friends, this papers demonstrates how these letters both record and enact a world of committed intellectual labour and pleasurable exchange. Without feeling the need to publish – or doing so only through the private printing of the Athenian Letters – the Grey coterie still saw its discussions as taking place within a wider public discourse. The correspondence itself was preserved and edited by Polwarth, whose own letters and the diaries she kept throughout her life reveal a startling number of literary projects, ranging from plays to fairy tales to translations, which remain invisible in her published output (consisting of several anonymous pamphlets on the French Revolution).

These women's writings are 'amateur' in all senses of the word: following the paths of interest and enjoyment and more concerned with process and collaboration than with a finished commercial product. They thus differ sharply from the more professionalised types of literary work and scholarship that gained prominence in this period, and which continue to dominate literary histories. In our current world of academic metrics and research targets, could these learned women also serve as a model for us?

Rebecca **Simpson** (University of York) Medical Women or ‘Pupils of Nature’? Midwives and Authors in London c. 1795–1798

Panel / *Session 277*, ‘Medicine and Literature’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ashleigh Blackwood (Northumbria University)

This paper will examine the construction of professional identity in three female-authored midwifery texts published in Britain at the end of the eighteenth-century. Current scholarship of midwifery texts focuses largely upon the textual output of famous physicians and man-midwives, focusing particularly on the phenomenon known as ‘the rise of the man-midwife’. However, there were also a small group of women who published didactic midwifery texts in the eighteenth century, and those that did so were not merely engaging in a turf war with male practitioners. Three of these female midwives and authors, Margaret Stephen, Martha Mears and Mrs Wright, published didactic midwifery texts in London between 1795-1798. These women, publishing in the same period, in the same city, consist fully half of the female midwives who published in the long eighteenth-century. Their published works demonstrate how they cultivated professional identities as midwives and medical women, in order to work in both opposition to, and in collaboration with, male practitioners. This paper will explore the presentation of ‘the experienced midwife’ in these texts, through the mediation of embodied, personal experiences of pregnancy, birth and infant care – alongside anatomical education and medical practice. The paper will further investigate how these midwives responded to the political climate of 1790s London by calling for equal access to medical education for women, and the rights of expectant mothers to have access to competent medical care.

Jonathan **Singerton** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) A Revolution in Ink: Mapping Benjamin Franklin’s Epistolary Network in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1776–1789

Panel / *Session 391*, ‘Eighteenth-Century Digital Humanities in Central Europe’. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Thomas Wallnig (University of Vienna)

The American revolutionary and Founding Father Benjamin Franklin had significant ties to the Habsburg Monarchy. Between 1776 and 1789, Franklin received 253 letters from 93 individuals who either lived in or came from the Habsburg lands. Franklin corresponded with 15 Habsburg inhabitants during the same period. This article presents for the first time an overview of this epistolary network. It discusses the nature of individuals within the network and their strategies for communication. By examining this network we can discern Franklin’s crucial points of contact within the Habsburg Monarchy as well as see how his public persona altered from scientist to revolutionary.

Frances **Singh** (Hostos Community College of the City University of New York) Enlightening Identities: How Did the Biracial Girls Sent Back from India to Britain Fare?

Panel / *Session 295*, ‘Eighteenth-Century Constructions of Race’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Schoene (Cornell University)

From passenger lists, genealogical databases, and family letters, we know that many men in EIC employ sent their daughters back. I examine the fates of a few of these children. Among them are the following:

Mary Munro was sent to her grandfather’s Glasgow’s residence. Initially, he regarded as a devolved specimen of humanity. Her sweet nature soon won the family over. When a junior partner in a local mill proposed to her, the family barraged her highly-placed and rich father in EIC employ to cough up the funds to secure the marriage.

Amy Fraser, the daughter of William Fraser of Reelig near Inverness was placed in a local boarding school under the name of “Young.” She sometimes called herself Amy Surwen, the latter being her Indian mother’s name. Her exotic beauty garnered her lots of beaux, and she made a respectable marriage to a leather merchant, with whom she lived very comfortably and by whom she had a number of children.

Elizabeth Jane Raine, heiress and sister to the more famous Eliza Raine, made an underage marriage to a cadet about to be shipped to India. The marriage didn't last. She returned to York pregnant with another man's child. She was ostracized by local society.

Susan Cochrane, daughter of a surgeon in EIC employ, sent his daughter to a London boarding school where she was educated in polite accomplishments. He left her a fortune in his first will and then sent her back to India to fish for a husband. She married a junior Army officer there, and on the strength of the will, they returned to England. Her father subsequently changed his will. Susan and her husband spent the remainder of their lives trying to claim the promised monies, to no avail.

On the basis of my sample, I offer some tentative conclusions. First, the variety of fates indicates that nothing was predictable.. Second, it was the treatment they received in Britain rather than the age at which they arrived that affected their emotional development. Third, for those who were socially accepted, the degree to which they were accepted varied. Fourth, for many, India maintained a hold on their lives.

Brijraj Singh (Hostos Community College of the City University of New York) Ziegenbalg Debates the Hindus

Panel / *Session* 432, 'India and the Enlightenment'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Mona Narain (Texas Christian University)

Soon after his arrival in India in 1706, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683 ?-1719), arguably the world's first Protestant missionary, realized that the Tamils among whom he had been sent were highly intelligent, virtuous and sophisticated, given to argumentation, and possessing a very ancient language and religion. Clearly, in order to convert them he would have to learn their language, understand their religious beliefs and values, and engage in frequent argumentation. Two such debates that he engaged in, one formal and the other informal, form the subject of my paper.

On July 27, 1708 Ziegenbalg participated in a formal debate with a Hindu rishi or saint in Nagapattinam. I shall discuss the seating arrangements, language of the debate and the time that it lasted, the arguments put forth by both sides, Ziegenbalg's tactics in warding off attacks and counter-attacking, the quality and strength of the rishi's positions, audience interventions, diversions along the way, and the conclusion of the debate, which was followed by a reception.

The experience of this debate gave Ziegenbalg the confidence to criticize Hindu beliefs more vociferously. He also decided that his main target would be the Brahmins. This became apparent in an informal debate that he engaged in some years later at Anandamangalam where, coming across a group of people casting accounts, he asked them to cast spiritual accounts instead. This gained him the attention of the crowd, whereupon he began to talk of the superiority of Christianity as the only guarantor of salvation and ended with a chastisement of a Brahmin priest who had joined the audience. Throughout, there was frequent audience participation in the form of questions, counter-arguments, frequent resistance and occasional assent. I shall examine Ziegenbalg's arguments and his tactics as well as the resistance provided by his Hindu interlocutors. Through this process I hope that a fuller picture of Ziegenbalg as a practitioner of inter-faith dialogue at the beginning of the modern era will emerge.

Clare Siviter (University of Bristol) Reliving the Revolution? Rethinking French Political Identities through Theatrical Censorship

Panel / *Session* 241, 'Publication and Censorship'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ann van Allen-Russell (Trinity Laban, London)

The Enlightenment is often accredited with disseminating ideas of free speech in France that were then enshrined in law by the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in 1789. This act fundamentally changed the conception of censorship from a hurdle that was part of the composition process into a negative force that limited one's rights (Bunn, 2015). However, the Revolution never extended the freedom of speech to the freedom to perform. Whereas much ink has been spilled about censorship of the printed form during the eighteenth century in France (including, amongst many others, Darnton 1982, 1991, 1995, 2010, 2014, 2018), scant attention has been paid to

censorship of the theatre for any of the regimes of the longer Revolutionary period, including the late Old Regime. Theatre is an inherently public, political and social medium, and a multivalent art form that presented a range of challenges to the state, but a medium that it attempted to capitalise on as a 'school for the people' and to propagate nationalism. Theatre thus offers us a privileged insight into what the state wanted to portray and how people reacted to the vision of the new nation.

Focusing on the longer Revolutionary period from 1788 to 1815, this paper will firstly examine how censorship had an impact on individuals' identity as they swayed from subject to citizen through three principal domains: the bureaucratic censorship system; theatre as a network where individuals censored their colleagues' actions; and 'bottom up' censorship where inhabitants surveyed the theatrical scene voluntarily for the state. The evidence for this research is built upon the consultation of seventy-five regional archives and nine 'annexed' departments, belonging to modern day Belgium, Germany and Italy. In so doing, it will additionally interrogate the identities that we as scholars have attributed to the five regimes of the longer revolutionary period, responding to the conference's theme.

Max **Skjönsberg** (University of St Andrews) Edmund Burke's Use of History after the *Reflections*

Panel / *Session 252*, 'The Uses of History in Revolutionary Europe: Nation, Civilisation, and Society in British and French Historiography'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Céline Spector (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

The Irishman Edmund Burke (1729/30-1797) was one of the most prominent parliamentarians-cum-political philosophers of the eighteenth century. Although he is best known for his political writings and speeches, he made his name on the London scene in the 1750s as a man of letters who wrote in several genres, including history. One of his first writing jobs was the uncompleted Abridgement of the History of England (1757). From 1758 he wrote about European and British history in the Annual Register, which he edited until 1765. After the start of his parliamentary career in the same year, he often resorted to history in his speeches and pamphlets. Known for his rage against the French Revolution, Isiah Berlin listed him among the Counter-Enlightenment thinkers. However, Burke assimilated the 'Enlightenment' history of his Scottish friends David Hume, Adam Smith and William Robertson into his political arguments. This paper will consider Burke's usage of history in his writings about the French Revolution after the well-known Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790). After this notorious text, Burke continued to analyse and write about French affairs for the remaining seven years of his life. Among his writings on France, none is more famous than the Reflections, but there are many which can compete in terms of historical and political insight. This paper will investigate the extent to which Burke's increasing pessimism and alarmism during the course of the 1790s – which was of course primary tied to events – was reflected in a changing historical understanding of European civilization and political culture.

Volodymyr **Sklokin** (Ukrainian Catholic University) Cossacks and Enlightenment: Between Orientalization and Republican Reappropriation

Panel / *Session 466*, 'Orientalisation'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tina Janssen (University of Warwick)

My paper focuses on how Enlightenment ideas influenced rethinking the image of Cossacks in Ukrainian thought in the second half of the eighteenth century. The age of enlightened absolutism in the Russian Empire marked the end of a century long tradition of Cossack autonomies and corporate privileges. Driven by the ideas of enlightened rationalization and cameralist administrative unification Catherine II abolished the Hetmanate (1782), Sloboda Ukraine (1765) and disbanded the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775. Catherine II justified her measures using the works of western European Enlightenment thinkers, in particular Voltaire's "Histoire de Charles XII." His depiction of Ukrainian Cossacks as an embodiment of primitive military anarchism might be regarded as an western European "Enlightenment orientalization" of the Ukrainian Cossack political system that Catherine used to justify her imperial unification.

To demonstrate the impact of the political and intellectual expansion of Saint Petersburg enlightened absolutism the paper reviews the diaries by Vasilii Abaza (1760-1827) and by Roman Tsebrikov (1763-1817), two natives of Kharkiv, the capital of Sloboda Ukraine.

Abaza and Tsebrikov represented two points of view shared by most of the local Ukrainian elite. Abaza presented the Zaporozhian Cossacks from the western “orientalist” perspective as uncivilized, anarchist and politically unreliable military formation, Tsebrikov drew a more nuanced picture and presented the Ukrainian Cossack political tradition in the light of Enlightenment republican political thought. Relying rather on Rousseau, he described that tradition in terms of liberty, dignity and political participation. He also openly set Cossack republicanism against Catherine’s “despotism” and highlighted the hypocrisy of her supposedly enlightened reforms that promoted serfdom and suppressed human dignity. These two authors demonstrate that the late eighteenth century Ukrainian understanding of the Cossack political tradition much resembled the logic of an earlier debate in Poland, wherein Voltaire praised Russian enlightened absolutism, while Rousseau defended reformed Polish noble republicanism.

Mali **Skotheim** (The American School of Classical Studies at Athens) ‘Imitators of All Things’: Dance and the Intellectualism of Art in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain

Panel / *Session* 437, ‘Painting Modern Life’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Deniz Eyüce Şansal (Bahçeşehir University)

In 1712, John Weaver, a ballet choreographer in London, published a treatise on the history of dance, in which he argued that ballet ought to adopt ancient Roman pantomime dance as a model. He relied primarily on a text of the second century CE, Lucian’s *On the Dance*. Weaver pointed to the intellectualism of ancient pantomime, which relied on a compendious knowledge of history, myth, art, and philosophy, as a way to demonstrate the potential for modern ballet to be an intellectual as opposed to a mechanical art. In this paper, I explore the ways in which non-verbal dance forms of pantomime and ballet challenged the 18th century concept of reason, a concept with roots in ancient Greek philosophical writing about humans as uniquely possessing the power of *logos*. I argue that Weaver’s interpretation of Lucian’s *On the Dance*, in relation to ballet, must be situated in developments in the visual arts in early 18th century Britain. Weaver asserted that ballet dancers needed a deep knowledge of painting and sculpture in order to perfect their art. His arguments rest on the idea that dance must be considered among the British arts, informed by a liberal education. The tension between the intellectual and the mechanical in dance in the 18th century was further complicated by the increasingly prominent role of the comic pantomime in Britain, frequently maligned in British satirical prints as emblematic of the intellectual decline of the British theater-goer, taken in by wordless amusement rather than the verbal artistry of the textual drama of Shakespeare and Jonson. The non-verbal nature of dance created a paradox for those interested in the intellectual capacity of art. While for Weaver, the silence of ballet required dancers to achieve a higher level of historical, philosophical, and artistic knowledge, in order to communicate beyond spoken language, the same non-verbalism of the dance was turned against Harlequin, which became the symbol of anti-intellectualism.

Ekaterina **Skvortcova** (Saint-Petersburg State University) Stefano Torelli’s ‘Coronation Portrait of Catherine II’ and Representation of the Russian Empire as Unity of ‘Tsarstva’ in Eighteenth-Century Russian Art

Panel / *Session* 266, ‘Emperor and Empire’s Lands: Visualising Territory of the Holy Roman Empire and Russian Empire in the Eighteenth Century’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Elena Smilianskaya (National Research University Higher School of Economics)

Since the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 Russian state strived to represent itself as its inheritor. An extraordinary ambition of the country got reflected in its struggle for the new title of its ruler — that of the tsar, which was gained by Ivan the Terrible (1547). It was also him who conquered the remnants of the Golden Horde, independent states Kazanskoe (1552) and Astrakhanskoe khanstva (1556), and started the conquest of Siberia. Imperial aspirations of Russia were further developed by Peter the Great who dressed up his claim in Western clothes and received from Senate and Synod the title of All Russian Emperor. In 18th-century ideology Ivan the Terrible was represented as a predecessor of Peter the Great and annexation of the old “tsarstva” was interpreted in Imperial discourse and was associated with Ivan’s obtaining the title of the tsar, though in fact he was crowned earlier in 1547.

The paper traces how the idea of inclusion of Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberia into Russia was visualized in 18th-century Russian art, including such forms as imitations of crowns of the old tsarstva used in various important court

ceremonies and personifications of tsarstva as females. The most powerful work of art (and one of the very few which did survive) demonstrating programmatic Imperial idea of the unity of several lands is “Coronation Portrait of Catherine the Great” (between 1763 and 1766, State Russian museum, Saint-Petersburg) by an Italian painter Stephano Torelli (1712 — 1780) active in Russia since 1762. It seems to be overshadowed by Vigilius Eriksen’s coronation portrait and, strange though it may seem, has never been examined as an epitome of the Empire, i.e. formation consisting of several states. The present paper analyzes the portrait from this point of view and with a special emphasize on its comparison with similar portraits of Maria Theresia in which she is conveyed with crowns symbolizing states included in the Holy Roman Empire (Hat of the Archduke of Austria, Hungarian crown of St. Stephan, Bohemian Crown of Saint Wenceslas, Otto I’s Imperial Crown or Rudolf II’s Crown).

Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė (Lithuanian Institute of History, Vilnius) Political and Cultural Identities of the Enlightened Lithuanian Nobility based on Data from the Correspondence Collections of the Ogiński and Plater Families

Panel / *Session 52*, ‘Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 1’. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Veronika Capska (Charles University in Prague / Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

Correspondence collections of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the GDL) aristocrats, kept in the Lithuanian State Historical Archives, provide important information for the research in political activities and sociocultural practices of the ruling elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Epistolary sources allow for deeper understanding of communication channels of the eighteenth century Lithuanian society, contacts of its elite with the political and cultural centres of both East and West, while revealing political and cultural identities of the elite and changes thereof in the face of the destruction of the state. Partitions of the Commonwealth, during which most of the territory of the GDL was incorporated into the Russian Empire, forced local aristocrats to choose between active struggle, emigration or collaboration. Witness to these choices are the personal letters kept in family archives, which not only reveal motives for different choices but also show which culture space – Eastern or Western – was the beacon of hope for the future.

This paper will present analysis of political and cultural identities of the aristocrats, holding important offices among the ruling elite of the GDL, who also left significant cultural legacy: the last vice-chancellor, publicist and economist duke Kazimierz Plater (1746-1807), and the last treasurer, diplomat and composer duke Michał Ogiński (1765-1833). Analysis of the collections of family correspondence of the Ogińskis and the Platers helps answering the question why these two aristocrats, campaigning for the ideas of the Enlightenment, in 1795 chose different paths: Ogiński retreated to emigration in Italy where he developed close ties with the cultural elite of Florence while never abandoning the idea of active struggle, whereas Plater stayed in Lithuania and entered compromises with the occupants seeking to figure out the governing mechanism of the Russian Empire and to secure protection and support of the new government.

Elena Smilyanskaya (Higher School of Economics, Moscow) Uneasy Roles of the British Ambassador’s Wife at the Court of Catherine the Great (1768–1771)

Panel / *Session 81*, ‘La Russie et la culture diplomatique européenne / Russia and European Diplomatic Culture’. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dorit Kluge (Hochschule für Wirtschaft, Technik und Kultur, Berlin)

Late 1760-s and early 1770-s were some of the happiest years in the long history of diplomatic relations between Russia and Great Britain. The paper will discuss how such close relations between two Empires influenced ceremonial practices and individual contacts of diplomatic representatives and affected the image of Russia and Russianness in the West. Documents and narratives of the British ambassador to St.Petersbourg Lord Charles Cathcart family including newly studied Lady Jane Cathcart’s notebooks (from the National Library of Scotland) open a perspective of the detailed reconstruction of the diversity of instruments in the ‘kitchen’ of a foreign diplomat in Catherinian Russia. In the diplomatic life of St.Petersbourg the ambassador’s wife for the first time played several important roles.

Lady Cathcart became the first ambassador's wife officially presented for Catherine II. The reception of Lady Cathcart at the court was a result of long talks with count Panin, they discussed primarily the custom of kissing the hand of the Empress. But since this official introduction at the court the Cathcarts were in the closest circle of the Empress.

'For the first time': the Empress visited a residence of a foreign minister – the Cathcarts' residence on the Fontanka-river.

During his stay in Russia British ambassador became the main and the first person among all the foreign diplomats in the Catherinian court. On official dinners and suppers he always sat at the right hand of the Empress (the Grand Duke on her left). The only exception that he had to comply with – was the visit of the Prince Henry of Prussia, but Lord Cathcart preferred at that dinner to leave his wife at the Empress's table and to dine separately talking with Count Panin.

Lady Cathcart left not only very picturesque descriptions of Empress's dresses and jewelry, and I agree with Anthony Cross that the Cathcart couple left one of the best personal pen-portraits of Catherine the Great, a mixture of sarcasm and open sympathy. Being closely integrated into the upper level of the Russian society, almost locked in the capital without any opportunity to know the 'real' county – both Cathcarts and their.

Adam James **Smith** (York St John University) 'The Deformity of Little Wants': Addison, Steele, and [Im]politeness after *The Spectator*

Panel / *Session 204*, 'Impolite Periodicals: Down and Out with Mr Spectator'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Emrys Jones (King's College London)

Joseph Addison and Richard Steele are typically associated with the distillation and dissemination of early eighteenth-century notions of politeness thanks to their landmark collaboration on *The Spectator* (1711-1712). Brian Cowan has observed that *The Spectator* galvanised a kind of "'polite" Whiggery' that characterised much of the ministry's partisan output during the reign of Queen Anne. However, as Cowan also notes, 'we should remember that both Addison and Steele largely abandoned the Spectatorial strategy during George I's reign in favour of a return to more blatantly partisan political argument.'

This paper will consider Addison and Steele's relationship with politeness after *The Spectator*. Addison, in *The Freeholder* (1715-1716) clings onto the rhetorical of politeness (much to Steele's public frustration), whilst at the same time engaging in the very splenetic satire he claims to abhor. Steele explicitly abandons 'polite Whiggery' in the pages of *The Plebian* (1719) and *The Theatre* (1720), leading to the tragic clash with Addison later immortalised by their biographers.

In foregrounding the extent to which these periodicals reject, appropriate and adapt the 'polite Whiggery' of their earlier careers, this paper will argue that Addison and Steele continued to contemplate the applications (and limitations) of politeness long after *The Spectator's* final number.

James **Smith** (Royal Holloway, University of London) Bad Enlightenment: Appropriations of the Eighteenth Century on the Right Today

Panel / *Session 473*, 'Trajectories of the Enlightenment'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Gregory Brown (University of Nevada, Las Vegas / Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

This paper takes the prompt of Enlightenment Identities to consider how the historical Enlightenment is being invoked and spoken for in the attack on so-called identity politics on the Right today. Building on work in my book, **Other People's Politics**, I will discuss the strange situation we find ourselves in where far/alt right provocateurs can pose as Voltaires of free speech, while superficially more moderate figures such as Steven Pinker and Jordan Peterson invoke the example of the 18th century against a putative postmodernism levelling all reason today. Many of the ground gained by the right-wing subcultures that have emerged around these figures has occurred on digital platforms: themselves the design of a Silicon Valley culture that – as Evgeny Morozov has devastatingly shown – also sees itself through the lens of its own appropriation of the Enlightenment.

Various as they are, these figures share a tendency to inscribe conservative definitions of hierarchy and identity in reason, science, and algorithms: an impulse that sits oddly with the usual interpretation of the ‘actual’ Enlightenment. As John Ganz and Steven Klein have remarked in their essay on Peterson, “the strange paradox we face today is that the Enlightenment is being invoked like a talismanic object to thwart the very questioning of political hierarchies and norms that, for Enlightenment thinkers, was necessary for humanity’s emergence from tradition and subordination”.

Alison **Smith** (University of Toronto) Enlightened Tyranny? The Curious Case of Paul I of Russia

Panel / *Session 22*, ‘Reformist and Reactionary Tsars’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Romaniello (Weber State University)

Paul I (r. 1796-1801) was by most accounts among the most autocratic, most despotic, most tyrannical of Russia’s tsars. Historians have described him as ‘obnoxious’, ‘capricious’, ‘neurotic’, ‘manic’, and one has even called him a ‘crowned psychopath’. The son of Catherine the Great, he acted in many ways to counter her legacy, even to the point of reversing her creation of towns out of villages and redrawing provincial boundaries. Nobles in particular loathed him for his seemingly arbitrary measures against them. At the same time, though, he introduced a number of measures intended to improve or ensure the well-being of many of his subjects: conscious efforts to ward off famine in the countryside and to control the price of necessities in towns; limiting the amount of labour serfowners could demand of their serfs. In these ways, he was if anything even more ‘enlightened’ than his famously enlightened mother had been. His unusual rule speaks both to the Enlightened century out of which he came and of the post-French Revolutionary world his sons would inherit. In this paper, I will explore this dual nature of Emperor Paul (as Nikolai Karamzin put it, ‘although inwardly disposed to goodness, he secreted gall’) by focusing on his management of his own estate of Gatchina. There he both acted in ways associated with his despotic nature—reveling in military drill, fortifying the estate from attack—and that spoke to his more benevolent side—building a mill, a church, a hospital. This site saw many of the larger themes of his reign play out on the ground, and shows well the ways that although his reforming side has faded in memory in comparison to his tyrannical side, they were ultimately much longer lasting.

Kalin **Smith** (McMaster University) Garrick’s Hundred Nights in Bayes

Panel / *Session 1*, ‘Adaptation and Emotion’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace (Boston College)

George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham was exposed to the burlesque drama of Louis XIV’s favourite court comedian Molière during his exile in France. His *Rehearsal* (1671) is an adaptation of Molière’s *L’Impromptu de Versailles* (1663) satirizing modern production practices on the Restoration stage. The topical burlesque of heroic drama remained a repertoire favourite amongst eighteenth-century actors, and the play was reproduced on over three-hundred occasions throughout the period. Season after season of London theatregoers report varying targets of burlesque in their accounts of these performances despite an unchanged playtext across multiple reprinted editions. After John Lacy’s debut performance in the role of caricatured Restoration tragedian Bayes, Richard Estcourt, the Cibbers, David Garrick, Catherine Clive, Samuel Foote, and Richard Suett each redressed the playwright in the garbs of their own thespian rivals and contemporaries. Because shifting targets of performative burlesque in successive productions of *The Rehearsal* are not captured in printings of the play however, local allusions to contemporary tragedians are preserved exclusively within anecdotal accounts of the drama as it was later acted. Garrick acted Bayes for the first time in February of 1742 at Goodman’s Fields, playing-up the declamatory acting styles of long-established tragedians like Dennis Delane, Roger Bridgwater, and Lacy Ryan. In Bayes, Garrick’s mimetic prowess took centre stage, and, as Thomas Davies later observed in his *Memoirs*, he “represented their voice and manner so perfectly, that the theatre echoed with repeated shouts of applause”. Garrick was not without detractors however, and “several of the players enjoyed the jest very highly till it became their own case” (1780). Whatever the response to his adaptations—huzzahed and hissed in turns—Garrick swiftly found himself the talk of every greenroom in London. Drawing on printed anecdotes from Garrick’s nearly one-hundred nights in Bayes, this paper examines the repertory afterlife of Buckingham’s burlesque and midcentury adaptations of the drama as it was later acted at Drury Lane.

Courtney Weiss **Smith** (Wesleyan University) Sensing Words

Panel / *Session* 126, 'The Science of Aesthetic Experience'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Joanna Stalaker (Columbia University)

How did eighteenth-century thinkers understand aesthetic experience? What exactly was thought to happen to bodies and to minds when people read literature? Natural philosophy explored fundamental questions about sense perception, and the emerging field of aesthetics investigated issues of beauty and taste. My paper, however, makes a case that prosody—the often-overlooked subset of poetic theory and grammar concerned with the pronunciation and arrangement of syllables—offered crucial resources for answering these questions. Reading more “mechanical” and didactic prosody manuals alongside crucial moments when Enlightenment philosophers of language turn to the vocabulary and insights of prosody—when they dwelled on the precise material qualities of particular letter sounds or meditated on how language might be “measured”—I will propose that prosody was the science of the aesthetic experience of literature. It was the branch of knowledge relating to the material, sensed nature of words: it knew something profound about relationships between and amongst signs, sounds, and meanings, or minds, eyes, lips, and ears. Though our intellectual histories have not taken that knowledge very seriously, I will demonstrate that eighteenth-century philosophy certainly did.

Tatiana **Smoliarova** (University of Toronto) *L'engrenage sentimental, Or, the Machine Metaphor in J.-F. Marmontel's La Veillée (1790)*

Panel / *Session* 461, 'Industry and Technology'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Philippe Sarrasin Robichaud (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières / Sorbonne)

In my talk I propose to focus on the image of an incredible machine – “a wondrous linkage of countless wheels,” operated by the “law of universal attraction” – a verbal vignette (similar in nature and structure to the plates of the Encyclopedia), introducing one of the episodes of J.-F. Marmontel's “La Veillée” (1790). The story, fifth in number, placed right in the middle of this “Revolutionary Decameron” and recounted by Ariste, the author's alter ego (as Marmontel admits in his “Memoires”), is a fairly simple tale of a poor man with a dog, rescued from trouble by the narrator and his companions. The plot is reduced to minimum. What makes this story not an obvious tearjerker is the minute, almost excessive analysis of the protagonists' slightest soul movements, emotional shifts, and facial expressions. What makes it even more puzzling is the detailed mechanical image, used by the author to describe the well-being of the society. This image, I will argue, is a key to the entire narrative sequence of “La Veillée”. Where does this machine metaphor come from? How does it relate to the other metaphors the last decade of the 18th century “lived by”? Can it be considered one of the last echoes of the “social newtonianism” (to use Anne Janowitz' terms)? The talk will explore these questions with a special focus on the sixth edition of Adam Smith' Theory of Moral Sentiments (1790), Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), and the Russian translation of La Veillé by Nikolai Karamzin that was started before the concluding parts of Marmontel's story came of the press.

Susan **Snell** (The Library and Museum of Freemasonry) *Squaring the Triangle: Idealism vs Reality. Masonic Encounters with Anti-Slavery and Black Freemasons as Free Men and Brothers in the Long-Eighteenth Century*

Panel / *Session* 295, 'Eighteenth-Century Constructions of Race'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Schoene (Cornell University)

Freemasonry developed during the Enlightenment period as a fraternal membership organisation offering members, ‘universal brotherhood, sociability, toleration, and benevolence’, within a moral framework. Membership required a belief in a supreme being, while offering religious conciliation by bringing together, ‘persons that must have remained at a perpetual distance’. In addition to the Charges and Regulations set out in the Masonic rule book, the Book of Constitution, by the last quarter of the eighteenth-century modes of expected behaviour by members were designed to encourage, ‘the relatively radical concept of democratic accountability’.

In theory the organisation welcomed members irrespective of nationality or ethnicity and regardless of religious or political beliefs, provided such individuals adhered to the Masonic laws. As numerous Masonic lodges travelled overseas within military units or were formed overseas during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

members originating from various parts of the British Empire arrived in Britain. Reflecting its inclusive aims, Masonic membership records omit details of members' religious beliefs or ethnic origins. Such omissions prove challenging when attempting to provide comprehensive details of local members in lodges overseas or individuals from overseas joining lodges in England and Wales.

This paper aims to reveal details about long eighteenth century individuals born in the British Empire who joined or who attempted to join Masonic lodges in England and Wales or in colonial outposts. Recent research in local and national archives has revealed details for several late eighteenth and early nineteenth century freemasons of black or Asian origin, many of whom undertook transatlantic journeys. In addition members supported anti-slavery campaigns and anti-slavery and abolitionist meetings took place at Freemasons' Hall in London. Evidence of such encounters enables researchers to consider how freemasonry aspired to what Harland-Jacobs defines as its 'ideology of cosmopolitan brotherhood'.

Katie Snow (University of Exeter) 'Unsex'd Females': Eighteenth-Century Caricature and the Misappropriation of Masculinity

Panel / *Session* 56, 'New Directions in the Study of Caricature (Eighteenth-Century Literature and Visual Culture Research Network)'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

In the late eighteenth century, the public visibility of the female body in medical treatises, conduct literature and satire worked as a coercive space for the prescription and regulation of women's behaviours and identities. For physicians, moralists, and philosophers, natural womanhood was figured as self-sacrificial, nurturing, and modest. In juxtaposition with this familial ideal, women who found validation in aspects of public life – such as education, political advocacy, or extra-marital sex – were represented as a malign inversion of acceptable femininity.

Bemoaning the 'Amazonian band – the Female Quixotes' led astray from their maternal instincts by civic interests, the poet Richard Polwhele described such women as 'Unsex'd Females' in his 1798 polemical poem of the same name. This paper explores the ways in which contemporary caricaturists 'Unsex'd' their subjects, contributing to didactic narratives which sought to dissuade women from public power and inspire domestic devotion. Amid heightened anxieties over the corruption of femininity, discourses on revolution, and national preoccupations with moral order, social harmony and population growth, a stream of satirical prints foregrounded images of women as Amazonian viragos, or as grotesque and threatening mixture of Medusa and Marianne.

The focus of this paper is two-fold. Firstly, it explores caricatures of women misappropriating masculine symbols of martial power and prowess; guns, daggers, whips and sceptres. Secondly, it examines images of women adopting masculine dress, noting how these betray concerns with female dominance, sexual immorality, and neglect of the family. In tandem, these caricatures render deviation from gendered norms – and female political participation in particular – as dangerous, depraved, and crucially, unfeminine.

Sergey Sokolov (Ural Federal University) To Be a Civilized Nation in the Age of Enlightenment: Collective Identities in the Heart of Europe and on the Frontier

Panel / *Session* 54, 'National Identities'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Julia de Moraes Almeida (University of São Paulo / Getulio Vargas Foundation)

What makes a nation civilized and what kind of traits and key features a typical civilized nation has? These questions had occupied some minds in Europe as early as at the dawn of Greek and Roman cultures. But it was the Enlightenment that lifted a civilization conception to the summit, appropriating and enhancing a discourse of civilization and barbarism that had persisted in European thought for centuries. The idea of barbarism / civilization perfectly matches to the dichotomy of 'friend' and 'foe' that has a deep connection with understanding of collective identities.

This paper is aimed at studying the conception of a civilized nation in Enlightenment thought with an emphasis on 'difficult cases' of peripheral nations. The idea of civilized and barbaric nations will be examined through the works of key western thinkers. Chronologically, the paper will be focused on the texts of the late 18th – early 19th centuries,

when the discourse of civilization reached its pinnacle in Enlightenment thought and became a routine justification for political actions.

Civilization discourse heavily influenced discussions about borderline countries in the 18th century and a closer look will be taken at the Russia's case. There were numerous treatises discussing the exact position of Russia and its people among (or outside) civilized nations at the end of the 18th century. Russia's role in European politics and culture was hotly disputed, and the assessment of the country's level of development was an important matter for foreign and domestic thinkers. All this sparked off a vast response in European media of the time that should not be omitted as it helped develop the self-identities of both Russia and the West. At the same time, the conception of 'a broader European civilization', which was put forward during the discussions, worked as a staging ground for formulating an early perspective on collective European identity.

Yon Ji Sol (University of Minnesota, Twin Cities) Julia's 'Native Air': Soldier-Artists, Female Critic, and Historical Novel in *Guy Mannering*

Panel / Session 346, 'Sir Walter Scott'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Emma Macleod (University of Stirling)

Returning to Britain from India, Guy Mannering the English colonel hopes that Scotland's European, "native air" will heal his daughter's melancholy. Julia, however, was born and raised in India, understands an (although unspecified) Indian language, and a "little Hindu air" is her "favorite" from her lover Henry Bertram's repertoire. Disagreeing with the accusation too often directed against Sir Walter Scott nowadays that he romanticized Scottishness to serve exoticism, I highlight Scott as an Anglophone writer with an acute colonial consciousness rather than a native informant. The hybrid identity of Julia Mannering is integral to my reading. As such, she disapproves of the Colonel's intervention with Lucy Bertram's work pattern. Her displeasure over decontextualized mixing of European and Asian cultures reflects her objection to the other type of art her father practices—the art of war.

My presentation examines how Scott engages the global history perspective and extends his interpretation of Enlightenment's multicultural, trans-national identity into the Romantic genre of historical novel. In doing so, Scott revises through Julia Mannering the historical novel's earlier, military-oriented model exemplified by his own *Waverley*. The Colonel's daughter is skeptical of any European mediation on Indian culture, acting as a critic of the imperial cultural artifacts produced by the novel's soldier-artists that forcefully integrate geographic parts with distinct histories onto one larger canvas of the British Empire. Whereas Georg Lukács' classic definition of the historical novel essentially sees it as offspring of the war, Guy Mannering resists becoming a war narrative, as demonstrated by unhappy soldiers and critical Julia. Further, I suggest that Julia embodies Scott's acknowledgement of the female contribution to his literary achievements—including the narrative form of the historical novel—which, as Amy Prendergast has recently pointed out, came through women of literary salons.

Tanvi Solanki (Yonsei University) Aurality, Colonial Travel Narratives, and the Enlightenment Concepts of 'Culture' and 'Race'

Panel / Session 330, 'Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Helen Dupree (Georgetown University)

During the Enlightenment, thanks to the interventions of philosophers and natural scientists such as Kant, Herder, Blumenbach, and Voltaire, the concepts of "race" and "culture" began to emerge as concepts still current today, as evident in works in contemporary critical race theory by Robert Bernasconi or Anthony Appiah. What I will explore in this paper are the as yet under-researched 17th and 18th century French, British, and German travel writings about religious missions along with colonial and scientific expeditions that formed the bases of these concepts. They provided these Enlightenment philosophers new knowledge of non-European peoples, particularly those from the Americas. This knowledge was deployed to classify these peoples into groups, through categories such as physical characteristics, climate, or language. I will focus on the significance of aurality, audile techniques, and "acoustic transcription" (Ochoa 2014) in these writings, and the role they played in Enlightenment concepts of cultural and racialized difference. The archive of travel writings used by thinkers who argued for essentialized, unchangeable racial

differences between peoples (Kant, Voltaire, Blumenbach) was a separate one from that of figures who opposed the notion of something like a pre-formed race (Herder and Rousseau). The latter were concerned with linguistic and climactic differences that could be malleable and allowed for adaptability. Herder mined the writings of Jesuit travel writers such as Sebastien Rasles and Chaumonont, who make no mention of racial difference, instead focusing on the sounds of the language of the “savages” and the inadequacy of their own orthography to accurately transcribe their pronunciations. On the other hand, Kant focused on visually perceptible physical characteristics. For example, in his lectures on “physical geography” from the 1750s he cites historians like Thomas Salmon who, unlike the Jesuit missionaries, described the physical traits of non-Europeans he encountered in his travels. I will argue that aurality (and its absence) played a key role in Enlightenment distinctions between concepts of “race” versus those of “culture.”

Floris **Solleveld** (KU Leuven) The ‘Philosophical Turn’ in Eighteenth-Century Scholarship

Panel / *Session* 334, ‘Intellectual Enlightenments’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.11, Appleton Tower.

Chair / *Président.e* : Shiru Lim (European University Institute)

In the years around and after 1750, a ‘philosophical turn’ took place in most if not all domains of early modern scholarship. Most notably, a new genre of historical writing, *histoire philosophique*, emerged with Montesquieu’s *Esprit des Lois* (1748) and Voltaire’s *Essai sur les Mœurs* (1756): a question-oriented approach towards historical developments rather than a narrative of great figures and events. Simultaneously, the study of language was re-oriented by debates about the origin of language; antiquarian compendia like Toustain and Tassin’s *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* (1750-65) and Le Roy’s *Monuments de la Grèce* (1758) became vessels for theory formation about writing and architecture.

While the rise of the *parti philosophique* was a major factor in this turn – articles from the *Encyclopédie*, for instance, were re-organized into separate dictionaries of music and handbooks of literature and grammar – it extended further than that and beyond French borders. The modern part of the multi-author *Universal History* (1759-66) and its two German translations/continuations included new areas into world history; *histoire philosophique* took root on British soil with the works of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon; the eminent ‘philosophical antiquarian’ was Winckelmann.

My presentation will be concerned with positioning this turn within the history of the humanities, and of knowledge more broadly: how it transformed the early modern study of ‘Letters’ and shaped conceptions of historical and linguistic knowledge as well as scholarly identities. The leading question is why all this happened in parallel, with the cooperation of authors who were anything but philosophes, and in some cases, not directly influenced by them? There is a trend of converging general developments – vernacularization and the growth of the reading public, an expanding learned world – but no obvious common internal or external cause.

Tess **Somervell** (University of Leeds) Deceitful Ground: The Agency of Soil in Eighteenth-Century Georgic

Panel / *Session* 379, ‘Pastoral and Georgic’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

In eighteenth-century georgic poetry, the character of the local soil is frequently tied to regional and national identity: ‘the cautious husbandman / Surveys the country round, solicitous / To fix his habitation on a soil / Propitious to his hopes, and to his cares.’ (Dodsley, *Agriculture* [1753]) It is not surprising that Hillary Eklund, in *Ground-Work* (2017; the first book-length study of soil in literature), is suspicious of georgic’s tendency to privilege ‘ecological rootedness’ and ‘emerging conceptions of property over other forms of local habitation’. In this paper, however, I will look more closely at depictions of soil in some key eighteenth-century georgic poems – John Philips’ *Cyder*, Robert Dodsley’s *Agriculture*, and Edinburgh alumnus James Thomson’s *The Seasons* – and show that in these poems the material earth is slippery and prone to shifting. Due to its everyday or seasonal mixing with and absorption of varied material components, to slow processes of erosion and pollution, and to dramatic events like earthquakes, landslides, or the mysterious migration of Marcle Hill in Herefordshire (a spot described by Philips as ‘deceitful ground’), the soil in eighteenth-century georgic resists attempts to define, own, and work it. In the mobility, agency, and hybridity that it

attributes to the soil, eighteenth-century georgic anticipates Heather I. Sullivan's material ecocritical 'dirt theory', and offers a less anthropocentric perspective of the land than has often been assumed.

Susan Sommers (Saint Vincent College, Latrobe) **The Religious Thought of James Anderson (1679–1739)**

Panel / *Session 28*, 'The Scottish Enlightenment and Freemasonry'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gerry Carruthers (University of Glasgow)

The Presbyterian James Anderson is best known as the author of the first two Books of Constitutions sanctioned by the new Grand Lodge in London and published in 1723 and 1738. Anderson was born in Aberdeen in 1679 and studied theology there. As early as 1704, Anderson went to London, where he was ordained and became the minister of a Scots Presbyterian congregation. He established a chapel in Swallow Street in Piccadilly, occupying the pulpit until 1734, when he and his people had a parting of the ways. He died in 1739. In the masonic Books of Constitutions Anderson discussed 'the religion in which all men agree', which has generally been taken as a statement of latitudinarianism. Historians of freemasonry such as David Stevenson have also suggested that Anderson was considered heterodox because he consorted with infamous latitudinarians, Deists and Arians in the early Grand Lodge. It will be argued here that this view of Anderson's religious views is mistaken, which has important implications for our understanding of the religious context of early Grand Lodge freemasonry. Anderson was a prominent supporter of the systematic statement of Calvinist orthodoxy, the Westminster Confession (1646), adopted by the Church of Scotland. The most detailed statement of personal theology produced by Anderson was his 1733 publication, *Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity*. Anderson modelled the structure of this book on the Westminster Confession and, although he mentions the beliefs of Jews and Muslims with approval, he condemns the beliefs of natural philosophers and mathematicians who rely on the sufficiency of natural religion. Anderson's pride and joy was his library, and this also demonstrates the Presbyterian roots of his thought. Anderson's writings suggest that the relationship between freemasonry and Protestantism was more complex than has previously been assumed.

Nuria Soriano Muñoz (University of Valencia) **The Spanish Enlightenment Historiography and the History of America: Some Reflections about the Idea of 'Impartiality' and the Emergence of National Consciousness**

Panel / *Session 197*, 'Between Universal History and National Histories: Building the Past in the Age of the Enlightenment 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Niccolò Guasti (University of Foggia)

The goal of this work is to analyse the ideological uses and the political functions that the concept of "impartiality" has played in the language of Spanish Enlightenment historians, its relation with the writing of history and, more specifically, with the conquest of America. Through a variety of printed texts from the late eighteenth century – apologies, eulogies, dictionaries and other literary texts – and using a methodology that connects the cultural history and conceptual history, my paper will analyse how the eighteenth-century cultural elites attributed a positive meaning in order to build historical discourses on what happened in 1492. In the framework of development of critical history, Enlightenment historians and their detractors used the concept of impartiality in order to hold discourses about America, in tension with the notions of "national" and "foreign." In a context characterized by debates about the sources, distancing and justice of historians, my intention is to dismantle its ideological dimension. This operation allows us to understand "impartiality" as a tool to construct "difference", a notion that legitimates and grants prestige to the Spanish nation as well as structures a complex network of identities.

William Spaggiari (Università degli Studi di Milano) **Da Baretto a Panizzi: le antologie della letteratura italiana in Inghilterra fra Sette e Ottocento**

Panel / *Session 457*, 'Giuseppe Baretto (1719–1789) Turns 300'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Fabio Forner (University of Verona)

My paper will discuss and illustrate the role that Giuseppe Baretti (1719-1789) played as a promoter of Italian Literature in England, especially with his Italian library (1757). I shall compare this bibliographical reference book with those compiled, for example, by his teacher and mentor Girolamo Tagliacucchi, as well as other manuals Baretti published (such as *An introduction to the Italian language, containing specimens both of prose and verse [...]*, 1755). It is my intention to highlight the process of popularization and circulation of Italian literary texts from the publication of Baretti's textbooks in mid 18th-century to the *Extracts from Italian prose writers for the use of students in the London University* (1828) by Antonio Panizzi (1797-1879), principal librarian of the British Museum from 1856 to 1866.

Jonathan Spangler (Manchester Metropolitan University) *Neither Here Nor There: The Sword Nobility in Lorraine in the Eighteenth Century, Dual Identities, and Mixed Opportunities between Versailles and Vienna*

Panel / *Session 205*, 'In the Shadow of Big Brother: Identities and Roles of Noble Cadet Sons'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Storrington (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

Younger sons of the nobility across Europe had always struggled to define their place in society, a struggle that was exacerbated in France by the rise of the robe nobility and a shift in perception in what the old sword nobility was for, and the increased preference for primogeniture in succession practices. None of this was new to the 18th century, but key developments altered the landscape in sometimes contrary directions: access to the royal court and to military careers was increasingly restricted to nobles only, yet marriage patterns were opening up to allow new blood (and wealth) from the judiciary and financial elites. This paper will look at the shifting strategies adopted by one group of French nobles in particular, those from the border zone of the Duchy of Lorraine, not incorporated into the Kingdom of France fully until 1766, and thus retaining a unique fluidity of identity and opportunity of younger sons: some opted to move to Versailles, others remained in Nancy, while still others followed the old Ducal family to Vienna. Older forms of succession practice also continued to flourish in Lorraine, as a former part of the Imperial (that is, Germanic) system, meaning that younger sons could benefit from partible inheritance. Yet at the same time, adherence to Imperial customs also meant that access to ecclesiastical benefices was more highly regulated, and the offspring of any mixed marriages (noble/non-noble) would be cut off from these career paths. Choices had to be made carefully. This paper will analyse examples of cadets from a wide range of noble families from Lorraine, from ancient sword nobility to newer annoblis and financial elites. Some of the greatest names in the 18th-century French aristocracy were produced from this pool, such as Choiseul, Stainville or Du Châtelet. Others left the orbit of the Bourbon kings and developed new dynasties in Vienna, such as Mercy, Ficquelmont, or Mensdorff-Pouilly.

Céline Spector (Sorbonne Université) *Science de l'homme et raison des femmes : Rousseau et la division genrée du travail scientifique*

Panel / *Session 274*, 'Le statut et l'identité des femmes dans la philosophie des Lumières'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Martin Rueff (Université de Genève)

Le Livre V d'Émile a fait l'objet de nombreuses lectures féministes, qui ont souvent laissé dans l'ombre un texte majeur où Rousseau s'interroge sur la contribution des femmes à la « science de l'homme ». Cette communication tentera de comprendre le lien entre le rôle assigné aux femmes dans la science expérimentale et la volonté d'élaborer une « morale expérimentale ». La thèse de Rousseau est originale : il revient aux femmes d'observer le cœur humain et aux hommes de réduire ces observations « en système ». Bien plus qu'une thèse relative à l'éducation morale des femmes, le philosophe propose donc une thèse ambitieuse sur la nature de la morale elle-même.

Elizabeth Spencer (University of York) 'Designed as a Methodical Register of all their Transactions of Business': Women and Accounting in the Eighteenth-Century Printed Pocket Book

Panel / *Session 328*, 'Economics and Commerce'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Felicia Gottmann (Northumbria University)

This paper will look at how women used printed pocket books like *The Ladies Own Memorandum-Book* to keep account in the long eighteenth century. Increasingly available from the mid-century onwards, these books provided printed templates for recording income and expenditure, as well as space for ‘Memorandums and Remarks’. Scholars have already noted that there is an inherent tension in these books between consumerism and good economy, as they encouraged the female consumer to record what she owned as well as what she had paid. Indeed, Jennie Batchelor has argued that the pocket book’s main significance lies in the fact that the printed text constructed a feminine ideal surrounding ‘frugality, modesty and social and economic restraint’. However, we are often faced with a conundrum when looking at extant examples of pocket books; though the printed elements emphasised good economy, use of the templates for accounting is frequently patchy in practice. Many women only occasionally used their pocket books to account, only recorded expenditure rather than income, didn’t use the accounting template at all, or, as is sometimes the case, used the pages of their pocket book for something other than its prescribed purpose.

Shifting our focus away from the printed text, this paper takes a different approach by thinking about the pocket book primarily as part of a wider accounting process. Drawing on a range of examples including the pocket books of Ann Prest, Elizabeth Inchbald, and Jane Porter, I examine the different ways in which these women used (or did not use) these books to record income and expenditure. I suggest that the pocket book was one of, rather than the only space in which women were able to keep account, and could form part of a wider process of which account ledgers, bills, receipts, and rough notes and drafts were also a part. Thinking about the pocket book in this wider context can help us understand why many of these books were not used in the way prescribed by printed templates and text.

Tessa **Spencer** (National Records of Scotland) Sources for Eighteenth-Century Studies in the National Records of Scotland

Panel / *Session 248*, ‘Sources and Editing’. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Carly Watson (University of Oxford)

This paper will highlight the huge range of Scottish records available for 18th century studies in the National Records of Scotland: what are the main records, what will they tell you, and how do you start?

In addition to the wealth of documents searchable through ScotlandsPeople, there are plenty more in Scotland’s national archives to help with your research: church records, civil and criminal court cases, exchequer records, property records, tax records and the archives of landed estates. This paper looks at this diverse material for the study of the state, church, law and private life in the 18th century, explaining how these records work and what use you can make of them for research purposes.

Guy **Spielmann** (Georgetown University) Identity of the Unidentifiable: What is ‘Münchhausen’?

Panel / *Session 112*, ‘Literature, Meaning, and the Unfathomable’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephanie Insley Hershinow (Baruch College, CUNY)

Most eighteenth-century novels have a clear national identity rooted in their characters, geographical setting, and narrative style (even when dealing with “foreign” themes); for the most part, they also have an identified author (credited in print or not), and an identifiable form. “The Adventures of Baron Münchhausen” offers a rare—perhaps unique—example of a text that defies all attempts at identification by usual means (place, author, genre).

While the German freiherr Hieronymus von Münchhausen (1720–1797) did exist, and while brief texts initially associated with him were first printed in German (anonymously in a Berlin journal in 1781 and 1783), the first full-length, stand-alone narrative appeared in English in 1785; a German iteration followed in 1786 and, in 1792, a play in French. Before the eighteenth century was over, at least a dozen Münchhausens in various forms and languages were already circulating. Illustrations featuring the baron had become part of the text, some by celebrated artists like Cruikshank and Rowlandson—and some that had no relation to the text at all.

Since then Münchhausen has grown into a textual and iconographic nebula of thousands of items with no indisputable author, language or “definitive” version—there was even an Edinburgh imprint (1858). I take Münchhausen as a case study for investigating the identity of a work of art at the apex of a gigantic effort to organize and systematize human

knowledge and fictional productions in the time of the Enlightenment. What criteria, what strategies can we implement to define the boundaries of that which we consider as a single discrete “text” (or rather, “iconotext”) in spite of myriad variations in virtually all of its constitutive elements? I will show how Münchhausen proceeds from radical experimentation at a time when the novel was barely coming of age: a work with a particularly strong identity that, paradoxically, does not easily yield to conventional criteria of identification.

Amanda Springs (Maritime College, SUNY) *The Clothes Un/Make the Woman: Eighteenth-Century Women’s Travel Attire in Britain and Gender Identity*

Panel / *Session* 99, ‘Clothes and Identity’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sohini Chakravarty (Delhi Public School R. K. Puram)

The increasing popularity of clothing specifically designed for women’s travel provoked a significant amount of gender anxiety in Britain over the course of the long eighteenth century. Riding habits, introduced from France in the waning years of the seventeenth century, were succeeded by carriage dresses, walking dresses, and promenade dresses, all of which dominated women’s fashion magazines by the end of the era. These fashions were not universally welcomed, however, with travel wear for women sparking concern regarding the suitability and morality of such clothing, viewed, as it was by some, as either obfuscating or highlighting a woman’s gender and, thus, her sexual identity. Arguments largely predicated on the notion that the “clothes un/make the woman” were common in the journalism, fiction, and pictorial art of the time. Using a range of written and visual sources from the period, this paper traces the progression of responses to and associations with women’s travel attire, and considers the ways these interpretations reveal attitudes about the capacity for clothing to shape, make, or even change gender identities. Texts to be referenced include, but are not limited to: *The Spectator*, *The Guardian*, Samuel Richardson’s *Letters*, John Collet’s prints, *The Tunbridge Miscellany*, Baron George Granville Lansdowne’s poetry, Godfrey Kneller’s portraits, the novels of Thomas Smollett and Charlotte Lennox, and early ladies’ fashion magazines such as *The Lady’s Magazine*, *La Belle Assemblée*, and *Ackermann’s Repository*.

Macon St. Hilaire (Austin Peay State University) *Making and Meaning: The Implications of Attribution in a Portrait of Lady Christian Dalrymple*

Panel / *Session* 159, ‘Women and Children in the Arts’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanna Caviglia (Duke University)

In the early 18th century, the transition from guilds to independent artists, academic social circles, and the commercialization of artist materials were all leading to a standardisation and the future Academy system. Scottish and English-born artists were painting in a systematic style reflecting the development of a collective British identity in portraiture. This study is focused on the career of John Smibert (1688-1751) born in Edinburgh and apprenticed as a painter and plasterer at the time of the 1707 Act of Union. His legacy is the transatlantic dissemination of artistic tradition and British identity in the American colonies. Following a similar career trajectory to other Scottish-born artists, he moved to London and received training as a portrait painter. This paper exams the mechanisations of production and meaning in a portrait of Lady Christian Dalrymple, Wife of Sir James Dalrymple, Bt, Daughter of Thomas, 6th Earl of Haddington held by the National Trust for Scotland, Newhailes.

The Newhailes Estate is a Palladian style home situated six miles southeast of Edinburgh’s city centre. The Dalrymple family were prominent supporters of the Enlightenment and amassed a library that illustrates their labours. The Dalrymples were not only supporters of intellectual curiosity but patrons of artistic culture. The property of Newhailes maintains three portraits of Lady Christian from her life, in addition to the portrait attributed to Smibert, one is attributed to the circle of Charles Jervas and the other painted by Allan Ramsey. The three paintings give a glimpse into the life of Lady Christian and the way that portraiture of women identified their roles in their families and in the home.

Jessica Stacey (Queen’s College, Oxford) *Rousseau’s Toe: Towards a Queer ‘Confessions’*

Panel / *Session* 439, 'Rousseau, émotions, sexualité'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Christophe Martin (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

This paper proposes a solution to two problems. Firstly, I seek to reconcile the queer potential in Rousseau's *Confessions*, full of frank excavation of "deviant" sexual desire, with the text's overt homophobia which, crucially, does not seem amenable to a "suspicious reading" which would reveal it as repressed homosexuality. The second problem is that of the powerful antipathy which can be felt by new readers of the text towards the self crafted therein; an antipathy that pushes its readers to read from a position of extreme suspicion, seeking the lie, the obfuscation, and the ultimate failure of the project. This paper uses Kosofsky-Sedgwick's distinction between reparative and suspicious, or paranoid, reading to encourage us to follow Rousseau's own path from hostility to ambivalent sympathy across three queer encounters with men, and thereby to shift our position as readers, without simply caving to the demands of the sometimes tyrannical author.

Touching on his first encounter in a Catholic hospice and his second with a masturbating taffetatier, I focus on the episode that exposes Rousseau's vulnerable toe. Sleeping rough in Lyon, he is invited home by an abbé who hopes to initiate a sexual encounter. A more streetwise Rousseau is able to navigate this interaction skilfully, using feigned reactions and retelling his past encounters to engage the abbé – 'a man not lacking in merit', although 'a great scoundrel' – in a play of sympathy which is in part authentic. This ambivalent sympathy develops the morning after, when Rousseau finds that they are both read as "that kind of person" by the abbé's landladies, who make their antipathy clear, to the point of deliberately stamping on a blistered toe sticking out of the impoverished Rousseau's shoe. Sign of a poverty-stricken outsider, the toe is also read as a sign of vulnerability to sin, and of another kind of outsider: the sodomite. In examining the shifting distribution of antipathy and sympathy throughout this episode, I hope to show that reading others and being read, so often in the *Confessions* subject to paranoid over-interpretation, can offer some unlikely and even queer moments of repair.

Thomas **Stäcker** (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt) Do We Really Know? – What Is Required to Analyse the Network of Letters in the Age of Enlightenment? Some Reflections on a Big Data Project

Panel / *Session* 449, 'Correspondances et représentations des identités nationales au XVIIIe siècle – La lettre entre les nations 2 / Correspondences and Representations of National Identity in the Eighteenth Century – Letters between Nations 2'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Nicholas Cronk (Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

There is no reliable estimation available about how many letters are extant from the age of enlightenment and up to this time nobody seriously raised the question if all or most of these countless letters could perhaps be made accessible to research in some way. It seemed out of scope and not feasible to envisage an index of perhaps more than a Million letters. But with the advent of the digital the situation has changed. More and more metadata about letters became available in general databases such as EMLO and full-fledged letter editions appeared on the web. However, most of this information is still enclosed in data silos or scattered all over the web and cannot be aggregated to larger letter corpora allowing to help answer questions, for instance, about the overall ratio of letters written in Latin or French or the places in Europe where letters were most frequently sent to or who are the people that were connected by letter exchange. Furthermore, there were few efforts made to standardize letter metadata or design a dedicated letter ontology that is apt to model letters as objects of the so-called semantic web. Even though the results of TEI SIG correspondance and implementing an API by the project *correspSearch* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences and Humanities meant a great progress for processing letter metadata there is still only a small fraction of the material available.

The project that I am going to present bases on preliminary work carried out by the COST action "Re-assembling the Republic of Letters" led by Howard Hotson and Thomas Walling. It aims to establish a letter network and a federated structure of hubs and nodes in Germany that systematically extracts, prepares and collects metadata about letters so as to enable a joint index of letters and define a common framework for identifying, digitizing and editing letters of the age of the enlightenment and beyond.

Joanna **Stalnaker** (Columbia University) Writing After Death: Diderot and Montaigne

Panel / *Session* 263, 'Diderot: Life Stages'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew H. Clark (Fordham University)

In his last published work, the *Essay on the Reigns of Claudius and Nero*, Denis Diderot called upon his fellow philosophes to write from the grave. "One only thinks, one only speaks with strength from the bottom of one's grave," he wrote, "it is there that one must place oneself, it is from there that one must address men." But what does it actually mean to write from the grave? This question is especially elusive for the Lucretian materialist Diderot, who in D'Alembert's *Dream* characterized death as nothing more than a change in form. In this paper, I will argue that at the end of his life, Diderot took his cue from the essayist Michel de Montaigne in developing his own approach to writing after death. It was Montaigne who observed in one of his last essays, "On Physiognomy," that the time remaining to him belonged more to death than to life. Whereas in his earlier essays he had painted his life, his sole remaining task was now to record, if possible, death's babble: "And of my death alone, if I found her talkative, as others do, I would gladly let people know of it, while decamping." Diderot expressed admiration for Montaigne's depiction of death in his own final essay, but he did more than that: he also sought to emulate in the form of his writing the new shape he would take after his death.

Robert **Stearn** (Birkbeck, University of London) Synoptic Views: Early Eighteenth-Century Adventure Fiction and the Practical Knowledge of Everyday Life^[1]_{SEP}

Panel / *Session* 211, 'Life at Sea'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Beck (Institute of Historical Research)

Published within months of the first two volumes of Robinson Crusoe, Ambrose Evans' *Adventures, and Surprising Deliverances, of James Dubourdieu, and his Wife* (1719) addresses itself to the same world of maritime adventure as Defoe's fiction, while offering an intriguing revision of his narrative poetics and ideological investments. Evans' novel begins with Mrs Rattenberg, the titular wife's, account of her movement from provincial daughter to London servant, before becoming, with her future husband, a hopeful émigré shipwrecked on an unknown South Sea shore. Taking up the narrative, Mr Dubourdieu recounts his sojourn in a tropical utopia inhabited by the 'children of love'. Eventually the couple are rescued and return to Paris, where they run an inn. Their retailing of their life story to an English gentleman passer-by, in the hope of drumming up trade, forms the narrative frame.

Drawing on Margaret Cohen's persuasive account of Defoe's narrative poetics in *The Novel and the Sea* (2010), this paper takes seriously the account of skilled work offered in early eighteenth-century adventure fiction and the pleasure that these novels' episodic dramas of problem-solving afforded contemporary readers. Looking beyond the craft of the mariner, it proposes to explore how three writers writing adventure fiction in the early eighteenth century – Ambrose Evans, William Chetwood, and Penelope Aubin – contrived forms through which to explore the practical knowledge of everyday life that was excluded from Defoe's fiction: the technical abilities, comportment, and aptitude for interpersonal management demanded of those in service and retail positions. These writers attempted to exploit the popularity of Defoe's fictions for commercial gain, but their novels also represented politically-motivated interventions in the world identified with that fiction, aiming to correct and augment its morality, its population, and its conventions of cause and effect. Through modular narratives, this paper argues, these writers aimed to cultivate in their readers an aptitude for careful management and a synoptic view of the episodic life of service.

Volker **Steinkamp** (University of Duisburg-Essen) De la primauté de la politique intérieure – Turgot, la France et la guerre de l'Indépendance américaine

Panel / *Session* 459, 'Identités politiques'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Eick (Grand Valley State University)

En 1776, deux ans après son accession au trône, Louis XVI doit prendre sa première décision importante concernant la politique étrangère: la France doit-elle soutenir les insurgés américains dans leur lutte d'indépendance contre les colonisateurs britanniques? Aux yeux du Comte de Vergennes, le ministre des Affaires étrangères, un tel soutien des colons américains serait une occasion à ne pas manquer pour affaiblir l'ennemi britannique et renforcer en même

temps la position internationale de la France qui vient d'être gravement affaiblie lors de sa défaite humiliante dans la guerre de Sept Ans (1756-1763). Néanmoins, le jeune monarque hésite encore et demande aux membres de son Conseil du roi de lui rendre leur opinion.

Malgré ses sympathies pour les colons américains, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot en tant que contrôleur général des finances est le seul ministre à se prononcer clairement contre une participation de la France à la guerre de l'Indépendance américaine en renvoyant surtout à la désastreuse situation financière du royaume. Toutefois, l'argumentation de Turgot dans son "Mémoire sur la manière dont la France et l'Espagne doivent envisager les suites de la querelle entre la Grande-Bretagne et ses Colonies", rédigé en avril 1776 à peine quelques semaines avant sa chute, est loin d'être de nature purement financière. Au contraire, le texte révèle aussi une nouvelle conception de la politique étrangère dont la primauté, jusqu'alors incontestée au XVIIIe siècle, est remise en question de manière surprenante. Ce n'est plus la puissance extérieure de la France à laquelle Turgot s'intéresse en premier lieu mais à l'état du royaume à l'intérieur et aux réformes considérées comme indispensables auxquels le philosophe donne la priorité dans son "Mémoire".

Gerhardt **Stenger** (University of Nantes) Qu'en pensez-vous ? L'appel au lecteur dans les contes de Diderot

Panel / *Session* 326, 'Diderot et la Morale 1'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Odile Richard-Pauchet (University of Limoges)

Le titre du conte allégorique de Mme d'Épinay longtemps attribué à Diderot, Qu'en pensez-vous ?, résume parfaitement la réaction que Diderot attend de son lecteur dans ses derniers romans et contes : non pas une réaction passionnelle telle qu'il la préconisait encore dans l'Éloge de Richardson (« Heureux ceux qui purent pleurer »), mais une attitude critique qui sait dominer sa sensibilité et juger « froidement mais sainement » (Le Rêve de d'Alembert). Autrement dit, Diderot ne laisse pas son lecteur tranquille : un roman ou conte, même un dialogue, finit toujours par solliciter son avis, à l'instar du titre de sa dernière pièce, Est-il bon ? Est-il méchant ? Cette implication du lecteur – il s'agit toujours, en fin de compte, de lui demander si tel héros ou telle héroïne sont bons ou méchants, et pourquoi – peut prendre différentes formes : la Préface-annexe de La Religieuse, l'interrogation « Et vous concluez de là ? » par laquelle débute (!) le deuxième préambule de Ceci n'est pas un conte, la lettre du curé Papin à la fin des Deux Amis de Bourbonne, les deux derniers paragraphes dans Ceci n'est pas un conte, le dernier paragraphe dans Madame de La Carlière, la fin du Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville, la fin de l'Entretien d'un philosophe avec la maréchale de ***, etc. À chaque fois, Diderot pousse son lecteur à s'interroger sur ce qu'il vient de lire ou sur les opinions qu'il vient d'entendre. Contrairement à bien d'autres auteurs, Diderot n'impose jamais ses opinions, il laisse le dernier mot au lecteur.

Katarina **Stenke** (University of Greenwich) Infidelity, Magic, Excess: The Impolite Bases of Addison's Polite Spectators

Panel / *Session* 204, 'Impolite Periodicals: Down and Out with Mr Spectator'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Emrys Jones (King's College London)

This paper will examine two orientalist essays by Joseph Addison in order to argue that the polite surfaces of his periodical prose often concealed – and even relied on – distinctly impolite subject-matter.

Scholars of eighteenth-century politeness often understand the immensely popular Spectator essays as paradigmatic of how a discourse of civility and manners was disseminated through British culture in the early years of the century. Nonetheless, as Lawrence Klein makes clear in his foundational work on the subject, 'politeness' in the period was less a social reality than a cultural discourse. The full implications of this insight become clearer when we re-examine the rhetoric and sources through which the Spectator sought to influence its readers. In a significant number of papers, I will suggest, the didactic insistence on polite morality is actually supported by noticeably 'impolite' materials relating to infidel superstition, licentious animal magic, or the indecorous excesses of Italian opera.

Drawing on recent scholarship in eighteenth-century orientalism by scholars such as Srinivas Aravamudan and Eugenia Zugorski Jenkins, this paper will argue that politeness as a discourse is crucially bound up with ongoing

reconfigurations of “the Orient” and other categories of alterity in the British imagination, whereby the foreign was understood as at once morally and politically subversive and, as imaginative capital, productive of politeness.

Aron Sterk (University of Lincoln) The Portuguese Jewish Fellows of the Society of Antiquarians and the Royal Society of London in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 122*, ‘Relative Liberties’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Joyce Irwin (Princeton Research Forum)

Between 1723 and 1769, decades before the better-known Enlightenment Haskalah movement of German Jewry, nine English Jews had been elected to the prestigious Royal Society of London and two of these to the more exclusive Society of Antiquarians. Only two of these were rich German Jews, the rest were Portuguese, including the physicians Isaac Sequeira de Samuda and Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, and the foreign member Jacob Rodrigues Pereira of France. The remaining Portuguese Jews were all closely related to the London Mendes da Costa family including Joseph Salvador and his cousin, the naturalist and noted conchologist Emanuel Mendes da Costa. Within the societies they mixed on terms of equality with members of the British (and European élite, including Portuguese diplomats resident in London like Carvalho e Melo, later Marquis of Pombal). For many of the Jewish members membership of the learned societies was a fashionable indication of their remarkable integration into English society, but de Castro Sarmiento and Emanuel Mendes da Costa were active members and significant contributors to the Enlightenment ‘Republic of Letters.’ In this paper I want to look at how the peculiar inter-cultural identity of the Portuguese Jews enabled them to enter the Enlightenment learned societies and how the assimilative risks involved in such close assimilation and integration threatened their Jewish identity.

Laura Stevens (University of Tulsa) Visible Ministers: Joseph Fish, Joseph Johnson, and the Native Spiritual Leadership of Narragansett

Panel / *Session 190*, ‘What Makes a ‘Minister’? Clerical Identity in the Eighteenth Century’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Katarina Stenke (University of Greenwich)

Recent scholarship by historians including David Silverman, Linford Fisher, Edward Andrews, and Julius Rubin has called attention to the active and complex roles the Native peoples of New England played in Christian missionary endeavors. Far from passive objects of English, Scottish, and Dutch outreach, indigenous peoples of this region actively made decisions about their relationships to Christian knowledge and devotional practice. Those who sought out Christian education or church affiliation did so for a range of well-considered reasons, and they often did so while insisting on their own terms, developing their own models for religious expression and church organization.

Building on these historians’ work, this paper will undertake a close reading of two texts describing Christian encounter in the Native community of Narragansett, Rhode Island, during the 1760s: the journal of Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan and former student of Eleazar Wheelock’s Indian Charity School, and the diary of Joseph Fish, pastor of the North Stonington Congregational Church of Rhode Island, who had been hired by the Commissioners of the New England Company to preach and minister to the people of Narragansett once a month. My focus will be on the ways in which both texts describe ministerial labor, status, and identity. What did ministry mean to this Mohegan Christian, recently returned from missionary work among the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois peoples, and this white Congregationalist minister who had opposed the revivalist fervor of the Great Awakening? Who counted as a minister for both men, and why? Most of all, what is the story of emotions surrounding ministerial identity and what amounted to a contest for authority in this community? Their very different answers involved their racial and cultural identities, as well as the distinct theologies informing their approaches to conversion, salvation, religious authority, and prayer. This project will add to the flourishing work underway on indigenous-centered histories of Christian mission as well as the dense tangle of emotions that informed and resulted from interracial religious encounter in the colonial era.

Ian Stewart (Queen Mary, University of London) French National Origins in Revolutionary Context, 1789–1795

Panel / *Session* 252, 'The Uses of History in Revolutionary Europe: Nation, Civilisation, and Society in British and French Historiography'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Céline Spector (Université Paris-Sorbonne)

National origins dominated French historical research during the eighteenth century, as the constitutional implications of national descent became a widely discussed political issue. Competing with the narrative of a Frankish invasion for most of the eighteenth century, an idealised Celtic past finally triumphed during the period 1789-1795. At the outset the political 'nation' was understood as the nobility as descended from the Franks, by 1795 it was firmly established that the 'nation' was the mass of the French people, who extended from the ancient Gauls. This paper examines the role played by history-writing in these rapidly shifting views of French political society, and shows how political necessity caused scholars to adapt not only their historical interpretations but the techniques they employed to reach them.

Margaret Stewart (University of Edinburgh) Re-Enacting Eighteenth-Century Garden Designs: 'In Alloa's Garden'

Panel / *Session* 67, 'British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 2'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurent Châtel (University of Lille / Magdalen College, Oxford)

Between 1702 and 1715 the earl of Mar created one of the greatest formal landscape of the early eighteenth century at his own estate at Alloa in Scotland. His great plan and rich archive survive to explain his complex ideas and motives. The problem for the historian is how to communicate this complexity, not just to academic audiences, but also to non-experts. The outstanding visual quality of Mar's drawings lends them to film but much contemporary historical film producers assume (incorrectly?) that redacted content and dramatised scenarios intercut with a historian's voice are appropriate for popular consumption. The historian, while being active on screen, has limited control over content, and no control over production values. The aim was to reverse this relationship by removing the historian from the screen and placing him/her in control of the production, content and interpretation. A short animation of some of the Alloa drawings was a pilot for a longer documentary which includes live action, aerial photography and specially commissioned music, costumes and historic settings. Filmmakers, in this instance students, provided skills vital to create an entertaining and satisfying experience.

Marianne Stidsen (University of Copenhagen) The Talented Mr. Baggesen

Panel / *Session* 84, 'Literary Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tine Reeh (University of Copenhagen)

As the historian Jonathan Israel has pointed out, Scandinavian Enlightenment in several respects is a precursor of equal and universal rights as practiced in the welfare state. The Danish writer Jens Baggesen (1764-1826) is a case in point. Like the hero of Patricia Highsmith's well-known novel 'The talented Mr. Ripley' (1955), Mr. Baggesen is endowed with a multitude of talents and, atypical of the times, is given the opportunity to practice his talents.

Being an upstart however, meant encountering obstacles. Although, unlike the talented Mr. Ripley, not driven to murder, Jens Baggesen had a hard time constructing a stable identity during his journey from one class to the next, having to operate in various social and cultural environments. I intend to examine his autobiographical *Skiemtsomme Riimbrev* (1807) and his diaries for evidence of his struggle to establish an identity.

Frederik Stjernfelt (Aalborg University) The Rise and Decline of a Pamphleteer – Martin Brun

Panel / *Session* 249, 'The Abolition of Censorship and the Pamphlet Period in Denmark 1770–73'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tine Damsholt (University of Copenhagen)

Among the pamphleteers of the Danish Press Freedom Period of 1770-73, the young philosophy student Martin Brun was the most prolific. Over a period of little more than two years he published at least 48, more probably 60-70 pamphlets. This paper charts his trajectory, thereby also giving a picture of the overall development of the new public sphere in that brief period. Brun was an experimenting writer, using a mixture of genre formats such as assuming the identity of fictive pseudonyms, organizing dialogues between representatives of different social groups, critical essays with invented informants etc. Linguistically inventive, his writings became famous for their grotesque, picturesque titles such as “Ole the Smith’s Complaints over Rice Porridge” or “A Real Inventory of all Witches and Sorcerers Who have Lived since Dr. Faust”. With a provocative sense of criticism and a surprising degree of knowledge about current Enlightenment traditions, Brun was shocked by the incarceration and decapitation of Struensee in early spring 1772. He immediately ceased with his biting attacks on clerics and joined the popular rage against Struensee in a new surge of pamphlets. Later that year, he clashed with another prolific pamphleteer, J.L. Bynch, now defending clerics in what proved to be his swan song. After two intensive years, he now seemed to be scared by the prosecution of Bynch so as to shut up completely. The Free Press period in Copenhagen was about to close, and Brun’s brief career gives a picture of the swiftly changing phases of that period.

Karen **Stolley** (Emory University) ‘Peje entre dos aguas’: Mestizo Subjects in the Eighteenth-Century Hispanic Empire

Panel / *Session 177*, ‘Peripheral Identities in the Hispanic World 2’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia)

Questions of what we now think of as race informed administrative structures and practices during the Bourbon eras in ways that were unique to the Spanish American eighteenth century. The Hapsburg empire had identified a “Republic of Spaniards” and a “Republic of Indians,” while Enlightenment thinking on race relied on the Linnaean classification system and geographic determinism. These concepts fall short in terms of providing a context for understanding eighteenth-century mestizos. This paper will explore the role that miscegenation comes to play in eighteenth-century Spanish America in the construction of an “in between” late imperial subject during the transition from coloniality to modernity. Specific cases to be examined include examples of the anxieties surrounding “passing” (often represented by the “gracias al sacar,” a document that legally confirmed whitening and enabled mestizos to improve their social status); claims made by mixed-race militias; medical reforms that recognized mestizo medical practitioners; and eighteenth-century casta paintings.

Marco **Storni** (Università Ca’ Foscari, Venezia) Identité et organisme : Locke et la biologie des Lumières

Panel / *Session 371*, ‘La quête de l’identité après Locke. Ou comment être empiriste au siècle des Lumières’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Maud Brunet-Fontaine (Université d’Ottawa / Université Paris X, Nanterre)

Dans l’Essai sur l’entendement humain, Locke réfléchit à la question de l’identité, non seulement personnelle, mais aussi organique. Chez Locke, l’identité d’un organisme consiste dans l’arrangement des parties matérielles qui le composent, de sorte que, tout en changeant ses composantes, le corps maintient toujours une « vie commune ». Les biologistes français du 18e siècle, qui s’inspirent profondément de l’empirisme lockéen, reprennent la question de l’identité organique, tout en la déclinant de manière différente. La question, chez eux, n’est plus de savoir ce qu’est l’identité d’un organisme, mais comment l’organisation des parties matérielles est possible, et quels facteurs il faut invoquer pour l’expliquer. Un cas exemplaire est celui de Maupertuis, qui avance une interprétation originale de l’identité du vivant. Dans le *Système de la nature* (1751), Maupertuis affirme que l’ordre qu’on observe dans les êtres vivants est dû au fait que chaque partie matérielle est elle-même vivante et consciente. L’ordre du corps est donc le résultat du choix intelligent et autonome que font ses composantes élémentaires de s’arranger dans une structure ordonnée. En ce sens, l’identité d’un organisme peut être déclinée à deux niveaux distincts : d’un côté, en reprenant la thèse de Locke, l’identité du corps en tant que structure ordonnée ; de l’autre, l’identité des parties d’un corps, qui sont elles-mêmes des entités vivantes et conscientes (bien qu’à un niveau de conscience inférieur à la totalité organisée). Le cas de Maupertuis est significatif car il témoigne du double changement de perspective qui caractérise la biologie des Lumières par rapport à l’empirisme classique. D’une part, la question de l’identité de l’organisme est

pensée d'un point de vue scientifique plutôt que philosophique ; d'autre part, l'attribution à la matière d'un principe vital ouvre la voie au matérialisme, qui aura une large diffusion dans la réflexion sur les sciences de la vie tout au long du 18e siècle.

Adam Storring (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) Personal Experience or Technical Knowledge? The Role of Terrain in Eighteenth-Century Military Thought

Panel / *Session* 471, 'The Intellectual History of War in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christy Pichichero (George Mason University)

This paper uses military thinkers to examine the changing thought-world of the long eighteenth century. Scholars like Azar Gat and Anders Engberg-Pedersen have claimed that military thought in the long eighteenth century reflected the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, seeking to reduce war to mathematical calculation. This paper will show that military writers of the early eighteenth century sought to overcome the complexities of terrain in war not through mathematical calculation or technical knowledge, but through a stress on personal knowledge and experience. Authors called for an army commander to have a perfect knowledge of the country where their army was campaigning, so that they could consider every possibility in their own head. This was a reflection not of enlightened calculation but of the noble culture that continued to dominate eighteenth-century warfare, with rulers and high nobles earning their positions as generals not through technical knowledge but through birth. Ideas that a general should be able to consider all the complexities of terrain in their own head also reflected the attempts of absolutist states to order the world around them. Only in the later eighteenth century, however, would state cartographic surveys start to produce more detailed maps that made it no longer necessary for a general to know the terrain from personal experience. The paper will thus emphasize the degree of intellectual change in the course of the eighteenth century, and it will caution against exaggerating the influence of the Enlightenment, whether in military thought or in other areas of intellectual life.

Jeff Strabone (Connecticut College) William Mason's *Caractacus* and the Bardic Re-Imagining of British Resistance to Empire

Panel / *Session* 291, 'Bardic Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosamund Paice (University of Portsmouth)

The bardic turn in literary-historical scholarship of the past twenty years has directed renewed attention to the Welsh cultural revival of the late eighteenth century: new studies of neo-bardic figures like Edward Jones and Iolo Morganwg, Welsh textual antiquarian Evan Evans, and English poet Thomas Gray's 'The Bard' have enriched our field. One figure still relatively neglected is William Mason, close friend of Gray and author of the 1759 dramatic poem and 1776 musical play *Caractacus*, one of the period's most popular re-imaginings of the Britons' resistance to conquest.

Mason and *Caractacus* had a long Romantic afterlife despite their twenty-first-century neglect. Hartley Coleridge wrote that Mason was 'for many years of his life, England's greatest living poet'. Blake drew *Caractacus* in his 'Visionary Heads' series. Wordsworth invoked the 'spirit of *Caractacus*' in his Ecclesiastical Sonnets. With its identification of Druids and bards with indigenous British resistance and the title character's call to 'To save my country', Mason's play is, I argue, an essential text to revisit for understanding the rise and spread of bardic nationalism.

My paper examines *Caractacus* first by situating it in the context of rising Welsh cultural nationalism and second by framing it as a revision of the Roman–Briton relationship depicted in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. The historical *Caractacus* was the son of Cunobelinus (i.e., *Cymbeline*). After his father's death c. 40 CE, *Caractacus* led the resistance to the Roman invasion of Britain in 43 CE and waged guerilla warfare for another eight years. Where Shakespeare's play concludes in Roman–Briton reconciliation—and benevolent Roman overlordship—Mason tells the story of heroic, doomed resistance to conquest and empire. By tracing the turn from a narrative of assimilation into empire to one of resistance thereto, my paper situates Mason's work as part of a broader cultural transformation that reimagined the origins of the British nations as a legacy of bardic freedom.

Kristina **Straub** (Carnegie Mellon University) The Queerness of Straight Masculinity: University Men and the Commercial Print and Performance Market of the Mid Eighteenth-Century

Panel / *Session 284*, 'The Crises of Queer Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Lisa Freeman (University of Illinois, Chicago)

I'm doing research now on men like Christopher Smart, university-educated men who find themselves unable or unwilling to follow the traditional paths of the Oxbridge grad. Their shared strategy for negotiating a living in the commercial sphere is, strangely, drag, in Smart's case, both in print (*The Midwife*) and on the stage (*Mary Midnight*, in *The Old Woman's Oratory*). "Being a woman" seems to open up possibilities for literary and intellectual work in the commercial, public sphere for men like Smart, and I want to argue for the utopian potential of gender-crossing in public venues like magazine-writing and theatrical performances that fall outside the governance of the Licensing Act and "straight" English theatre. While identity in the licensed theatres is being solidified in terms of binary gender and heteronormativity, identities in these unlicensed venues proliferate and blur into each other. It's not that Smart is queer in the modern sense (whatever that is), but rather that the structural conditions of literary and theatrical production at midcentury unsettle masculine identities, demanding performances beyond the traditional public roles of university-trained men. In some ways, I guess you could say that I'm trying to historicize what Margorie Garber claimed for drag within a psychoanalytic framework.

Alexandre **Stroev** (Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3) La diplomatie ludique à la cour de Catherine II

Panel / *Session 81*, 'La Russie et la culture diplomatique européenne / Russia and European Diplomatic Culture'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dorit Kluge (Hochschule für Wirtschaft, Technik und Kultur, Berlin)

Au XVIII^e siècle, les diplomates français arrivent à Saint-Pétersbourg sans leur épouse pour ne pas être gênés dans leur tâche. Pour défendre les intérêts du roi leur maître, ils convoitent la faveur impériale ou misent sur des opposants politiques. Depuis la bourde du baron de Breteuil qui a refusé de financer le coup d'État de Catherine II et est parti tranquillement en vacances, Versailles songe à la deuxième voie et la suggère à ses ministres plénipotentiaires. Jusqu'à l'arrivée du comte de Ségur, Catherine II déteste les ambassadeurs français. Cependant, ce brillant militaire et homme de lettres réussit à plaire à l'impératrice, conclut un accord commercial avec la Russie et contribue au changement des alliances politiques européennes. Il applique les méthodes, utilisées par Voltaire dans sa correspondance avec Catherine II, et celles de son mentor Friedrich Melchior Grimm, factotum impérial. Avec le comte von Cobenzl, ambassadeur du Saint-Empire, le prince de Ligne, Alexandre Mamonov, favori en titre, et la tsarine elle-même Ségur crée une Société des Ignorants, rédige des pièces pour le théâtre de l'Hermitage. Ce salon littéraire et diplomatique francophone qui produit des œuvres comiques et parodiques, scelle l'union entre la Russie et le Saint-Empire qui mènent la guerre contre la Turquie, et projette une quadruple alliance franco-russe-autrichienne-espagnole. Cela n'empêche pas le cabinet noir russe d'intercepter et copier la correspondance de Ségur et, au diplomate, de créer un réseau d'espionnage en Russie.

Veronika **Studer-Kovacs** (Universität Luzern) Zaire's Little Hungarian Dress: Poetics and Identity in a French-Speaking Correspondence of Two Hungarians in the 1780s

Panel / *Session 92*, 'Shaping Translations'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon (Université Paris 8)

Is there a relationship between poetics and the concept of identity? The exchange in 1784 between Joseph Teleki of Szék, a Hungarian count, and Jozsef Péczeli, a Hungarian pastor, reveals a striking parallel. Péczeli, who translated Voltaire's *Zaire* and dedicated it to the count, details his views on language and translation in the preface. His deliberations animated Teleki to enter into an exchange – all in French – on the 'differentia specifica' of sublime literature.

While the two Hungarians disagreed on some matters, they both considered ideas and fiction as the distinguishing elements of sublime literature. A long century before the linguistic turn, the two thinkers' exchange incarnates a mindset which is dramatically different from ours today. They clearly separate the realm of ideas from the language. Like Nicolas Boileau in his *Art of Poetry*, they are convinced that well-conceived ideas automatically inspire a clear language. They even go further: they consider that the quality of the ideas to have the power of beautifying language.

The concept of ideas being pre-existent to language appears in the very often-used metaphor of clothing when talking about translations. „It wasn't a wrong choice, Monsieur, to give Zaire Hungarian clothing", Teleki writes. The parallel of clothing and language reveals the thinkers' concept of identity. Identity is supposed to be separate from language, just like the ideas of a literary piece: changing the language doesn't change the core; if anything it is the core, the identity, which affects the language. In my paper, I would like to explore this concept and its connections to the behavioral and linguistic codes applied by these enlightened thinkers. If we understand their views on poetics, we might get closer to understanding their multilingual existence and their moving between different life worlds of the Era of Enlightenment.

Michael F. Suarez, S.J. (University of Virginia) 'Who hunger and who thirst for scribbling sake':
Alexander Pope's Bespoke *Dunciad* Manuscripts

Panel / *Session* 385, 'Alexander Pope'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Melissa Schoenberger (College of the Holy Cross)

In the *Dunciad Variorum* (1729) Alexander Pope created a delightfully complex, multi-layered document in which the reader is driven to interact with a playful *mélange* of poetry, paratexts, and scholia. Some years later, Pope commissioned his friend Jonathan Richardson to annotate several printed copies of his *Dunciads* (in several different editions) with variant readings from Pope's own originary manuscripts of the *Dunciad* and the *Dunciad Variorum* — what Pope called the first and second manuscripts. Two of these highly annotated volumes are preserved in the New York Public Library; another, less thoroughly marked up, is at the Huntington. This paper will present an illustrated summary of what we can learn from a reconstruction of Pope's *Dunciad* MSS, as he sought to preserve them via annotated printed books, using not only these three copies long known to exist but never thoroughly analyzed and compared, as well as a particularly revelatory fourth copy, recently discovered at Harvard. Why did Pope commission these legacy texts, and what do they teach us about the poet's working methods and the ongoing evolution of his great satirical epic? How might such findings impact the editorial work now underway on the *Dunciad* volumes of the new Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope (24 volumes, OUP)?

Rie Suga (Mie University) Cosmopolitan Identity and the 'Natural State': Wieland's 'Manuscript of Diogenes'

Panel / *Session* 460, 'Imagined Identities: Fictional Production of Power, Value, Nature, and Nationality'.
Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sho Saito (University of Tokyo)

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the national identity was not yet established in the German-speaking area, cosmopolitan identity was widely shared among intellectual citizens. Cosmopolitanism, which put an emphasis on happiness in making oneself free from any boundaries or identities, is a crucial key to understand the formative process of political identity in the German-speaking area. This presentation will take up the novel "Manuscript of Diogenes of Sinope" (1769) as a case study to analyze the process, which was written by Wieland who can be considered as a representative cosmopolitan in the age of German Enlightenment. By considering how the text adopts the specific usage of fiction that were characteristic in the contemporary political and social thought, it will demonstrate the features of the cosmopolitanism presented in that text.

The usage of fiction in question is related to the concept of the "natural state". The social contract theory, established by Hobbes and Rousseau, presupposes the hypothetical condition of human beings before or without any communities. Based on the fictional concept of "natural state", this theory explains how and why people accept laws and form governments.

Wieland's "Manuscript of Diogenes" shows an ancient Greek sage whose behavior and ideas are based on the idea of "natural state". This presentation will clarify how the concept of "natural state" in this novel echoes, and differs from, that of the modern social contract theory. In contrast with the Rousseauian concept of "natural state", positioned as a preliminary step of the social contract which ends up establishing individual identities within a specific political system, Wieland's text rather emphasizes the distance between the individual and the society. In this text, the way of living as an isolated individual is set at the core of the moral identity of cosmopolitans.

Karen Sullivan (Queens College, City University of New York) **Uncivil Citizens: Olympe de Gouges and Jean-Jacques Rousseau**

Panel / *Session 366*, 'Evolution and Revolution: Identity and Gendered Resistance in Eighteenth-Century France'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexandra Cook (University of Hong Kong)

Olympe de Gouges and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, both autodidacts from non-privileged backgrounds, confronted head-on the political, cultural, and religious practices and institutions of their time. Through the style and subject matter of their literary and political works, both of these writers broke the boundaries of what was considered "civil" and both endured social and financial disadvantages because of their transgressions. The forceful dismissals and condemnations of several works by these authors suggest that they had broken an unwritten rule of their time by exposing something that should have remained hidden. Works such as Gouges's *L'Esclavage des noirs* and Rousseau's *Confessions* and *Le Lévitte d'Ephraïm* alerted their age that, to borrow from Arthur Miller, "Attention must be paid" to the systematic and institutionalized violence undergirding Ancien Régime social and cultural practices. By exposing violence that was not yet recognized as such by their peers, their "uncivil" writings were perhaps the finest tribute to civility.

I will discuss Gouges's and Rousseau's perspectives as they contrast to those of other eighteenth-century thinkers and draw parallels with twenty-first century works such as Haneke's *Caché* and illustrations in *Charlie Hebdo*.

Thea Sumalvico (University of Halle) **Baptism in the Context of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy and Theology**

Panel / *Session 34*, 'Being Human: Self, Soul, and Individualism'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Stewart J. Brown (University of Edinburgh)

Since the beginning of Christianity, baptism has always been a subject of various discussions and an indicator for extensive differences in how one sees the world, God and human beings. Also in the 18th century, baptism was discussed by scholars. Subject of the discussion was infant baptism as well as the meaning of baptism in general. The question, if baptism works something or if it has mainly a symbolical function, erased in a new dimension. The changes in the understanding of baptism are rooted in other developments at that time, such as for example shifts, which are caused by the philosophy of Leibniz: Because of his strict division between body and soul, supernatural effects are more and more called into question; thereby the understanding of miracles and of the devil changed as well. Also, the changes in anthropology, which focussed much on responsibility and freedom of the subject, are reflected in a changing understanding of justification. Even the developments in pedagogics have an effect on the theology of baptism: Since faith is, for example by philanthropic pedagogues, seen as something that needs to be learned (and not given by the faith through baptism), infant baptism is at least relativized.

Influenced by all these changes, baptism itself gets a new meaning: It becomes more and more a rite of initiation into the Christian church, rather than a device, whereby Gods grace is dedicated to the single human being.

The transformations in the theology of baptism is also visible in practical changes in the ritual of baptism: For example, the exorcism during baptism was abolished in some Lutheran territories during the 18th century, which was broadly discussed for example in newspapers. Also, baptism changes its place: More and more it gets common to baptise in church instead of at home, which shows, that baptism as an introduction into the institution church gets more and more important.

The discussion on baptism is a good example, how religious subjects were discussed in „enlightened“ circles and media and how discussions of the time influenced religion.

Vera **Sundin** (Stockholm University) The Potential of Pastoral: Female Authorship and the Elasticity of the Idyllic Code

Panel / *Session 379*, 'Pastoral and Georgic'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Conrad Brunstrom (The National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

In the history of pastoral literature, the second half of the 18th century was a critical period, wherein the aristocratic *esthétique galante* of Fontenelle and Madame Deshoulières fell out of fashion and was replaced by the sentimental, homely idylls of Salomon Gessner. During this time of transition, Swedish pastoral experienced a golden age. Among the most prominent poets was Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718–1763), a female professional author, and as such, a unique character in Swedish society at the time. Within the framework of pastoral, she presented her philosophical programme: Lutheran protofeminism, inspired by French Enlightenment ideas as well as 17th century Gothicism, a cultural movement identifying the Swedish Geats with the Goths. The prose piece *Fröjas Räfst* [Freyja's Enquiry] from 1762, for instance, loosely based on Montesquieu's *Le Temple de Gnide* (1725), dismantles traditional gender roles and calls the importance of marriage into question, while at the same time conveying a patriotic message of Nordic splendour. Nordenflycht's *Arcadia* was a breeding ground for new identities, a place where women became authors and creators. Through her writings, the visionary potential of pastoral itself is made evident. Ever since the publication of Friedrich Schiller's *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* in 1795, the idyllic code has been known mainly for its limitations. In my paper, I look at this kind of literature from another point of view, instead focusing on thematic flexibility and cultural adaptability.

Ryu **Susato** (Keio University) Enlightenment and Independence: The Case of Hume and Rousseau

Panel / *Session 441*, 'The Cosmopolitan Identity of an Enlightenment Philosopher: David Hume 2'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Gianni Paganini (Università del Piemonte)

Scholars tend to assume that the friendship between Hume and Rousseau was destined to fracture because of the philosophers' opposing views of civilization. However, when we look at their first correspondence, it becomes clear that Hume highly esteemed Rousseau's "independence": a value that the former was also proud to possess. Independence is one of the key concepts that highlights, not only a shared characteristic of their self-confessed personal characters, but also a general feature of the Age of Enlightenment, a historical moment that enabled many eighteenth-century European intellectuals to gain social status free from religious and political authorities. At the same time, the multifaceted nuances of this word must be acknowledged. While, in *My Own Life*, Hume uses the term "independent" to denote economic independence, for Rousseau, its meaning is more complicated. However, it is naïve to suppose that Rousseau understands this term as exclusively "spiritual," because he was just as concerned with economic independence as Hume was. Before and throughout the "Hume-Rousseau" affair, Hume was forced to contemplate Rousseau's enigmatic standard of this concept. In Rousseau's vague reply to Hume regarding his willingness (or unwillingness) to accept a royal pension from King George III, the former's concept of independence reaches the culmination of its ambiguity. Regarding benefactors, Rousseau considers their transparency, cordiality, and voluntariness (all of which must be verified by Rousseau's own heart), essential for securing his independence. Therefore, in the dispute between Hume and Rousseau, for each man, the very meaning of "independence" was at stake.

Karenza **Sutton-Bennett** (University of Ottawa) Forming Identities through Education: Charlotte Lennox's Didactic Women

Panel / *Session 73*, 'Enlightenment and Education'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

In 1760 Charlotte Lennox published her periodical *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61), and like her earlier novel *The Female Quixote* (1751), its focus was on the controversial topic of women forming their identities through self-educating. Published ten years earlier, Lennox's novel was a warning for women to be cautious in their pursuits for

knowledge through self-guided reading. Arabella fashions her identity on what she perceives as examples of strong historical women from badly translated French romance novels. This mistake almost costs Arabella her life. In *Lady's Museum*, however, Lennox provides her readers with two positive examples of women forming their identities through reading. The periodical's eidolon The Trifler, and Sophia, the heroine of the serialized novel, *The History of Harriot and Sophia*, both shares similar backgrounds to Arabella. In lieu of their mothers, the girls are encouraged by a father figure to self-educate by reading. There is a paratextual conversation between these three characters, which encourages the readers of the novel and periodical to understand the difference between reading didactic and non-didactic material. In my proposed paper, I will discuss how Lennox represents female learning in *The Lady's Museum* and how it differs from her previous representation of female learning in *The Female Quixote*. I will explore what motivated Lennox to write a didactic periodical that encouraged women to self-educate reading histories and secret-histories, the downfall of the heroine in Lennox's earlier novel. Lennox dedicated her career to improving the education of women, helping them for their own independent identities. Lennox's periodical and novels taught women both the benefits and the dangers of self-educating. In my proposed paper, I will explore the dichotomy of her three characters, and how they depicted negative and positive examples of women self-educating. I will argue that Lennox's characters represented the struggles of eighteenth-century women pursuing education, in order to create their own unique identities and to partake in public discourse, despite living in culture that did not support their pursuits of knowledge.

Mika **Suzuki** (Shizuoka University) *Improvements in Life and a Woman Exceptionally Privileged*

Panel / *Session 427*, 'Elite Images'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sarah Easterby-Smith (University of St Andrews)

In Amanda Foreman's biography (1998, 2001) of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806), the mother, Margaret Georgiana, Countess Spencer (1737-1814), is an affectionate and intelligent parent though her aspiration for rectitude drives the daughter to more troubles generated by the lack of self-confidence than to achievements and contentment. This paper discusses Lady Spencer's ideas about herself.

She was socially well-placed, marrying a man extremely rich who got titled after their marriage. Though her husband's ill health was a setback, she was considerably happy in her married life. She was also fortunate in her psychological life in having long-term confidantes. Maintaining the status quo seems to be good enough for her, but she was diligently trying to involve herself in looking for improvements in society and individual lives. Her correspondence, diaries and other records tell the values she learned from books, letters, conversation with others and her own meditation. She sometimes feels guilty with her privileges and happiness. The guilt she has and her way of tackling with it may be fundamentally Christian, and her piety explains these. However, her detailed written records provide the process of her thoughts, the changes and the struggles of an eighteenth-century lay woman active in society. It is a window to see what an intellectual woman in society in the age of Enlightenment tried to assign herself in her own life and as a wife, mother, grandmother and citizen.

Srividhya **Swaminathan** (Long Island University, Brooklyn) *The Nabob and the Fugitive in Ignatius Sancho's Letters*

Panel / *Session 323*, 'Black British Writers'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sören Hammerschmidt (Arizona State University)

The complexity of identity formation in a culture grappling with issues of colonialism, slavery, and reform is best seen in the *Letters of Ignatius Sancho*. In his correspondence with Jack Wingrave, the son of a friend, Ignatius Sancho provides insight into the difficulty of leading an ethical life while grappling with multiple systems of oppression. Given his own complex background as an enslaved person of African origin who managed to rise in the British social order after his manumission, his advice seems to stem from personal experience and an acknowledgement of Enlightenment philosophies of responsible social engagement. The series of four letters addresses Wingrave on the eve of his departure for India and provide a caution against excess. Though this interaction occurs well before the trial of Warren Hastings, Sancho cautions against turning into a "nabob," an identity that clearly denotes excess and exploitation. Sancho also mentions Julius Soubise, a "fallen" African servant who fled to India to avoid prosecution for

rape. The juxtaposition of these two ideas—India as a source of temptation and as a salvation for the fallen—directly demonstrates Sancho’s sophistication in global awareness.

Srinivas Aravamudan coined the term “tropicopolitan” for the global, agented identities created by the seemingly marginal of eighteenth-century society. He discussed Sancho extensively as the Letters provided rich evidence of Sancho’s claiming of space in British culture. I build on Aravamudan’s construction alongside the work of Enlightenment philosophers Adam Smith and David Hume to examine how these specific letters engage with ideas of ethical social order. Sancho models notions of sympathy and civility in his advice to Wingrave to reveal a more complex understanding of global order than his Scottish contemporaries. This paper will attempt to take a fresh perspective on the Letters of Ignatius Sancho comment on the intersection of race, colonialism, and sympathy in the construction of global, “Enlightenment” identity.

James Swenson (Rutgers University) « Conscience, conscience », ou du dictamen au sentiment du moi

Panel / *Session* 203, ‘Identité personnelle et identité morale (l’héritage lockien)’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Céline Spector (Paris-Sorbonne)

Dans la plus ancienne version manuscrite de la Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard (le manuscrit Favre), Rousseau se sert du mot de conscience pour formuler la thèse lockienne de la continuité de l’identité personnelle dans la mémoire : « l’identité de l’être pensant consistant dans la mémoire pour être le même en effet il faut que je conserve la conscience de cette identité ». Cette utilisation du terme dans le sens de consciousness est plutôt rare dans l’*Émile*, et, dans un contexte dominé par l’élaboration d’une théorie de la primauté de la conscience morale, remarquable. Ce sens du mot disparaîtra de l’édition définitive de l’*Émile*, où Rousseau écrira plutôt « qu’il faut que je me souvienne d’avoir été ». Nous fondant sur un examen de la composition de la Profession de foi, nous analyserons les rapports que Rousseau établit entre la conscience morale (conscience) et la conscience de l’identité (self-consciousness). Nous porterons une attention particulière aux raisons qui mènent Rousseau à déterminer ces deux formes de conscience comme des sentiments, et nous demanderons si ces raisons sont congruentes ou opposées.

Olga Szadkowska-Mańkowska (University of Warsaw) A Place Where National History Turned into an Individual’s History: On a Trail of Polish-Italian Literary Journeys

Panel / *Session* 474, ‘Travels Abroad’. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

The eighteenth century is a time of increased journeys and travel literature. Not only the descriptions of the truly wandering journeys, but also those from the journeys made in the comfort of their own office, were very popular. In the area of peregrine interests, Italy took a special place for years. Italy, this specific kind of summarized history of Europe, in the 18th century gained a different face than in previous centuries. It is safe to say that Italy, as one of the most popular destinations of European intellectual elites, had a twofold symbolism. The country was often described as a synthesis of all journeys, a book from which one could read the secrets of antiquity, often also was called a “tomb for the living”, a place where there is no future, a fallen ruin. In addition, the community of thoughts and feelings was very strong between Poland and Italy. Awareness that one of the most beautiful and important cities in European cities, Venice, was nothing more — as the Polish traveller, Ludwik Orański wrote — but the queen deposited on the catafalque, was oppressed by the same partitioner, tightened Polish-Italian ties and made this relationship more realistic, gave it a state dimension.

In this unusual period, one of the most interesting performances of Polish-Italian relations was the memories of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz. Author of *m.in. Powrót Posła* and *Śpiewy historyczne* was an unusually read enlightened artist in Poland. Moreover on the one hand, he perfectly fitted the traditional writing about Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century, but on the other hand, he concealed and reinterpreted this convention. Did the privacy of the poet, which has been permanently present through the pages of Italian reflections, gave readers a chance to find their own Italian paths?

In my paper, I would like to think about the place of Italian tales in the context of other Polish 18th century travel literature, and try to find an answer to the question about the impact of the unit's actions on the future generation traveling to Italy.

Radek Szymanski (University of Lausanne) **The Spirit of Legislation and Late Eighteenth-Century Polish Economic Reforms**

Panel / *Session 4*, 'Between Town and Country: The Spirit of Legislation and the Eighteenth-Century Swiss Debates on Urbanisation and Manufacturing'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Graham Clure (University of Lausanne)

This paper will discuss a little-known chapter in the history of late eighteenth-century economic and political reforms. In 1763, members of a major Polish landowning family turned to the Economic Society of Bern in order to develop a research agenda which could guide future reforms. The aim was, firstly, to establish a broader theoretical framework, which was embodied in the prize-essay competition on the Spirit of Legislation which the family had sponsored; and, secondly, to produce a set of empirically targeted economic and social analyses, elaborated during extensive travels around European cities, manufacturing centres, and agricultural regions. The paper will follow two main lines of inquiry.

Firstly, this Swiss-Polish reform discourse will be placed in the broader context of eighteenth century theories of economic development. The key theoretical texts written at the behest of the Polish landowners, the Essays on the Spirit of Legislation, were explicitly grounded in a Montesquieuvian analysis of the European system. The published essays demonstrated a preoccupation with the danger of rural depopulation and the erosion of the agricultural sector by the runaway success of manufacturing; likewise, they were interested in the manner in which laws could influence and manage the balance between these sectors.

Secondly, the type of knowledge which was produced as a result of this effort straddled two different worlds. It was conceived in western Switzerland, which was increasingly transitioning towards a mixed economy with steadily growing manufacturing sector ; and it also elicited interest in predominantly agrarian Poland, where the establishment of manufacturing was at that time still perceived as a challenge to be faced in the future. Consequently, the issue of dissemination and transfer of knowledge will be brought to the fore.

Naomi Taback (Temple University) **Habits and Secular Time in the British Enlightenment**

Panel / *Session 29*, 'The Secular Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Margaret Jacob (UCLA)

This paper will discuss the importance of habits in British Enlightenment thought. Writers like John Tillotson and David Hume, among others, presented a new and secular way of understanding human beings and their societies. By emphasizing habits over God's universal laws as the foundation of moral and social life, they were able to conceptualize how humans and societies change over time, allowing for a progressive view of history and civilization. As long as people saw the world as governed by universal natural laws, it was static; but when they began to see society as shaped by particular manners, habits and customs, the world became dynamic.

Lilian Tabois (University of York) **'Printed without any kind of alteration': Paratext in Maria Graham's 'Journal of a Residence in Chile' (1824)**

Panel / *Session 119*, 'Paratextual Identities in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sharon Young (University of Worcester)

Studying paratext in British Romantic-era travel journals enables us to re-think the ways in which travellers' eyewitness accounts of foreign places were mediated by authors, editors, engravers, and publishers in the production of knowledge for British readerships. This paper examines paratext in Maria Graham's 'Journal of a Residence in Chile During the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Brazil to Chile in 1823' (1824). The journal contains elements that were uncommon in British women's travelogues from this period, such as scholarly footnotes and appendices. I will focus

on Appendix I of 'Journal of a Residence in Chile'. This Appendix is a 98-page narrative, 'A Brief Relation of Facts and Circumstances Connected with the Family of the Carreras in Chile; with some Account of the Last Expedition of Brigadier-General Don Jose Miguel Carrera, his Death, &c.,' written at Graham's request by Irish soldier William Yates. It contains an editorial note and several scholarly footnotes by Graham, as well as an illustration that was commissioned by Graham and drawn by travelling artist Augustus Earle (subsequently engraved by London engraver Edward Finden). Through an analysis of the interplay between these paratextual elements, within the appendix and in relation to the rest of the travel journal, I will show how Graham asserted her position as a female historian by using paratext to curate the voices of male authors and artists in the creation of her authoritative historical account of the Spanish American Wars of Independence. This paper will provide new insights into the development of early nineteenth-century British women's travel writing and into Graham's identity as a female traveller, author, and historian.

Yuhki **Takebayashi** (Trinity College Dublin) Oliver Goldsmith: Authorly Identity in the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 116, 'Oliver Goldsmith's Enlightenment Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David O'Shaughnessy (Trinity College Dublin)

In this paper, Oliver Goldsmith's first major critical work, *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* (1759) will be discussed. This text offers a raw and crucial insight into the complexity underlying the authorly experience and outlook during this period. Not unlike many of his fellow writers, Goldsmith was uneasy with an increasing reliance upon booksellers, and perceived the overcrowding of the writerly sphere as indicative of a state of decay. Yet, it will be pointed out that Goldsmith was far from being representative of the idealised figure of the writer as a 'gentleman' who could write as he pleased without financial concerns, although he attempted to portray himself as such in the *Enquiry*. Perhaps, in a bid to reconcile this awkward juxtaposition, Goldsmith proposed a hybrid solution wherein the older system of patronage would be tempered by a strict meritocracy. But, as recognised by Adam Rounce in 2014, the *Enquiry* offers no comprehensive plan as to how 'proper' writers, deserving of support, can be distinguished from the many untalented opportunists. Critically, this lack was not only reflective of Goldsmith's inability, but was also consequent upon his honest and perceptive recognition that providing rules for 'good' writing could only end in falsity and corruption.

The *Enquiry* stands as an important text that reveals the extent to which the author's place in eighteenth-century society was beset with much uncertainty. Goldsmith, perhaps, more so than any other writer of his period, directly and sincerely dealt in this text with the knotty question of how a system of reward and encouragement could be applied to a thing as indefinable as genius.

Masaaki **Takeda** (University of Tokyo) 'With Such Alterations As Might Mostly Satisfy the Curiosity of the Public': George Psalmanazar and the Disguised Identity of the Novel

Panel / *Session* 460, 'Imagined Identities: Fictional Production of Power, Value, Nature, and Nationality'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sho Saito (University of Tokyo)

George Psalmanazar, a man born in France and disguised as a Formosan (Taiwanese) at the beginning of the eighteenth century, published a book entitled "The Description of Formosa" in 1704. This book, written by a man whose identity was seriously discussed and examined by such intellectuals as John Locke and Edmond Halley, attracted the public interest and the second edition was published in the next year.

In this new edition, Psalmanazar not only changed the order of chapters but also added several passages. According to his own posthumous explanation, these revisions were made to "promote the sale, and satisfy . . . the curiosity of the public" rather than to revise his outlandish descriptions into more authentic ones.

This paper will focus on this fanciful strategy of the impostor and argue that at least around the beginning of the eighteenth century, the common reader did not necessarily long for "realistic" descriptions as is generally pointed out by the scholars who follow the familiar hypothesis of the rise of the novel. In so doing, this paper identifies

Psalmanazar's best-seller as an example of "Enlightenment Orientalism" (Srinivas Aravamudan) and then tries to put this work in the cosmos (or rather chaosmos) of mythical narratives prevalent at that time, consulting a recent argument on the myth as opposed to the realistic representation, claimed by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro in "Cannibal Metaphysics".

These analyses of "The Description of Formosa" will be connected to the reflection on peculiar attentions to Psalmanazar taken by such conservative writers as Jonathan Swift and Samuel Johnson, as well as the comparison with a representative of contemporary realistic novels, namely, Daniel Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" (1719). This paper will eventually suggest that what has been considered as the rise of the novel might rather be a part of a larger literary event—the formation of the modern cycle of myths that fuels the interest and appetite of the common reader—and thus reveal the disguise of the realistic novel.

Alistaire **Tallent** (Colorado College) Identity and Image: Fusing Fiction and Talent on the Eighteenth-Century French Stage

Panel / *Session 97*, 'Actors and Careers'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Claire Joséphe Leris was a young performer trying to make a name for herself on the provincial theatre circuit when a pamphlet called the *Histoire de Mademoiselle Cronel, dite Frétilon* first appeared in 1739. Like everyone involved in the theatre scene at the time, she must have immediately recognized the heroine of this anonymous pseudo-memoir as a perverted version of herself, especially since the name "Cronel" was an obvious anagram of her own nickname "Cléron." One can easily imagine her humiliation when reading this unflattering portrayal of a less than attractive young actress with little talent and an enormous libido, struggling to compensate for her poor acting skills while pursuing numerous lovers and engaging in ever more shameful and lewd sexual acts. By the time of Clairon's debut at the Comédie Française in 1743, the original novella had been reprinted three times and grown into a four-part memoir novel.

Strangely, neither Clairon herself nor her defenders appear to have tried to distance the real Mademoiselle Clairon from the lubricious Frétilon of the novel, yet her career never suffered from the association. In this paper I provide excerpts from reviews, pamphlets, epistles, and odes written about and to Mademoiselle Clairon from 1739 to 1765 to trace the influence of the original slanderous tale throughout those writings. These texts reveal a beloved star of the Parisian stage who has somehow absorbed the best qualities of her fictional alter-ego in a way that fuses the two identities and cultivates a kind of mimetic desire among spectators for the actress—a desire that resembles the passion Frétilon inspires in her lovers. Through a fascinating process of linguistic alchemy, various writers ranging from anonymous supporters to the revered Voltaire transform the words intended to humiliate and ridicule a young woman into explanations for a talented artist's success. Ultimately, the story of Mademoiselle Clairon and the novel meant to ruin her emerges as evidence of the fluid boundaries in the eighteenth century between human beings, authors, and their characters.

Petri **Talvitie** (University of Helsinki) The Allure of Landownership: Peasants and the Sales of Crown Farms in Sweden and Finland during the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 171*, 'Identities, Belonging, and the Prospects of Participation in Local Communities in the Swedish Realm'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Johanna Ilmakunnas (Åbo Akademi)

Most of the European countryside was under seigniorial control during the early modern period. Free peasants were to be found only in Ditmarschen, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden (including present-day Finland). In Sweden the peasants were even represented in Parliament which was highly unusual in the European perspective. During the early eighteenth century, however, most of the Swedish and Finnish peasants did not own the soil they tilled. In Sweden only a third of the estates belonged to the owner-occupying peasantry. Rest of the farms were owned by nobility or the Crown. In Finland the Crown owned as much as 70 per cent of the farms during the early nineteenth century meaning that most of the peasants were tenant farmers. The Swedish government began to sell the Crown lands during the Great Northern War to finance war efforts, and the sales continued also after the war to repay the heavy

war debt. One of the most significant outcomes of the process was a large-scale increase of peasant landownership. Most of the Swedish and Finnish farms belonged to the peasants already by the end of the eighteenth century. In this paper I seek analyze the social and economic consequences of the process. I will focus especially on the motives. Why were the peasants willing to by the Crown farms in the first place? Why was it so tempting to be a landowner taking into consideration that Crown tenancies in Sweden were lifelong and hereditary during the eighteenth century?

Atsuko Tamada (Université Chubu) L'héritage de la pensée gréco-romaine et le statut des femmes à l'âge des Lumières

Panel / *Session 274*, 'Le statut et l'identité des femmes dans la philosophie des Lumières'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Martin Rueff (Université de Genève)

Dans la philosophie des Lumières, la pensée grecque et romaine a joué un double fonction. Certes, les philosophes des Lumières se réfèrent souvent aux auteurs grecs et romains antiques pour confirmer une hiérarchie entre les deux sexes où subordonnent les femmes aux hommes. Pourtant, ils ont également abandonné les modèles médicaux hérités de l'Antiquité comme la théorie des humeurs pour établir un rapport nouveau entre femmes et hommes fondée sur l'idée de leur complémentarité. Dans cette communication, je me propose de montre quel est le rôle de la pensée gréco-romaine antique dans le renouvellement du statut des femmes.

Joonas Tammela (University of Jyväskylä) Patriotic Identities in Swedish and Finnish Local Sermons, 1790–1820

Panel / *Session 403*, 'Lutheran Communities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Philipp Reisner (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)

In the Age of Enlightenment the modernization of patriotic identities took place not only in the debates of the political forums (parliaments, newspapers, pamphlets). The Swedish Lutheran local clergy had a very significant role in this process, as they acted in an intermediary role between the centre and peripheries of the state. Through their sermons clergymen participated in the process of construction and legitimation of a more modern version of patriotism at a local level. This progress stood out especially after the split of the realm in 1809.

Earlier studies have demonstrated that changes of political cultures can be recognized in parliamentary and diet – sermons given by bishops (Ihalainen 2005; Bregnsbo & Ihalainen 2011; Ihalainen 2012). However, the role of the clergy was much wider than this as, members of the lower clergy acted as political educators among the common people.

In my ongoing PhD project, I focus (besides continuities) on the rise of more modern patriotic discourses in the Swedish realm and especially on the role of the local clergymen in this process. I study sermon manuscripts, which have survived to a unique extent in Finnish and Swedish public archives, from seven different kind of parishes located in the different parts of the Swedish realm. The perspective and source material of my research is quite unique in international comparison.

Changes in the language of the sermons may not have been as explicit as in certain secular genres but their contribution to shifts in political culture can nevertheless be recognized by comprehensive contextualization and comparison. In my conference paper I shall demonstrate how patriotic identities were conceptually constructed in sermons given by the local clergy in Lutheran contexts.

Peeter Tammisto (Åbo Akademi University / University of Tartu) Pre-Enlightenment Identities: The Self-Identity of Peasants in the Provinces of Estland and Livland as Presented in Their Supplications to the Swedish Crown, 1680–1710

Panel / *Session 316*, 'The Labourer'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

Historians often try to discover identities in order to understand how members of particular social categories saw themselves at certain periods in time. Identity is a factor in how people related to other members of their own social category, and to people from other social categories, in turn affecting actions and behavioural patterns. Provincial peasants identified themselves as country folk, without ethnographic designation or nationality. They presented themselves as inhabitants of a specific farm in a particular hamlet or village belonging to a specific manor. Often they also claimed to be the bearers of long-standing tradition. Their complaints frequently stemmed from changes in their duties or working conditions. Upholding tradition justified doing away with unwelcome changes for the peasants. The general tone in supplications is that the peasants need assistance because they are poor, wretched, humble subjects of the crown with nowhere else to turn to for protection. While illiterate peasants have not produced ego documents in which they reflect on their own identity, the supplication is where the peasant tried to express his opinion. Thus I have examined peasant supplications for what they might reveal about how the supplicant saw himself. The purpose of the supplication clearly affected how it presented identity, as did the accessive nature of peasant literacy, meaning that a literate go-between had to write the supplication. By convention, the supplicant had to be very deferential. The identity of the loyal subject upholding tradition but reduced to abject wretchedness by changes beyond his control was meant to induce a favourable decision. Thus such identities are quite likely at least exaggerated, if not even, to some extent, fabricated. Peasants throughout Europe submitted supplications. Awareness of how they presented and probably manipulated peasant identities can add further insights to the body of knowledge on identities in Early Modern Europe.

Aya Tanaka (New York University) From Utopia to Gunpowder: Physiocracy in the Promised Land

Panel / *Session* 121, 'Practicing Physocracy: Utopian Visions, Economic Realities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Jennifer Tsien (University of Virginia)

My paper will explore how Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours' physiocratic colonial projects were revised during the founding of his son Eleuthère Irénée's gunpowder company (DuPont) on the banks of the Brandywine River in Delaware, USA. Du Pont père was one of the principal members of the Physiocratic movement in France in the second half of the eighteenth century. Physiocratic principles steered his actions as a public servant through the Ancien Régime, Revolution, Napoleon, and Restoration. In 1797, however, Du Pont decided to try his hand at private enterprise and raised funds in France to establish a *Compagnie d'Amérique* in Northern Virginia, operating in agricultural production and trading. The ulterior objective of this enterprise was to raise funds for a more grandiose project named Numa (sometimes also called Pontiana), a physiocratic colony farther west in the U.S. However, the *Compagnie* met with insufficient success in trading only, and Numa forever remained a dream.

The first part of my paper will examine how P.S. Du Pont's plan was part of a larger drive in France and England, especially in the 1790s, to find the "promised land" in the newly "open" Western Territories of the United States. However, I will also delineate the uniqueness of Du Pont's plan, based on his identification with Physiocratic doctrine. Ultimately, my paper will further advance the idea proposed by anthropologist Kaori O'Connor (Lycra, Routledge: 2011) that E.I. du Pont's company and the Hagley (the grounds where the company was established) effectively concretize P.S. du Pont's physiocratic project. I will develop and resituate the argument in entrepreneurship/business history by showing E.I.'s business development as (1) a modified, industry-centered Physiocratic vision; (2) a unique adaptation of culture and economics that disrupts M. Callon's performativity theory; and (3) a remarkable early example of a socially-responsible enterprise that redefines the timeline for the history of corporate social citizenship in the United States.

Derya Tarbuck (Independent Scholar) Melancholia and Eighteenth-Century Moral Philosophy

Panel / *Session* 115, 'Marginal Mental States'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanne Schmid (Freie Universität Berlin)

The relationship between a study of Moral Philosophy, eighteenth-century Medicine and the changing understanding of Melancholia is not such straightforward one. It is already established that the Scottish Enlightenment study of mind and emotions was a branch of moral philosophy. Especially when one considers that the main purpose of the Scottish thinkers in the eighteenth century was a study of Man. This study includes an assessment of the self as a person with feelings, sociable instincts etc. When one considers feelings as expressions of mind, this opens up a new territory for

an understanding of Melancholy. The questions I would like to ask in this respect are how did the eighteenth-century theorists of Reason and Emotion think about Religious Morality? How were the scientific categories and philosophical conclusions about the conception of Morality in the eighteenth century negotiated with the Religious approach to Ethics? How did the evolution of Moral Philosophy in the eighteenth century have an effect on the ways in which Religion moderated the Moral Behaviour? The aim of this paper is to elaborate these points of view within the general framework of the secularization of Melancholia.

Laura Tarkka-Robinson (University of Turku) *Identity as Self-Esteem/Self-Conceit: The Case of An Essay on National Pride, Translated from the German, of Mr. Zimmermann (1771)*

Panel / *Session* 55, 'Nationhood and Cross-Cultural Encounter in Europe'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45.
G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

In his popular essay *Von dem Nationalstolze* (1758), the Swiss-born physician Johann Georg Zimmermann (1728-1795) provided an alternative for the republican theories of Montesquieu and Rousseau by analysing national pride as a collective sentiment. This approach attracted interest across Europe, but the author himself found it necessary to revise his work twice. The third edition of 1768 appeared in English as *An Essay on National Pride* (1771), following a French translation entitled *De l'orgueil national* (1769).

Although the circulation of different versions makes it difficult to pin down the meaning of Zimmermann's work, the significance of this has not received due attention. Essentially, Zimmermann tried to separate two kinds of national pride, one arising from a noble desire to maintain the dignity of the self, and the other from a self-conceited impulse to appear superior to others. However, in a world defined by international competition, noble self-esteem could easily be lost in constant comparison with others. To avoid small-mindedness, Zimmermann thus recommended learning about other ways of life.

Accordingly, translation might have provided a way of resisting national self-conceit, yet in practice this was not so straightforward. For while the first English translator praised the Swiss author for displaying a sense of liberty and virtue, he also flattered English readers by affirming that 'the cause of liberty and virtue' had 'always found the most numerous and most zealous friends in the thinking part of this great and wealthy Nation.'

Focusing on the reception of *An Essay on National Pride* (1771) in the press, this paper asks whether the notion of noble national pride survived in translation. Did reviewers end up encouraging the kind of self-conceit Zimmermann criticised instead of reflection on the slippage between real and imaginary virtue? How did they navigate around curiosity for ethnotypes when promoting cosmopolitan perspectives?

Elizabeth Tasker Davis (Stephen F. Austin State University) *Enlightenment Maternal Ethos in Jane Johnson's and Frances Burney's Letters to their Sons*

Panel / *Session* 423, 'British Women's Enlightenment Identities: Improvements and Appropriations'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Troy Davis (Stephen F. Austin State University)

The rhetorical significance of female domestic roles within British Enlightenment patriarchal culture has long been underrated. Starting in the eighteenth century, the traditional gendered identity of mother assumed increasing rhetorical power, as new symbols, connotations, and responsibilities of motherhood emerged. Not only did Queen Anne emblemize a royal figure of maternity, within influential pedagogical models by Locke, Rousseau, and the Edgeworths, mothers gained greater responsibilities for the moral and academic education of children. Domestic education schemas put mothers in charge, which inadvertently inverted traditional hierarchies of gender. To investigate the boosted ethos of Enlightenment motherhood, this paper will first identify the specific positioning of the mother within domestic education models, and then analyze letters from two educated, literary mothers—Jane Johnson and Frances Burney—to their sons.

Silvia Tatti (Sapienza Università di Roma) La diplomatie parallèle et l'identité cosmopolite de l'italien Giambattista Casti, citoyen de l'Europe

Panel / *Session 272*, 'Identités italiennes'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Colombo (Università degli Studi di Verona)

Giambattista Casti, né à Acquapendente près de Rome en 1724, incarne parfaitement l'intellectuel cosmopolite, qui traverse toute l'Europe en contact avec les milieux diplomatiques, en voyageant à la suite d'ambassadeurs et de ministres des affaires étrangères. Il arrive à Vienne en 1772 avec le comte Franz Xavier Orsini-Rosenberg, qu'il avait connu en Toscane; ensuite il fait beaucoup de missions diplomatiques à la suite de Orsini et du ministre Joseph Kaunitz; à Copenhague il connaît Johann Ludwig von Coblenz, qui sera nommé par la suite ambassadeur autrichien à Saint-Pétersbourg. En 1776, Casti se rend à Saint-Pétersbourg où il commence à écrire un poème sur la cour de Catherine II. À son retour à Vienne, en 1783, Casti se consacre à l'écriture de livrets d'opéra où il représente la réalité politique de son temps. Après une autre période de voyages qui le conduisent jusqu'à Constantinople, Casti, de retour à Vienne, y est nommé poète Césarien, mais en 1796 il est contraint de partir, soupçonné de comploter contre l'Empire. Réfugié à Paris, il y meurt en 1803. Le réseau de contacts qu'il réussit à mettre en place dans son existence de citoyen de l'Europe lui permet d'établir une diplomatie parallèle et d'informer ses correspondants sur toutes les affaires européennes de son temps. Dans les très nombreuses lettres qu'il envoie à ses correspondants, il exprime ses considérations sur la vie des cours qu'il visite, sur les mœurs des différents pays, sur les personnages qu'il rencontre, sur les affaires politiques. Il se considère un véritable citoyen de l'Europe, inséré dans un réseau international; son identité italienne ressort dans ses choix linguistiques et littéraires, mais son dialogue avec la réalité européenne est tellement intense qu'on peut véritablement affirmer qu'il incarne une identité plurielle et cosmopolite.

María Tausiet (Universitat de València) Solitude and Sensibility: Female Identities In The Spanish Enlightenment

Panel / *Session 40*, 'Circulating Gender Identities in the Global Enlightenment: Some Perspectives from the Hispanic World'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Jaffe (Texas State University)

As a first approach to the subject of gendered solitude in the Spanish Enlightenment, in the context of the research project *Circulating Gender in the Global Enlightenment: Ideas, Networks, Agencies*, this paper takes the 18th-century culture of sociability in Europe and America as its starting point. Globally considered, the Age of Reason was not favourable to solitude. People were expected to communicate, cooperate, and exchange experiences and concerns. Enlightened critique of religion dismissed the ideas of retreat, flight from the world and hermitism as grotesque behaviour, a sort of madness or foolish extravagance. Contrary to the Baroque viewpoint, as if the world had turned upside down, individuals who preferred solitude were no longer seen as sages, but rather as misanthropes and social outcasts.

According to Enlightenment values, individuals should be subordinated to society, and self-interest to common good. However, paradoxically, the resolute fight against arbitrariness and intolerance developed a sense of individualism or autonomy and, eventually, new forms of solitude. Humans may be social beings and total solitude something against nature, but some philosophers encouraged the cultivation of an inner independence or "solitude in spirit" while living in the midst of the world. This ideal condition, in fact, would pave the way to the later Romantic affirmation of withdrawal and subjectivity.

Female solitude was a world apart. In general, solitary women were regarded as too free and, therefore dangerous. Most women's identities were seen as alienated thanks to their passivity and submission to men, and could only be expressed within their household environment. On the other hand, strong male identities were usually built on weak and, above all, dependent female ones. For women, being alone could be a tragedy or an opportunity, depending on their economic and intellectual resources. Thus while unmarried women and poor widows were invariably marginalized, certain independent and cultivated women actually discovered in solitude their true identity and power.

Jonathan Taylor (University of Surrey) Identifying with Achilles in Eighteenth-Century Visual Art and Material Culture

Panel / *Session 288*, 'Aesthetics and Taste 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

This paper will examine the long eighteenth century's visual and material preoccupation with a figure with whom its enlightened citizens were certainly not supposed to identify: Achilles. Achilles' 'savage fury' and bloodthirsty antics had been reviled as the antithesis of modern manners during the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* and had established him as the Enlightenment archetype of the primitive and anti-modern. Yet, despite the apparent aversion to Homer's hero, the long eighteenth century operated a thriving trade in personalised Achilles products. Painters and furniture designers offered patrons opportunities to have their family crests incorporated into representations of Achilles' shield. The presentation of a replica of Hephaestus' handiwork at George IV's coronation precipitated a flurry of commissions for copies from aristocrats. Thomas Vernon had Sir James Thornhill daub murals of Achilles' life onto his staircase at Hanbury Hall, making whether he looked up to, or down on, the Greek hero a question of literal as well as ethical standpoints. This paper explores the reasons why inhabitants of eighteenth-century Britain continued to identify themselves and others with Achilles, and how they appropriated, updated and exploited his identity to define their own. Drawing on examples from visual and material culture spanning the long eighteenth century, from Thornhill's murals to the reworking of Achilles' buckler in the commemorative Waterloo shield presented to the Duke of Wellington in 1822, it will suggest that Achilles served the period as a useful vehicle for negotiating and contesting "modern" identities.

David Francis Taylor (Oxford University) Performances from *Douglas*

Panel / *Session 396*, 'John Home's *Douglas* and Theatrical Innovations'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catherine Ingrassia (Virginia Commonwealth)

The play has been performed in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the last decades. For this panel, David Francis Taylor (Oxford University, Performance Reader) will perform key speeches, some illustrative of the play, and some pertinent to the two scholarly papers, such as Lady Randolph's on the evils of factions and civil wars and Lord Randolph's on why men fight.

Frith Taylor (Queen Mary University of London) Presents, Pineapples, and Pockets: The Sexual Politics of Gifts in Elizabeth Steele's *The Memoirs of Mrs Sophia Baddeley, Late of Drury Lane Theatre* (1787)

Panel / *Session 475*, 'Virtue and Vice'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Notorious for her numerous affairs, parties, gambling and spending, the actress and courtesan Sophia Baddeley became as well known for her social life as her performances in Drury Lane Theatre. Simultaneously enthralled and scandalised by her lifestyle, the reactions of contemporary commentators offer a useful insight into the fantasies and anxieties of the late eighteenth century. Baddeley lived with Elizabeth Steele from 1769 until her death in 1787, and Steele's memoir details their unorthodox domestic model, a household funded by sex work and acting, and preoccupied largely with the pursuit of pleasure. The parameters of Baddeley and Steele's relationship are unclear, prompting speculation that there were queer or queer-romantic components to their partnership.

Gifts play a pivotal role in the complex system of exchange between Baddeley and the men who admired her. Presents were spectacular; Baddeley was given a dazzling array of diamonds, silver and other jewellery, as well as rare fashionable goods such as pineapples. This paper will consider the place of notoriety and pleasure in the late eighteenth-century imagination, and the ways in which indulgence might challenge contemporary notions of femininity. Drawing on the work of Luce Irigaray, Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu, this paper will examine the conventions of gift-giving behaviour, exploring the function of luxury and spectacle in these relationships. It will also consider the function of luxury gifts in a partnership that queered conventional domestic models, and the extent to which this intersection of luxury and sexuality might subvert contemporary notions of domesticity.

Suzanne **Taylor** (Hamilton College) The View From Inside: Feeling and Identity in Hume's *Treatise*

Panel / *Session* 270, 'Humean Identities'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatsuya Sakamoto (Waseda University)

The question of what exactly Hume means by “character” in the *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) has generated much critical debate. Thinkers like Annette Baier, John Bricke, Jane L. McIntyre and others have been especially troubled by his suggestion that persons might sometimes act out of character, a suggestion that would seem to undo the “necessary connection” between character and action he everywhere insists upon. This paper makes sense of this seeming inconsistency by drawing on Hume's seldom-discussed analysis of remorse in Book II of the *Treatise*. There he describes remorse as a “malice against the self,” an “irregular appetite” that neither desire nor character can explain. I argue that for Hume, this self-malice is an example of acting out of character—the only such example in the *Treatise*—and that it stems from an excessive and pathological sympathy with others. The remorseful person comes to identify more with someone else than with herself, even to the point of believing that she can reap a malicious pleasure from her own real pain. What this means is that under the influence of this too-perfect sympathy, we are not merely strangers to ourselves, but enemies to ourselves. Thus while we tend to regard remorse as the correct moral response to wrongdoing, Hume insists that this passion is a dangerous vice. Through a focused literary treatment of the *Treatise*, this paper shows that for Hume, acting out of character is a rejection of personal identity. It is a form of self-harm.

Carole **Taylor** (Independent Scholar) The Wealth of Britain: Italian opera at home and abroad in Early-Georgian London

Panel / *Session* 53, 'Music, Reputation, and Commerciality in Eighteenth-Century London – The Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

The Italian opera in London was a significant seasonal activity intentionally allied to the parliamentary calendar. David Hunter's recent prosopographical analysis of season subscribers to the Italian opera identifies a limited number of families supporting the genre – even across generations – which helps further define their support as ‘a Parliamentary social club’. Given the discreet size of the Italian opera party – this last, a word with political as well as entertainment connotations – I will look at just how “clubbable” this form of patronage was in early-Georgian London. Operagoers didn't call themselves a club, but prompted by Peter Clark's description of Britain's ‘associational world’ as one where joiners were not necessarily attenders, I will explore the curious ebb and flow of support extended to Handel and Italian opera in this period.

Continental views of the genre will also be considered: Montesquieu, for example writes ‘I have seen operas in England and Italy; they are the same plays with the same actors; but the same music produces such different effects in people of the two nations....’) – Montesquieu wasn't analysing the music as cause of these differences, but climate! I will look at the political meaning of commercial society/commerce and money in early-Georgian London, by focussing on patronage of the Italian opera by members of the House of Lords, some of whom had never visited Italy. Surviving bank records at the Royal Bank of Scotland, Barclays, Coutts, Hoare's Bank and the Bank of England, provide evidence of financial overlap of patronage from this “club” of aristocratic Italian opera subscribers, and support by the theatre producers (aka traders from the business and professional middles classes). This overlap of commerce and landed wealth in London was a major source of difference between England and the Continent.

David **Taylor** (University of Oxford) What Cato Did: Suicide and the Ends of Historical Tragedy

Panel / *Session* 424, 'Clio on the eighteenth-century stage'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Russell (University of York)

“What Cato did and Addison approved | Cannot be wrong.” So went the suicide note of the writer Eustace Budgell, a cousin of Addison's, who in 1737 threw himself into the Thames, his pockets laden with stones. Yet the conviction of Budgell's unfinished couplet belies the degree of controversy, and anxiety, that surrounded Cato's death in the early

eighteenth century, especially as it was represented in Addison's 1713 play. Addison was evidently fascinated by the scenario of classical suicide – he planned to follow up Cato with a tragedy on the death of Socrates – but how far can his play be said to approve of its protagonist's final and fatal act?

Certainly, several critics found Cato's death to be not only dramatically unsatisfactory but ethically and politically problematic. John Dennis opined that Addison's play offered the "pernicious instruction" of showing "a Man of accomplish'd Virtue driven to lay violent Hands upon himself, only for supporting Liberty". Invoking contemporary fears of a suicide epidemic in Britain, Dennis insisted that such a lesson was especially dangerous "to an Island so notorious as ours for the frequency of self Murder." Moreover, a number of commentators noted – rightly it should be said – that Cato needn't kill himself; in Addison's play his doing so offstage directly coincides with the arrival of news that Pompey's son, Gnaeus Pompeius, has launched a rebellion against Caesar and that all is not lost. "He fell indeed with his Country, but not for it; and by dying, effectually deserted her Interests", wrote one reviewer in the *Examiner*.

In probing the terms and stakes of such heated responses to the play, this paper suggests some of the ways in which Cato's representation of suicide fundamentally exposed, and further troubled, the vexed relations between the classical and the Christian and between history, tragedy, and morality in the early eighteenth century.

Motoichi **Terada** (Nagoya City University) Diderot et le stoïcisme moderne dans l'article « Stoïcisme » de l'Encyclopédie

Panel / *Session* 103, 'Dictionnaires et Encyclopédies'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Eick (Grand Valley State University)

On sait très bien que Diderot s'occupe de l'histoire de la philosophie dans l'Encyclopédie. En vue de la rédiger, il consulte l'*Historia critica philosophiae* de Jacob Brucker. Le philosophe se sert de la même source pour écrire l'article STOICISME. C'est un fait aussi bien connu que la morale du dernier Diderot a reçu une influence non négligeable par le stoïcisme, ce qui s'avère dans ses œuvres telles que l'*Essai sur Sénèque* et les *Éléments de physiologie*. Récemment Gerhard Stenger a découvert en fin de compte la source d'un passage stoïque, écrit en latin, qui se trouve dans la conclusion des *Éléments de physiologie*. Il s'agit d'un poème, *De contemptu mortis* de Daniel Heinsius, stoïcien moderne, qui a vécu en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle. Jusqu'aux dernières années, on n'a guère eu la peine de prendre en compte le stoïcisme moderne pour situer la morale de Diderot. Après la dite découverte de Stenger, il s'impose d'effectuer une recherche nouvelle sur les rapports entre le stoïcisme moderne et le stoïcisme diderotien.

Dans cette communication, je vais analyser comment Diderot a lu la *Period. III, Pars I, Lib. II, Cap. VII De restauratione philosophiae stoicae* de l'*Historia critica philosophiae* de Jacob Brucker, en vue de rédiger le stoïcisme moderne dans l'article STOICISME de l'Encyclopédie et de situer des stoïciens modernes tels Daniel Heinsius, Gaspar Scoppius, Thomas Gataker, etc., en lisant à sa manière l'histoire de la philosophie de Brucker.

Zalina **Tetermazova** (State Historical Museum, Moscow) On the Question of National Identity: Printmaking Practice of Gavriil Skorodumov and James Walker in the Context of British-Russian Cultural Relations

Panel / *Session* 54, 'National Identities'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Julia de Moraes Almeida (University of São Paulo / Getulio Vargas Foundation)

Anglophilia, the interest in all things English, was a significant phenomenon in the late-eighteenth century Russia, which impacted all the spheres of Russian culture including the art of printmaking and significantly affected the careers of the two celebrated engravers – Gavriil Skorodumov (1754 – 1792) and James Walker (c. 1760 – c. 1823). Being closely associated both with Great Britain and Russia, these masters played a significant role in the process of the artistic interchange between the two countries.

The creative activity of Skorodumov and Walker has been examined by scholars. However important issues still remain unresolved, and among the most intriguing is the one of national characteristics. How did moving to another country affect the personalities, life styles and artistic production of Skorodumov and Walker? Were the prints they created in

Great Britain different from those executed by them in Russia? And if it is yes, why so and what caused the changes? And finally would it be appropriate in the given context to speak of the Englishness and the Russianness as applied to the notion of style?

In this paper I would argue that the question of national characteristics in relation to the artistic production (particularly concerning printmaking practice) was connected with the political, socio-economical and cultural conventions inherent to a specific country rather than with where the artists were born or educated. Predominantly middle-class society of the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain suggested considerably different strategies of artistic expression than the absolute monarchy of the Russian Empire. We can observe how having crossed the borders of states artists were deeply influenced by these conventions either losing or acquiring in their works certain traits of 'Englishness' or 'Russianness'.

Having been considered in a broader historical context of British – Russian cultural relations the printmaking practice can be also viewed as one of the means of creating a sort of in-between space where artists, artworks and iconographic conventions moved across the boundaries of Empires and where new imaginary identities could occur.

Barbara Tetti (Sapienza-Universita di Roma) Identity Echoes: British Women Travel Writers on Roman and Romano-British Heritage, c. 1770–1820

Panel / *Session* 192, 'Women, Identities, and Travel in Eighteenth-Century Europe'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sutapa Dutta (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla / Gargi College, University of Delhi)

This paper considers analytically the perception of antiques and antiquities in Rome, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. It uses materials discovered in women's diaries, reports and correspondence from the Papal capital to Great Britain; and it highlights these women's awareness of heritage in both Britain and Rome, both before and after the French domination in Italy that briefly disrupted the British presence in Rome. Facing the most evocative remains of the classical era, British culture was perceived as a direct descendant of the Roman ancient world. The echoes of identity were such that it almost appeared that these women writers were representing their formative journeys and residence in Italy as a return to the primitive or ancestral homeland.

Christine Théré (INED – Institut national d'études démographiques) Pierre-Odet Rouxelin (1710–1777) : Itinéraire intellectuel d'un physiocrate provincial

Panel / *Session* 333, 'Identités académiques'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jacques Wagner (Université Clermont Auvergne)

Dans son étude pionnière sur le mouvement académique provincial, Daniel Roche invitait à s'interroger sur la façon dont « s'accommodent dans l'académisme l'inertie et l'innovation ». Questionner l'accueil réservé à la « science nouvelle » de François Quesnay (1694-1774) dans les sociétés savantes s'inscrit dans une telle problématique. Parmi ces « instruments de lumières et de progrès » actifs dans le royaume, l'Académie des Belles-Lettres de Caen se distingue par l'intérêt précoce qu'elle porte aux problèmes économiques, n'hésitant pas à encourager des discussions sur des réformes controversées. Les *Éphémérides du citoyen*, l'organe périodique des physiocrates, s'en font l'écho et l'érigent en exemple emblématique des sociétés savantes ouvertes aux innovations. L'intendant de la généralité, François-Jean Orceau de Fontette (1718-1794), en poste à Caen de 1752 à 1775, a largement contribué à orienter les préoccupations académiques sur des sujets parfois épineux. Le rôle actif de l'administrateur éclairé a quelque peu éclipsé celui du secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie, Pierre-Odet Rouxelin (1710-1777), qui se revendiquait ouvertement comme un « économiste ». L'exploitation des archives de la société nous permet aujourd'hui de reconstituer l'itinéraire intellectuel de l'ancien procureur aux Eaux et Forêts. Cheville ouvrière des travaux académiques pendant plus d'une vingtaine d'années, Rouxelin a été un ardent propagandiste des théories nouvelles de Quesnay, non seulement à Caen, mais au-delà dans l'ensemble du monde académique en participant aux concours lancés par d'autres sociétés. Sa biographie intellectuelle sera l'occasion de s'interroger sur l'organisation du mouvement physiocratique et les modalités de la diffusion de la « nouvelle science », de mettre au jour d'éventuelles tensions entre les physiocrates parisiens, les « chefs de l'école », et leurs émules provinciaux.

Jennifer **Thorp** (New College, Oxford) Following the Footsteps: Researching Mr Isaac, Dancing-Master at the Court of Queen Anne

Panel / *Session* 331, 'Facts and Fictions: Biographical Imperatives in Researching the Eighteenth-Century Dancer – The Oxford Dance Symposium'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Laurel Zeiss (Baylor University)

Mr Isaac is an exasperating subject for a biography; even the name, which he used only for his dance activities, was a pseudonym. He was arguably a central character in English court culture in the early-eighteenth century, and a much sought-after teacher of dance and deportment. He was also an early influence in London on the publication of sophisticated dances for the ballroom, created to honour Queen Anne and some of her leading courtiers, or to celebrate significant events. His twenty-two extant dances reveal his skill in creating dances in the much admired French style yet with a clear English flavour. He left very few personal papers, and was rarely named in records of the royal court, yet it is possible to track much of his life through references occurring in a wide range of other official and private papers. Bringing together all these resources reveals a man who was regarded as an exemplary dance-master in his own day, generous and charitable to all, despite some idiosyncratic dance pupils. In this paper I will discuss what is entailed in pursuing the evidence for his career.

Ruth **Thorpe** (Queen's University Belfast) Performing Arts: Lady Templetown's Life in Relief

Panel / *Session* 159, 'Women and Children in the Arts'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susanna Caviglia (Duke University)

The concept of the formation of gendered identity through performance has long proved useful in analysing how individuals represented themselves in text. Here, material and visual sources are employed to explore how one elite woman utilised her artistic talent, performing to public and private audiences. In the early years of her marriage in the 1770s Elizabeth Upton (1747-1823, Baroness Templetown from 1776) lived in Rome where she made sculpture and immersed herself in classical antiquity, her knowledge of the arts praised by Piranesi. On her return to England, Lady Templetown eschewed the male domain of sculpture, adopting a medium considered appropriate to her gender and social rank, the 'feminine' accomplishment of paper cutting.

The works she called her 'performances' – groups of figures in cut paper – reached a large– public audience. Josiah Wedgwood had designs she supplied in the 1780s modelled for reliefs on jasperware, their commercial success reflected in museum collections internationally. Appealing to female consumers, these scenes idealizing motherhood played into Enlightenment debate on the role of women in society and educating children. Templetown also made 'performances' in royal households, raising her profile by having some engraved, published and dedicated to Queen Charlotte. Renowned for her cutting of portrait silhouettes, she performed in elite drawing rooms: Fanny Burney treasured a likeness of Mary Delany. While this polite art served Templetown well in constructing an identity associated with refined, contented domesticity, the Queen vetoed her appointment as royal governess as 'all confinement would be irksome to her'. Surviving busts Templetown made and neoclassical decorative schemes she orchestrated indicate she reserved her passion for sculpture for her inner circle. A rare iconographical scheme of bas-reliefs at the family seat in Ireland display her erudition, another facet of a life lived in cosmopolitan, artistic social circles.

Gemma **Tidman** (St John's College, Oxford) The Identity of an Enlightenment Querelle, or, Was There a Querelle des collèges in Eighteenth-Century France?

Panel / *Session* 256, 'Academies and Academics'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Tomas Macsotay (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

'Depuis la chute des Jésuites et le livre inutile de J.-J. Rousseau on n'a cessé d'écrire sur l'éducation'. So wrote Grimm in 1763, identifying a debate that ran from 1762 to 1789, over how to reform literary education in the French collèges. The debate began with three main controversies: the publication of d'Alembert's Encyclopédie article 'Collège' (1753);

the expulsion of the Jesuits, who ran a third of collèges, and Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (both 1762). In this paper, I will show that in the wake of these polemics, over 150 texts called into question traditional practices of male literary education. Certain matters were especially contentious: should teachers be nationally trained, and if so, how? Should French authors be taught as 'classics', and if so, which? Some maintained the collèges should continue teaching Latin, yet many, such as Rousseau, disagreed; indeed, I argue that *Émile* was Rousseau's intervention in this debate, in which he condemned outright 'ces risibles établissements qu'on appelle collèges'. Others, meanwhile, sought to reform the collèges, replacing their Latin syllabus with a French canon. As the parlementaire La Chalotais wrote in his *Essai sur l'éducation nationale* (1763), 'il est honteux que dans une éducation de France on néglige la Littérature Française.'

While parts of this debate have been studied (Julia 1983, Grandière 1998, O'Connor 2017), no scholars have considered it a querelle; yet it has all the hallmarks of one: dialogical dispute, agonistic language, and the press amplifying the conflict and referring to it as a polemic. Drawing on my doctoral thesis (2018), and scholarship on early modern querelles (Lilti 2007, Hostiou & Viala 2013, Tadié 2017) this paper will contend that we have much to gain by reconceptualising this debate as a querelle, and resituating canonical texts, like *Émile*, at its heart. More broadly, it will explore the identity of an Enlightenment querelle, as distinct from an early modern one.

Matthijs Tieleman (University of California, Los Angeles) Natural Rights, Local Privileges: Dutch Patriot Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World

Panel / Session 55, 'Nationhood and Cross-Cultural Encounter in Europe'. Monday /Lundi 14.00 – 15.45.

G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Penelope Corfield (Royal Holloway, University of London)

In his seminal pamphlet 'To the People of the Netherlands' from 1781, Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol called for the overthrow of the political system of the Dutch Republic, starting the Dutch Patriot Revolution that signaled the beginning of the end of the two-hundred-year-old republic. Based on pamphlets such as 'To the People of the Netherlands', many historians have argued that Dutch Patriot identity was a national one, viewing the Dutch Patriot Revolution as but one in a long series of uprisings in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Atlantic World that R.R. Palmer called "democratic revolutions". Yet few historians have investigated local revolutionary Patriot organizations during the 1780s, overlooking the complexity of Dutch Patriot identity and its ideological origins in the Enlightenment.

By examining previously undiscovered correspondence, pamphlets, and espionage documents, this paper argues that Dutch Patriot identity constituted of local and Enlightenment identities, rooted in the larger intellectual currents of the eighteenth-century Atlantic. Rather than declaring loyalty to the Romantic notion of a "democratic nation", the ideology of Dutch Patriots blended their attachment to the medieval rights and privileges of their localities with the universalist republicanism of the Enlightenment that had engendered the American colonists to revolt in the previous decade. This paper posits that this particular blend of Dutch Patriot identity gave them a fundamentally different conception of "revolution" than their successors would, viewing it as a restoration of older rights and privileges rather than the creation of a new society. Through this analysis, this paper seeks to open a larger discussion on the meaning of Enlightenment identity during the Age of Revolution and the transition from Enlightenment to Romantic identities in the late eighteenth century.

Rebecca Tierney-Hynes (University of Edinburgh) Affectation and the Ethics of Comedy: Shadwell's Humours

Panel / Session 174, 'Laughing Matters'. Tuesday /Mardi 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower.

Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (Mansfield College, Oxford)

Affectation is proposed in the Restoration as the answer to the problematic moral status of comedy. Comedy is said to correct affectation, paring away a performed self and leaving intact the fundamental character. Shadwell writes that the 'proper Subject[s] of a Satyr' are 'affected Vanities' and 'artificial Fopperies' (Preface to *The Humourists*, 1670). He then attempts to reconcile Jonsonian humours comedy with these satiric aims, insisting that a 'good comical humour' ought to be 'an affectation as misguides men in knowledge, art, or science' (Preface to *The Virtuoso*, 1676). Affectation and the humours, however, are incompatible satiric targets: the one relies on the idea that a person can

be parted from their artifice, the other on the idea that character and humour are indistinguishable – to remove the one is to remove the other also. This paper will investigate how these incompatible satiric aims define the ethical drive of comedy, and thus also the way in which that ethical drive relies on new ideas about how the self is constituted and perhaps more importantly, how it might be decomposed.

Rebecca Tierney-Hynes (University of Edinburgh) *Shadwell's Epsom-Wells and the Character of Humour*

Panel / *Session 69*, 'Character, Theatre, Novel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.16, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : David Taylor (University of Oxford)

Much recent criticism of Thomas Shadwell has focused on his best-known play, *The Virtuoso* (1676), with its revealing critique of Restoration scientific enquiry. As Brian Corman suggested in the eighties, however, Shadwell's own major concern, the revival and establishment of humours comedy on the Jonsonian model, is also deserving of serious critical attention.

Shadwell announced his commitment to Jonsonian humours comedy in the preface to his first play, *The Sullen Lovers* (1668). He declared his admiration for Jonson's 'perfect Characters' and observed that this comic giant 'never wrote Comedy without seven or eight excellent Humours' (11). He thus concluded – without much justification – that a truly Jonsonian practice meant proliferating humours characters and little reverence for plot. In *Epsom-Wells* (1673), Shadwell overturns the standard comic ending, bringing his play to a close with a festive divorce and without a single actual marriage. In this paper, I argue that Shadwell's resistance to comic closure is tied to his conviction that the proper work of comedy is characterisation. The deliberate overthrow of the comic plot in *Epsom-Wells*, I suggest, allows for a new conception of character oriented around Shadwell's serious engagement with humours theory and Galenic medicine.

Valentina Tikoff (DePaul University) *Forlorn Orphans and Honorable Seamen: Negotiating Age and Status in the Maritime Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Spain*

Panel / *Session 397*, 'Juvenile Writing, Identities, and Self-Presentation in Eighteenth-Century Europe'.
Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

From 1681 to 1847, maritime orphanage of San Telmo in Seville took in orphaned boys and trained them to serve on Spanish ships. Many wards remained under institutional auspices for a broad swath of their childhood and youth, between the ages of eight or ten and their early twenties. While legally remaining under orphanage supervision, they often sailed far from institutional confines. Both the extended period they spent under institutional auspices and the distances traveled away from it allowed these wards an amount of flexibility, which they could and did use in negotiating among different authorities. Especially revealing are the flexible ways in which these charges deployed age labels and associated status distinctions—claiming (sometimes even within the same document) to be both forlorn, fatherless orphans worthy of the king's charity, and also experienced honorable men serving the crown, for whom the corporal punishments meted out to misbehaving boys were inappropriate. In exploring these issues, chiefly through the case study of a set of correspondence concerning a particularly troublesome ward, this paper explores notions of eighteenth-century boyhood, youth, and masculinity; the malleability and markers of these identities; and the significance of these concepts in leveraging resources and treatment in eighteenth-century charitable, maritime, and military contexts.

Leïla Tnaïnci (Université de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté) *Vergennes, Benjamin Franklin et les Français : les mutations identitaires d'un ministre au cœur de la guerre d'indépendance américaine*

Panel / *Session* 105, 'Hommes des Lumières, hommes politiques : positionnements et trajectoires à l'époque de la Révolution Française 1 (avant, pendant et après la Révolution)'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gérard Laudin (Lettres Sorbonne Université)

Charles Gravier de Vergennes, considéré comme l'un des ministres français les plus conservateurs de la fin de l'Ancien Régime, démontre néanmoins une grande modernité dans son recours régulier à l'opinion publique, afin de justifier sa politique et d'atteindre ses objectifs. Cependant sa perception et son usage de ce qu'il appelle « le tribunal de l'opinion » connaissent de nombreuses mutations, allant de la méfiance au rejet, en passant par une exploitation parfois jugée excessive. L'historiographie s'est penchée sur ce paradoxe, trouvant des réponses dans sa défiance face à la popularité de Necker et à la révolution de Genève. Cependant, un nouvel éclairage peut être apporté sur l'évolution de la culture politique de Vergennes, fondatrice de son identité propre de ministre. Celle-ci subit un fort infléchissement lors de la guerre d'indépendance américaine, à laquelle Vergennes veut voir la France associée. Instigateur d'une campagne de propagande à grande échelle en faveur de la cause des Insurgents, le secrétaire d'État des Affaires étrangères voit rapidement se propager une « franklinmania » à travers le royaume. Sur fond de conflit international, Vergennes connaît alors un ébranlement identitaire, qui provoque un changement radical dans son attitude envers non seulement la personne de Benjamin Franklin, mais aussi des Français. Cette évolution parallèle transforme une distance, devenue complicité, en suspicion. Ce projet de communication entend s'appuyer sur un corpus de sources autorisant une approche pluridisciplinaire révélant les différentes dimensions de cette réflexion : politique à partir de la correspondance diplomatique, artistique grâce à la foisonnante iconographie de Franklin, littéraire à travers les documents liés aux salons parisiens, sans négliger la question, cruciale chez Vergennes, de l'information et de la propagande via l'étude de la presse européenne francophone de cette période.

Beth Fowkes **Tobin** (University of Georgia) 'A rank of beings so wonderful and extraordinary':
Insects and Their Admirers

Panel / *Session* 199, 'Critical Insect Studies in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00.
Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Srividhya Swaminathan (Long Island University Brooklyn)

While novelists seem to have been loath to acknowledge the presence of insects in their narratives, insects appear regularly in eighteenth-century poetry, art, and natural history writing as wondrous creatures deserving of admiration and even affection. Poets incorporated insects into their poetry, using them as metaphors with spiders standing in for the poet's imagination and butterflies signaling the transformative power of creativity. Artists found beauty in the dappled colors of a moth's wings, in the sheen of the carapace of a black beetle, and in the translucence of a dragonfly's wings. Insect collectors and amateur naturalists were perhaps the most vocal champions of insects, defending them from accusations of being noxious and destructive creatures. This paper explores the various rhetorical strategies that artists, poets, amateur entomologists, and insect collectors took up to defend their fascination with insects, examining in particular how insect bodies—their intricacy, tininess, and ephemerality—were depicted as the work "of the Sovereign Architect" (Dru Drury), bearing "the signature and stamp of power Divine" (Benjamin Stillingfleet). Although the Enlightenment's rationality has been held responsible for turning the natural world into a cold mechanical system devoid of the marvelous, we can see in the musings of poets, in the drawings of artists, and in the enthusiasm of naturalists how alive these people were to the wondrous world of insects. Perhaps we could learn from them how to cultivate an appreciation of these tiny creatures that are disappearing from our world at an alarming rate.

Sean **Toland** (Princeton University) Hearing Prayer: Religious Music and Social Cohesion in the Late Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 363, 'Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 2'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building.
Chair / *Président.e* : Tanvi Solanki (Yonsei University)

A central problem for Enlightenment music aesthetics was accounting for the diminished social effect of modern music, when compared to reports from antiquity of music stirring men to collective action. In the 18th century, the

only setting where music remained capable of a radical impact on human character was the church, and even the power of religious music had declined since the 16th century, according to the histories of Charles Burney and Johann Nikolaus Forkel. This paper will discuss the history of debates about the socially-binding effects of religious music, especially those that reflect on the changes in Enlightenment listening environments. If music had earlier occupied a subordinate role in other gatherings attentive listening was now the central aim of musical performance in a new, market-based listening environment around 1760. A devout Lutheran, Forkel, in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1801), cited Luther's chorales as the most recent heirs of Greek music, and the shared religious sentiments of a congregation singing together as a chief motive force of the Reformation. But a proliferation of performance venues, and of types of music appropriate to each, had fostered competition between church, theater, court and concert hall. As religious music became merely one possible diversion among many, it became more expensive to compose and perform works which could move the increasingly refined sensibilities of the public. Nonetheless, Forkel was optimistic that financial support for the church could make liturgical music an engine of social unity again. Two students of Forkel's, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck, agreed that structural flaws in modern music culture hindered it from achieving its earlier heights. But in their view, this was due less to a proliferation of new avenues of performance than to the now more individualistic attitudes of listeners. I will discuss how Wackenroder and Tieck's *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, while frequently cited as an early work of literary Romanticism, mask an intensive engagement with Enlightenment theories of music.

Mikko Tolonen (University of Helsinki) Publishers, Printers, and Booksellers: Eighteenth Century Book Trade Through Bibliographic Metadata

Panel / *Session* 293, 'Digital Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Studies'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ileana Baird (Zayed University)

This paper presents an overview of an ongoing digital history research project on eighteenth-century book and publication history. First, we present a methodological approach for creating a historical biographical database based on The English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC, <https://www.cerl.org/services/estc>), a standard source for analytical bibliographic research holding close to half a million titles (Lahti et al. 2015). Second, we demonstrate solutions for forming a uniform dataset from this noisy and heterogeneous starting point. Finally, when this is done correctly new opportunities for book history are opened, as problems of data quality and coverage (see, for example, Raven 2007, 193) hampering earlier research using bibliographical data can now be solved. While publisher networks had a greater impact on the distribution of ideas in early modern period than has been realised, publisher information as a source has not been extracted on a similar scale. The methodological challenges for a digital approach are considerable. The names of entities in the ESTC which this study focuses on (book trade actors and their geographic locations) are 'hidden' among the text of the full publisher statements, and needed to be programmatically detected, identified, unified for spelling and linked. The end result of the unification process is a networked collection of roughly 30,000 book trade actors. Multiple previous quantitative approaches, based on both geographically and chronologically limited sources, can now be tested at scale that covers all the publications in the ESTC. Questions of location (eg. Harris 1982; Raven 2014), spread of the trade outside London and importance of networks and connections in that process (Maxted 1982; Raven 2007, 141), and questions of authors' and publishers' relations (Treadwell 1983) can all benefit from a wide statistical overview of the development of the book trade.

Alannah Tomkins (Keele University) The Life-Cycle of the Assistant Overseer: Some Preliminary Findings

Panel / *Session* 240, 'Providing for the Poor: Provisioning, 'Professionalisation', and the Parish Politics of Illegitimacy'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Tim Hitchcock (University of Sussex)

Parishes under the Old Poor Law recruited salaried overseers in an ad hoc fashion up to 1818 and more consistently thereafter, but we know relatively little about this group's occupational background and social position. The AHRC-funded project Small Bills and Petty Finance offers a new evidential pathway to view the salaried Assistant Overseer, and is unpacking partial biographies for men (they were all men so far), their working lives and their relieving activity.

This paper will provide a series of insights into men employed across three counties and offers some tentative conclusions about the opportunities and challenges of taking a parish wage.

Michael Tomko (Villanova University) 'Too Late' and Soon: Wordsworth's Search for Contemplative Space

Panel / *Session 183, 'Shaping Sacred Space in the Enlightenment 2'*. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sabine Volk-Birke (Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

This paper will offer a post-secular reading of William Wordsworth's recognition of sacred space in his 1802 sonnet, "The World is too Much with Us." This poem has often been seen as epitomizing the consolidation of an enlightenment process of secularization. In the sonnet's closing appeal to the Greek gods, it is difficult not to hear a strand of the "radical Enlightenment" as described by Martin Priestmann in *Romantic Atheism*, to react to the poet's voice as anything but a *cri de coeur* from the disembedded, buffered self of Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age*, or to anticipate the privatized, imminent modernism of Wallace Stevens that emerges in M.H. Abrams's *Natural Supernaturalism*. Yet recent criticism by Jessica Fay and Peter Cheyne has argued that both Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge would later develop robust contemplative practices within their writing: Coleridge through a spiritual anthropology and Wordsworth in a "pastoral monasticism" that privileges attentive silence and locales of intergenerational significance, particularly Northumbria's abbeys and monasteries ruined by time, weather, and nature. Extending their insights, my paper will argue that Wordsworth's sonnet is not primarily a moment of secular shock or disenchanting malaise but records an encounter with sacred space on the coast of the English channel. Far from witnessing the evacuation of the sacred, the unspoken awe at the *volta* testifies to creation's beauty and ongoing power. And yet, this early development of Wordsworth's later spiritual aesthetic also suggests the troubled ambivalence that, I would argue, consistently haunts his poetry, particularly in his later years. The poem's allusions to Milton and Spenser and the overall resulting imagined geography between Ireland and France disruptively recall Wordsworth's own dismissal of Roman Catholicism as being "too late" for England. Given these anxieties about national borders and his own nation's religious history, this more precise historical, political, and literary context thus suggests a different form of complication than the secularization narrative affords.

Helena Tomko (Villanova University) The Anxiety of Inwardness in Goethe's *Faust*

Panel / *Session 183, 'Shaping Sacred Space in the Enlightenment 2'*. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sabine Volk-Birke (Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

A commonplace criticism of Enlightenment and post-Reformation German thought and poetry holds that it cultivated potentially dangerous "inwardness." The word typically designates a negative movement away from outward obligations to the body politic, while remaining lexically proximate to other modes of interiority. Philosophers like Hannah Arendt, Erich Fromm, and Charles Taylor have placed "inwardness"—with its roots in the Lutheran "two kingdoms" doctrine and Pauline distinction between body and spirit—among the sources of the enlightened modern self, relating it variously to world alienation, the authoritarian personality, and the buffered self.

As part of a larger study of inwardness, this paper will use Goethe's *Faust: A Tragedy* to consider how what I term the "anxiety of inwardness" inhabits the spaces of this monumental eighteenth-century drama. How do the tragedy's spatial shifts between sites of civic, intellectual, and religious encounter relate to the emergent modern self that the character of Faust figures? Does Goethe's text epitomize or undermine received accounts of the post-Reformation "inward turn" (Taylor, *Sources of the Self*)? Modulating through Goethe's own paradigm shifts during the six decades of the drama's conception, the paper will propose (1) that Faust models "German inwardness" through its eighteenth-century, anachronistic retelling of the popular sixteenth-century cautionary tale and (2) that it also questions conceptual bifurcations and the subsequent valorization (public/private; secular/sacred) of inner and outer spaces. The paper will propose that if Faust is damned because he was tempted by a particular inward turn, Goethe saves him because he uses his wager to overcome it. While the commonplace of "inwardness" continues to inhabit critical conversations, the paper suggests that it is a term ripe for renewed scrutiny and revision.

Paul Tonks (Yonsei University) **Articulating a Global Identity for the Eighteenth-Century Scots Kirk: Robert Millar's 'History of the Propagation of Christianity'**

Panel / *Session* 147, 'Religion in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Arthur Burns (King's College London)

This paper explores the global historical vision of the historiographically neglected eighteenth-century Scottish Presbyterian author Robert Millar (1672-1752). Millar's 'History of the Propagation of Christianity' was an immensely influential account of the spread of Christianity across the world, first published in Edinburgh in 1723. Millar's writing was very widely read across the 18th Century, not least due to the support of his son Andrew (1705-1768), whose career as the leading publisher of Scottish Enlightenment authors is traced in a superb Edinburgh University website ('Circulating Enlightenment'). The significant impact of Robert Millar's 'History of the Propagation of Christianity' was not restricted only to the English-speaking world, as it was also translated into Dutch (1742). This was fitting, as Millar's book employed a wide range of sources from various European countries, including several Dutch Reformed missions. The paper examines critically Millar's historical and missiological views in relation to complex and competing, or indeed contradictory and conflicted, European understandings of global religious cultures in the 18th Century. Strikingly, Millar included extensive discussions of Asian religions. He explored the encounters between both Catholic and Protestant missions and indigenous religious beliefs and practices in different regions of Asia. We can thus situate his views in relation to other prominent eighteenth-century depictions of cultural traditions across the globe, such as those of the French Huguenot refugees Bernard Picart (1673-1733) and Jean Frederic Bernard (1683-1744) in the Netherlands contained in their lavishly illustrated contemporaneous encyclopaedia of world religions.

Borbala Zsuzsanna Török (University of Vienna) **Achenwall and the Habsburg Statistical Gaze**

Panel / *Session* 408, 'Resilience of Eighteenth-Century Science in the Habsburg Monarchy 1'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Marianne Klemun (University of Vienna)

Achenwall and the Habsburg Statistical Gaze

The teaching of early modern statistics (*Statistik*), introduced around 1790 in the legal curriculum of the Habsburg Monarchy, was based on the theoretical model formulated by Gottfried Achenwall and August Ludwig Schlözer. The focus of this academic or descriptive statistics, a classificatory science, was the state and its 'strength.' *Statistik* rendered its object as a legal-administrative-social complex placed into the system of European polities. The qualities of the polity emerged from the mutual impact of its geographic features, its resources, the administration and the legal system: *vires-unitae-agunt*.

The paper addresses the Achenwallian classificatory system and the themes emerging from it. According to traditional accounts, Achenwallian *Statistik* became epistemologically and politically discredited with the advent of probability calculus and the spread of political arithmetic, which started with the Napoleonic wars and ended by the mid-nineteenth century. In contrast, my paper diagnoses the resilience of the Achenwallian classification and the statistical objects defined by it (geography, population, agriculture, industry, commerce, transportation, culture and education, legal system, administration). The themes crystalized amidst international standardization and large numerical surveys led by the state, and were the core of professional statistics by the turn of the twentieth century. All in all, Habsburg statistics continued to be seen by the practitioners as a science grounded in the empirical reality and "logical order" of the state, whose primary task was to study – also with mathematical means – the correlation and co-dependence of the constitutive parts of the polity.

Maria Toscano (Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale) **The Burning Laboratory**

Panel / *Session* 143, 'Medical Thought and Practice'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rose Hilton (Sheffield Hallam University)

My proposal focuses on diffusion of a moderate interpretation of Enlightenment in the Kingdom of Naples and abroad, starting from the word extended network of intellectuals (prevalently scientists but also diplomats, poets, collectors) revealed by the ample and variegated correspondence left by Teodoro Monticelli (1759/1845) a Neapolitan

scientist, interested in politics since the Neapolitan jacobine uprising of the end of the XVIII Century, whose worldwide fame was related to his studies about Vesuvius, but also to his activity in favor of diffusion and progress of science, as of collaboration among European and not European cultural institutions. A long period analysis (1790/1835) follows the intricate wefts of the circulation of this attenuated version of the principal political and cultural appeals generated in France. People involved in this intellectual circle in fact had intention to pursue the same goals rather than through republican government through the more securing and controllable constitutional monarchy, a form of government which ensured a gradual, and so hopefully pacific, process toward wellbeing of population, development of science and, in one word, civilization; but also toward Italian political independence. In fact around Monticelli and his friends rises more and more stronger the sentiment of Italian national identity. This ideology seems to had been strongly influenced by the mentality and the experience of their British contacts, which in fact represent the most part of Monticelli's foreign correspondence. Among his British friends were Sir William Hamilton, Richard William Hamilton, William Herschel and Humphrey Davy who with the expression "burning laboratory" alluded to Vesuvius but also the fervor of Neapolitan intellectuals. The ample chronology allows to concentrate and put in light continuity and discontinuity of each one mentality, related to historic events and to anyone's life.

maria toscano

Dale **Townshend** (Manchester Metropolitan University) Catholicism and the Early Gothic Revival

Panel / *Session* 133, 'Gothic Horrors, Catholic Undertones, and Political Caricature: Archival Riches of the Lewis Walpole Library'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Stephen Clarke (University of Liverpool)

Cultural responses to 'survivalist' forms of Gothic architecture in Britain of the long eighteenth century were divided along starkly polarized lines. For the antiquarian tradition that reached back to William Dugdale, the ruins of Catholic abbeys, monasteries, and priories were the 'venerable' remains of an equally 'venerable' antiquity. For more anti-Catholic writers and aestheticians in both High Church and Dissenting traditions, by contrast, these were the remains of 'monkish piles' or 'nurseries of superstition' that felicitously attested to the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the triumph of the Protestant Reformation. Having traced this discursive vacillation between 'venerable piles' and 'nurseries of superstition' in such writers as Dugdale, Conyers Middleton, John and Anna Letitia Aikin, Frances Burney, William Shenstone, Edward Jerningham, and William Gilpin, this paper considers the way in which three exponents of the Gothic Revival in architecture variously grappled with the Catholic question: Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham; William Beckford at Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire; and John Milner at St Peter's Chapel, Winchester. Walpole, I argue, confronted the discursive impasse of his age through a rhetorical turn to oxymoron, pointedly celebrating the 'venerable barbarism' of the Gothic style while employing a careful distinction between the theological and the aesthetic legacies of the Catholic past. For Beckford, the Catholicism of the Gothic occasioned a self-conscious turn to spectacle and theatricality, while for Milner, Gothic architecture was the only appropriate mode for a courageous expression of Catholic devotion. By way of conclusion, the paper considers how eighteenth-century British culture in general sought to recuperate a 'benighted' Catholic style for its ideological agenda, often through imaginatively peopling its structures with 'Enlightened' Catholics, the likes of John Wyclif and Alexander Pope.

Mark **Towsey** (University of Liverpool) 'The best and most useful source of knowledge': Learning History at Home in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America

Panel / *Session* 225, 'Eighteenth-Century Arts Education Research Network'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leonie Hannan (Queen's University, Belfast)

Though the period is popularly known primarily for the rise of the novel, historical works by Enlightenment writers including David Hume, Edward Gibbon and William Robertson were some of the eighteenth century's most commercially successful books. This paper looks at the prodigious readership of these works, asking why and how they were read. In an age where only the classical historians of ancient Greece and Rome were taught formally at schools and universities, it argues that these histories were read quite systematically as part of informal educational reading projects within domestic settings, helping women and men across the English-speaking world make sense of a rapidly

changing world marked by social upheaval at home and revolution abroad. It looks at the some of the notetaking tools readers used to accumulate historical knowledge, while also pointing out some of the ways in which readers intent on self-education could be waylaid, frustrated and distracted. At the same time, the paper will gesture more widely to the role that the history of reading can play in broader histories of education in this period.

Tatjana Trautmann (Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel) Language Use by Diplomats at the Court of the Russian Emperor Peter III (1762)

Panel / *Session* 294, 'Diplomacy, Diplomats, and Language Choice in Eighteenth-Century Europe 2'.

Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vladislav Rjéoutski (German Historical Institute in Moscow)

The analysis of the correspondence of the diplomats at the Russian court in 1762 offers various insights into their language use. French was by no means the first and only language they used. In correspondence with Russian court members, French and German were the main options because most of the diplomats did not have a knowledge of Russian. This sometimes created a barrier that complicated their work. They complained about Russian courtiers only understanding Russian. On the other hand, the French Minister Breteuil was criticized and even misled because he did not understand German or Russian.

The language choice in their correspondence with their home courts differed depending on national linguistic policies. For example, the Prussian and the Austrian minister used both French and German, in variable proportions which were mainly dependent on the addressee. In the Prussian correspondence, French played a leading part although the Prussian minister was not completely fluent in the language as one can discern in his letters. The Austrian minister used French only in his correspondence with the emperor. Reasons for this will be closely analyzed in the paper.

Maxime Triquenaux (Université de Lyon - Lyon 2) Genre, masculinités, « culture du viol » : des concepts utiles pour comprendre l'identité sexuée libertine ?

Panel / *Session* 62, 'Violence(s) et constructions identitaires de sexe et de genre 1 : L'identité de sexe/genre au prisme des transformations sociales'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean-Christophe Abramovici (Sorbonne Université)

Si le genre est parvenu, tant bien que mal, à gagner une légitimité académique suffisante pour devenir un champ d'investigation désormais relativement accepté dans la discipline littéraire, il n'en est pas forcément de même avec d'autres concepts qui, comme lui, cherchent à mettre en évidence la construction des identités sexuées. Celui de masculinité (en particulier « hégémonique »), forgé par la sociologue australienne Raewyn Connell, reste encore relativement peu utilisé. Quant à celui de « culture du viol », que l'on peut définir comme un ensemble de discours et de représentations qui tendent à normaliser, minimiser, ignorer, tolérer, voire excuser ou encourager le viol – en particulier celui des femmes –, son origine non-académique et militante en fait aujourd'hui, sauf très rares exceptions, un outil à peu près absent des réflexions littéraires.

Pourtant, ces concepts peuvent apparaître particulièrement utiles lorsqu'il s'agit de mettre en avant la manière dont les récits dit « libertins » du XVIIIe siècle fondent toute une construction identitaire clairement bicatégorisée entre hommes et femmes autour de la question de la sexualité et – surtout – de la séduction.

À partir d'un corpus plutôt « canonique » de textes du libertinage du XVIIIe siècle, souvent choisis pour composer les programmes de cours sur la question dans l'enseignement supérieur ou secondaire (Laclos, Crébillon, Vivant Denon...), cette communication vise donc à proposer une réflexion épistémologique sur les lectures et les pratiques contemporaines d'enseignement de ces textes. Il s'agit en particulier de s'interroger sur la manière dont on peut s'appuyer sur des outils issus d'une interdisciplinarité large pour proposer des lectures affinées d'œuvres littéraires classiques, et sur les résistances qui peuvent y être opposées.

Linda Troost (Washington & Jefferson College) Old and New in Jane Austen's 'Northanger Abbey'

Panel / *Session* 342, 'Old and New: Jane Austen's Engagement with Contemporary Society'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Janet Aikins Yount (University of New Hampshire)

"Northanger Abbey" concerns itself with temporal change, both personal and cultural, and captures people and fashions on the move. It requires, more than Austen's other novels do, a sense of how British culture evolves over time. Unfortunately, any modern audience will be so aware of the split between our present and Austen's world as the past, that a period film (or even a modern prose retelling like Val McCermid's 2014 contribution to The Austen Project) will have an impossible time capturing this aspect of Austen's book. This paper considers (1) what Austen may have seen as "dated" in the 1803 novel whose copyright she bought back in 1816 and (2) how adapters have dealt with this conundrum.

Jean Trouchaud (Société des amis de Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian) Voltaire as Presented by Himself in His 'Commentaire Historique' and by Florian in 'Voltaire et le serf du Mont Jura'

Panel / *Session* 392, 'Enlightenment Connections'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David Purdie (University of Edinburgh)

A lot has been said about what can be considered as one of the philosopher's hoax. We will try to make a synthesis in order to introduce Jean-Pierre Claris (1755-1794), Voltaire's grand nephew, who is far less known, not to say hardly known, but, may be, thanks to his fables (the fablesfablesonly ones to be remembered after those of La Fontaine) and the song "Plaisir d'Amour". Of course, though he hated persiflage, Florian admired the philosopher who invited him several times at Ferney calling him "Floriannet" and knew perfectly what he owed to this kinship regarding his election at the French Academy in 1788. But what we know about Florian's social ideas as well as his deism let us think that his poem in blank verse (1782), rewarded by the French Academy, is certainly sincere. fables

Caitlan Truelove (University of Cincinnati) Ambiguity and Intertextuality of the Music of *Outlander* (2014–Present)

Panel / *Session* 298, 'Highland Identities 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew McCormack (University of Northampton)

Outlander tells the story of Claire, a World War II nurse who accidentally travels back in time to 18th-century Scotland. In this paper, I explore how Bear McCreary employs music to locate the series in time and space in the first three seasons and how he unites intertextuality with decreased ambiguity via blog posts. While McCreary uses many of the same conventions established in other shows that engage with the past, such as *Doctor Who* (2005-present), *The Tudors* (2007-2010), and *Wolf Hall* (2015), he does careful research and has an almost musicological approach to composing and assigning music for historical scenes, particularly the ones set in Scotland. More importantly, while other composers use period-appropriate music without thorough prior research, McCreary often incorporates music that might not be historically-informed but is contextually relevant to the scene. Ultimately, I argue that while McCreary makes informed choices with the Scottish, French, and Caribbean music, he seemingly takes more care in the utilization of the Scottish music. As I will demonstrate, the music McCreary selects and arranges for Paris and Versailles implies the lavishness of eighteenth-century France, and the instrument representation of the ethnicity of new characters and locales is carefully considered. However, he puts less emphasis on the historical accuracy of these pieces than he does for the music for Scotland. The political struggles in Scotland have always been at the narrative core of *Outlander* and especially in the second half of season two it becomes the setting for the most important event of the second season, the Jacobite Rebellion. Historical accuracy in the music reflects the importance of this event, especially when McCreary employs music written during the rebellion. Additionally, he also seeks to eliminate ambiguity by explaining his musical choices on his blog, while encouraging intertextual readings of these choices.

Olga Tsapina (The Huntington Library) Citizen Theology and Trans-Atlantic Enlightenment: The Case of Lewis Nicola (1717–1807)

Panel / *Session* 386, 'American Enlightenment'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.11, Old Medical School.

Chair / *Président.e* : Ned Landsman (Stony Brook University)

In 2017, the Huntington Library acquired the manuscript titled "Considerations of the Divine Nature of Christ, as held forth in Scripture," by Lewis Nicola. Born in Dublin to a family of Huguenot refugees, Nicola had been a fairly prominent officer in the British Army and a corresponding member of Royal Society, before he disembarked at Philadelphia in August 1766. In thirty years, he became a fixture in the city's polite society, co-founder of the Medical College, one of the three original curators of the American Philosophical Society, commandant of the city fortifications during the Revolutionary War, founder of the Corps of Invalids, and a member of the standing committee of the Society of the Cincinnati. The Considerations is the only manuscript of Nicola's that has come to light ever since he died, destitute, in 1807, apart from his Revolutionary War correspondence, now part of the George Washington papers at the Library of Congress.

While still in the army, Nicola grew beset by religious doubts and turned to Scripture. His close reading of the Old and New Testament supplemented by the works of William Paley, Daniel Whitby, George Bull, and William Cave led him to formulate a version of angelic or angelomorphic Christology, (which anticipated the theory proposed by Wilhelm von Lueken in 1898).

In 1791, Nicola published his findings in a pamphlet intended to start a further discussion. The ensuing debate involved Samuel Wetherill, Jr., a Free Quaker and a noted chemist, Bishop William White, and Joseph Priestley who had just arrived in Philadelphia. The Considerations, finished in 1795, capped the debate. The manuscript highlights the workings of citizen theology, an important if long-overlooked aspect of trans-Atlantic religious Enlightenment. Conceived in doubt and driven by both soteriological anxiety and logic of academic inquiry, it was distinct from other forms of lay and ecclesiastical eighteenth-century religious discourse and devotion.

Jennifer Tsien (University of Virginia) Why is Voltaire Uncool?

Panel / *Session* 477, 'Voltairiana'. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* :

Linda Gil (Université de Montpellier Paul-Valéry)

While Rousseau and Diderot have received much attention in academic circles during the last few decades, notably in critical theory, Voltaire has become less "trendy" during the twentieth century. He is still considered the preeminent philosopher of the Enlightenment, especially by the general public, but cutting-edge theory of the last half-century largely avoided him. Robert Darnton has recently called for people to rediscover Voltaire in times of despair, but the point of Darnton's essay was largely political and popular, rather than literary or avant-garde. What explains Voltaire's lack of appeal to academics? Why is he perceived as old-fashioned or stodgy? When the majority of people do speak about him, why do they so often take a simple content-based or historical approach to his *contes philosophiques*? Why have his major works of theater and history, as well as his poetry and essays, fallen by the wayside?

I will offer some possible explanations for the decline in Voltaire's image since his peak in the 1930's – for example, critical theory's difficulty in finding lacunae or contradictions in his writings. His meaning is often multilayered, yet too stable for some theorists. For other theorists who derive their methods from Freud, Voltaire does not provide the kind of autobiographical insights that they rejoice in when reading Rousseau. As a polite man of letters, Voltaire rarely refers to his inner life, except in his correspondence.

As a longtime Voltaire specialist, I believe that there is much in his work that can be useful and stimulating for current scholarship. I will propose some possible paths we can take to recover Voltaire for the twenty-first century.

Alessandro Tuccillo (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II) La biographie de l'imposteur Michel Calvo, faux prêtre majorquin condamné à mort à Pavie

Panel / *Session* 136, 'Impostors and Fake Identities in the Eighteenth Century'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Maria Rao (Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II)

Cette communication portera sur la biographie d'un imposteur peu connu : Michel Calvo. Né dans un village de l'île de Majorque dans les années 1720, il est éduqué dans le Collège des Jésuites de Palme et, ensuite, il complète sa formation culturelle et religieuse au Pérou. C'est en Amérique méridionale qu'il fuit de la Compagnie et qu'il commence sa 'carrière d'imposteur'. En effet, dans ses nombreux voyages en Espagne, en France et, surtout dans la péninsule italienne, Michel aurait fabriqué les épreuves de son ordination sacerdotale qui n'eut jamais lieu. Ce faux prêtre enchantait par sa conduite pieuse les fidèles afin de profiter de leur hospitalité, de commettre des vols dans les églises et au détriment de personnes qui lui faisaient confiance. La source principale de sa vie est une biographie contemporaine, publiée anonyme et sans date, qui insiste sur l'hypocrisie du personnage qui fondait son imposture (c'est bien comme imposteur qu'il est qualifié) en cachant l'impiété sous l'apparence de vertu. Cette biographie se base sur les documents du procès qui se célébra à Pavie et qui le conduisit à la peine capitale exécutée en 1763. L'échelle micro-analytique de la vie aventureuse de Michel Calvo permettra, d'une part, de réfléchir sur le l'imposture comme élément de perturbation des communautés, et d'autre part, d'aborder les procédures et les pratiques de la justice laïque et ecclésiastique dans la Lombardie autrichienne.

Kate Tunstall (University of Oxford) Commemorating in the Hypothetical: Diderot's *Le fils naturel*

Panel / Session 263, 'Diderot: Life Stages'. Thursday / Jeudi 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew H. Clark (Fordham University)

This paper will re-examine Diderot's 1757 play *Le fils naturel*, which almost immediately earned its author accusations not only of plagiarism but also of poetic incompetence: in addition to its similarities with Goldoni's *Il vero amico*, the play's main characters, Dorval and Constance, were, respectively, too sensible to manage a coherent sentence and too articulate to be credible, let alone socially acceptable. Today, *Le fils naturel* is still sometimes judged to be 'syrupy and tedious', but scholars have also paid fruitful attention to its generic peculiarity. 'Une espèce de roman', as Diderot called it, *Le fils naturel* is a play within a frame-narrative that opens with an encounter between the editor of the sixth volume of the *Encyclopédie* and a man called Dorval, the remarkable events of a day in whose life he and his family re-enact annually in their home. The fictional status of the play as an annual commemorative performance for posterity of a moment in family history is central to my re-examination of it here. In this paper, I contextualise what Diderot gave his overly articulate Constance to say, and I argue that, when read in context, it is clear that he had her refer to a highly troubling event in France's recent history, and even perform its gestures. The event in question was l'attentat de Damiens, and my argument, that Diderot's play was a public proposal of how France might deal with that national event for posterity.

Geoffrey Turnovsky (University of Washington) Rendering Manuscript Idiosyncrasy into Print in Eighteenth-Century Epistolary Editing

Panel / Session 248, 'Sources and Editing'. Wednesday / Mercredi 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Carly Watson (University of Oxford)

Editors of 18th-century French correspondence, such as Jacques Proust, Jerom Vercruyssen and Jean Sgard, argue that an editorial tradition opting to regularize the idiosyncratic spelling and punctuation of manuscripts, has altered the meaning and affect of the texts, distancing printed versions from the author's personal voice. They share a view of the specificity of scribal writing and of the modern editor's responsibility to recover, via a return to original sources, the forms used by the author in his or her writing.

At one level, their concerns reflect a well-known early modern reality – the basis of the New Bibliographic notion of the accidental –, in which "correct" spelling and punctuation were the concern of printers and compositors, not writers, whose texts were replete with inconsistencies they expected to be "fixed" at the print-shop. Yet the efforts of these editors to find meaning in scribal idiosyncrasies is also complicated by the fact that the standardized conventions of the print-shop were reshaping handwriting as never before by the 18th century. They valorize the specificities of manuscript at a moment when these specificities were vanishing.

My talk explores this paradox, which generated an ideal of the "original manuscript" defined by idiosyncrasies that established the text's expressiveness and authenticity, against the backdrop of an 18th-century "rationalization" of handwriting. Proust and the others critique previous approaches to editing correspondence. But they are inheritors of

an 18th century shift in editorial practice in France rooted in this new ideal; a shift from predicating manuscript authenticity on prefaces explaining how much the editor “polished” a disorganized, eccentric or overly personal text (Perrin, Montesquieu in the early 18th) to the editor’s meticulous rendering of all that idiosyncrasy and singularity into print.

Toshiro **Uemura** (Dokkyo University) Identity as a King/Queen of Hungary: Political Fictionality in the Coronation of Maria Theresia in Hungary

Panel / *Session* 460, ‘Imagined Identities: Fictional Production of Power, Value, Nature, and Nationality’.
Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sho Saito (University of Tokyo)

In the eighteenth century, the political culture in Europe changed dramatically. Court ceremonies played an important role in the political culture of the era, providing a means of demonstrating solidarity between monarchs and the nobility. Court culture and power in the early modern period were inseparable from each other. During this period, one of the most important ceremonies was the ritual of the accession to the throne. At the coronation of a new monarch, the nobles vowed loyalty to their sovereign, which reinforced the legitimacy of the ruler. Coronations were especially important during war because they demonstrated the loyalty of the nobles to their sovereign, both domestically and abroad.

After the death of the Hapsburg ruler Charles VI in 1740, his daughter Maria Theresa was forced by the War of the Austrian Succession to hold a coronation as soon as possible in order to demonstrate her legitimacy and solidify her power. In this paper, I analyze the coronation as a ritual of consensus between the sovereign and nobles and confirm the political-fictional character in the ritual. I would like to explain, based on the ceremonial protocols and articles in the newspapers, how Maria Theresa’s coronation was unique because of her gender, which elements of her coronation were important for her to represent an identity as the “king of Hungary” and how the coronation exposed the nature of the Hapsburg monarchy. By discussing these elements of Maria Theresa’s coronation, I hope to clarify the distinctive image strategy that could not be found in the case of male succession.

Hiroki **Ueno** (Hitotsubashi University) From the Republican Historiography of Politics to the Recognition of the Refinement of Manners in the Civilising Process

Panel / *Session* 125, ‘The Enlightenment Politics of Time and History 1’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30.
Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Iain McDaniel (University of Sussex)

The historicist aspect of the Enlightenment has become one of the focal points of academic attention, wherein “historiography” is the key term. The Enlightenment movement was once intrinsically linked with the French Revolution, itself perceived as the liberation of rational and universal human values from the Ancien Régime, and while this point of view is not entirely invalidated, more recent Enlightenment scholarship tends to pay greater attention to its intellectual succession from the Renaissance humanist tradition, with republicanism providing a good example. Modern republicanism, invented by the French Revolutionaries, is often considered to assume that human beings can and ought to construct rationally justified societies from scratch, independent of their history. In contrast with this somewhat caricaturised picture of French revolutionary republicanism, the classical republicanism — or civic humanism — to which the Cambridge School has paid so much heed is based instead in historiography, the Enlightenment form of historicism. Accordingly, they have tended to emphasise the particular significance of the early-modern period. This implies that Renaissance political thought was more influential in forming the political context during the age of Enlightenment than had been anticipated. Early-modern humanists often made use of ancient Greco-Roman historiography in order to either defend republican city-states in Italy and in the Habsburg Netherlands and Switzerland, or to criticise the absolute monarchies of the Western territorial states. It was not through the abstract ahistorical model of a utopian society, but direct reference to the perceived history of classical antiquity that republican humanists attempted to reform or even subvert the existing regimes. Behind this is a political version of the *querelle des anciens et des modernes*, wherein the modern monarchy was criticised based on historiography, not on the basis of a pure rationality existing outside time and space. Composing, comparing, and

drawing associations between ancient and modern history thus functions as a “speech act” here, which ultimately holds highly political implications.

Cassie **Ulph** (Bishop Grosseteste University) Weekend at Burney’s: Artistic Sociability, Professional Identity, and Remembering ‘D(r)ead Dr Burney’

Panel / *Session 36*, ‘Burneys and Identity’. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Engel (Duquesne University)

Frances Burney’s writerly identity is informed by her early exposure to the professional milieu of artistic London, in which her father Charles was a significant figure and whose home was host to regular gatherings of musicians, performers, and artists. In a poem celebrating Charles’s honorary doctorate in 1769, Burney burlesqued his newly-imposing public character by painting him as Falstaffian ‘Dread Dr Burney’, in ironic juxtaposition with his domestic and sociable character. In her early career, Burney imagined the ‘snugship’ of St Martin’s street as a private yet specialised space in which she could be her professional self without exposure to the specular relations of literary celebrity. After her father’s death, in *Memoirs of Doctor Burney* (1832), she sought to enshrine (and sanitise) her father’s reputation as a sociable man of letters, against which she could define herself as a professional writer of a different and more evolved kind, but still with her claim to authority rooted in her ‘Burneyness’. In both cases, the ‘Burney’ identity – one that combined social propriety with adaptability, creativity, and downright hard work – is something which Frances Burney embraces and rejects by turns. This paper will ask precisely what it meant to Frances to be ‘a Burney’, how and why this concept may have shifted between those musical parties in St Martin’s street in the 1770s, and the death of her father in 1814.

Elise **Urbain Ruano** (Université de Lille / Ecole du Louvre) (Dé)constructions de l’identité dans le portrait français du XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session 344*, ‘Restituer, trafiquer, reconstruire’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Caroline Warman (University of Oxford)

Cette contribution se propose d’examiner comment le refus de la parure participe à la caractérisation d’une identité individuelle, opposée à l’identité de groupe social, dans le portrait français du XVIIIe siècle.

Il paraît établi que le portrait du XVIIIe siècle se distingue par un goût nouveau pour l’introspection, par opposition au portrait d’apparat du XVIIe siècle. Dans tous ces portraits, la ressemblance des traits du visage est pourtant une recherche permanente, qui existe au moins depuis la Renaissance. Le visage n’est cependant pas le seul élément à prendre en compte pour la compréhension de ce genre de peinture. La codification du portrait inclue en effet les composants de la tenue vestimentaire, qui caractérisent une identité de groupe social, représentative de la fonction pour les portraits d’hommes, et du statut marital dans les portraits féminins. Ce dernier aspect est, par exemple, particulièrement évident dans le choix de l’iconographie des portraits historiés.

La mode nouvelle du négligé, qui se développe dès la fin du XVIIe siècle, se définit quant à elle par une absence de codification, laissant un libre espace à l’expression personnelle. Cette expression se retrouve dans nombre de portraits, masculins comme féminins, ou portraits de groupe. C’est une nouvelle identité qui s’exprime par le choix de ces vêtements: une identité individuelle, dont les modalités sont diverses. On retrouve l’exposition d’une idée nouvelle de l’intimité, notamment dans les portraits de famille, qui interrogent la notion de public et de privé, la manifestation de centres d’intérêts personnels, comme dans les portraits de collectionneurs, ou encore une mise à l’écart -volontaire ou pas- des institutions. Ces portraits ne se lisent donc plus comme la manifestation d’une intégration à un groupe social, mais au contraire comme la démonstration d’une volonté d’individualisation indépendante des institutions.

Elise **Urbain Ruano** (Université de Lille / École du Louvre) Comment construire un Monument ? le dilemme de la postérité dans l’image de mode du XVIIIe siècle

Panel / *Session* 462, 'Inventer le XVIIIe siècle : valeurs et enjeux d'une identité séculaire'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Christophe Martin (Sorbonne Université)

Les manuels d'Histoire du Costume hérités du XIXe siècle nous donnent à voir une image uniforme du XVIIIe siècle, sous forme de volumineuses robes à paniers et de petits maîtres perruqués. Leurs sources communes, qui ont modelé notre image mentale du Siècle des Lumières, proviennent essentiellement de deux célèbres publications : le Monument du Costume et la Galerie des Modes et Costumes français.

Ces deux publications appartiennent à un courant général de développement de l'image de mode dans le dernier quart du XVIIIe siècle, moment où le dilemme entre la représentation du costume (un état fixe) et de la mode (vouée au changement) dépasse le simple cadre théorique. Les concepteurs de ces publications doivent en effet choisir une temporalité et adapter leur rythme de production des images, car ils sont contraints par une limite technique : le délai d'élaboration des gravures. Faut-il prendre le temps de produire des images soignées et détaillées, ou au contraire aller à l'essentiel pour ne pas se laisser déborder par la vitesse de changement des modes ?

De la Galerie au Monument, en passant par le Cabinet et le Magasin, la métaphore architecturale qui est filée par les créateurs de ces publications illustre leurs efforts de construction d'un ensemble iconographique cohérent qui sera par la suite assimilé comme une caractéristique française née au XVIIIe siècle, le culte de la mode.

Cette communication se propose d'analyser les contradictions internes qui agitent ces publications et les moyens dont leurs créateurs ont tenté de les résoudre.

Javier **Usoz** (University of Zaragoza) Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in the Parliamentary Debates of the Courts of Cádiz (1810–1813)

Panel / *Session* 287, 'Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in Spain, 1780–1830 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jesús Astigarraga (University of Zaragoza)

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* widely spread in Spain during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, during which the work knew several translations and versions and played a significant role in the debates on Political Economy of the Late Spanish Enlightenment. This contribution to this IESC Congress analyses the presence of *Wealth of Nations* ideas at the parliamentary debates of the first Liberal Spanish "Courts" (1810-1813). These discussions led to enact the first Spanish Constitution, by Cádiz Parliament in 1812. The contribution pays particular attention to the debates on public finance, commerce, and economic development.

Susan **Valladares** (Durham University) Between history and melodrama: George Colman the Younger's *The Battle of Hexham; Or, Days of Old* (Haymarket, 1789)

Panel / *Session* 424, 'Clio on the eighteenth-century stage'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Russell (University of York)

'A jumble of Tragedy, Comedy, and Opera', 'a sort of musicalized history', or 'a mixed drama'; the generic indeterminacy of *The Battle of Hexham; Or, Days of Old* (Haymarket, 1789) makes it difficult to pin down. The play's author, George Colman the Younger, does not fare much better. Notwithstanding recent scholarship on the dramatic entertainments available in London beyond Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and early musical theatre broadly conceived, only his comic opera *Inkle and Yarico* (1787) and Gothic dramas, *The Iron Chest* (1796) and *Bluebeard* (1798) have attracted any real critical interest. Offering a more expansive discussion of Colman's dramaturgy, this paper will argue that *The Battle of Hexham* – an early, otherwise ignored play – constitutes an important experimentation in both historical writing and early melodrama that would influence not only Colman's later playwriting but the early nineteenth-century repertoire more generally.

The Battle of Hexham is founded upon a significant episode in the Wars of the Roses (1455–1487) – the Yorkists' decisive defeat, in 1464, of the Lancastrian forces in Northumberland. But in Colman's hands, this 'well-known narrative of the civil wars', as *The Town and Country Magazine* for 1789 described it, was transformed into something quite different. Blending historical incident with music, legend and spectacle, Colman's play offers an unembarrassedly sentimentalized version of history, whose commercial appeal was attested to by its initial run of 20

nights in the summer of 1789. At a time when the fall of the Bastille began to redefine the relationship between past, present and future, this paper asks how Colman's romantic narrative of 'Days of Old' helped audiences interpret not only recent historical events but the political and aesthetic ambitions of a new, more defiant brand of modern drama.

Enid Valle (Kalamazoo College) Diverging and Converging Identities in the Southern Cone

Panel / *Session 177*, 'Peripheral Identities in the Hispanic World 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Yvonne Fuentes (University of West Georgia)

Cartas Pehuenches by Juan Egaña Risco (1769, Lima- 1838, Santiago) were published 1819-20 in the newspaper El Telegrafo in Chile during the turbulent years of 1819-1820. The work consists of eight letters that purport to be the correspondence between two indigenous inhabitants of Chile's southern region: one is visiting the city of Santiago and the other one has remained

in the Pehuenche mountain range. Melillanca writes to Guanalcoa since the moment of his "strange arrival" to the city. Each letter engages more than one interlocutor, displays political and social identity issues of the natives of Pehuén, and raises questions about "voice" and "translation" in public and private spaces. The indigenous inhabitants, limited to being "eyes and ears," the mestizos, reduced to "translators," and the criollos and Spaniards relegated to active "archivists" and "chroniclers," make up the social and political universe of the fledgling nation of Chile as represented in Cartas Pehuenches.

Ann van Allen-Russell (Trinity Laban, London) Cultural Economics and Music Business: The Bach-Abel Subscription Concerts, 1773–1775

Panel / *Session 53*, 'Music, Reputation, and Commerciality in Eighteenth-Century London – The Annual Conference on Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michael Burden (New College, Oxford)

While the music industry—especially copyright of music – is a key topic today, little scholarly attention is devoted to the production and purchase of culture prior to the nineteenth century and subscription concerts, particularly in eighteenth-century England, are one notable area for further study of historical music business practices. Neglect of this material is not altogether surprising; there is a lack of extant accounts and other documentation associated with the running cost of subscription concerts. Account books held at the Royal Bank of Scotland Archives in Edinburgh that relate to a 'Subscription for a concert under the direction of Messrs Bach and Abel' covering the period from 1773-1775, however, provide a rare opportunity to look inside the books of one of the most important musical business ventures in late eighteenth-century London: the concert series run by two of its most formidable musicians, Johann Christian Bach and Carl Fredrick Abel. This paper will argue that these accounts provide a new perspective and understanding of the economic realities of cultural production and consumption in eighteenth-century musical life, revealing that there were prominent musical entrepreneurs catering to the 1%.

The topic of the production and consumption of culture has been a central theme for researchers of the long eighteenth century (including Simon McVeigh, John Brewer, Robert D. Hume, and Susan Staves). However, these underexplored financial documents will contribute a new and significant aspect to this body of knowledge: the realities of culture production, and how and by whom various forms of culture were acquired and enjoyed. This paper will draw on new thinking put forward by Hume on the buying power of money and the employment of spread-figure ('a basket of goods') multipliers to convey more realistic approximations of value. Hume's work applies this methodology to books, collections of plays, and chapbooks; I will be extending this in a new direction to concerts, and with the existence of the Bach-Abel account books there is an exciting opportunity to apply and test this methodology with one of the most popular of concert series.

Lieke van Deinsen (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) Female Faces; Intellectual Identities. Imagineering the Female Author in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic

Panel / *Session 47*, 'Imagineering: Prints and the Imagination of Complex Concepts ('Earth', 'Violence', 'Author', 'Economy)'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Marijn S. Kaplan (University of North Texas)

This paper analyses how portraits of Dutch learned and literary writers in the age of Enlightenment helped to shape a public image of the female author in the male-dominated Republic of Letters. In order to investigate the historical struggle of women to represent and embody intellectual authority, a significant corpus of female author portraits is brought into dialogue with textual reflections and critical considerations of the depiction of female authority. How did these portraits face the challenge to balance the femininity of the portrayed with their aspired intellectual authority?

This paper presents an overview of Dutch portraits of female poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientists, to show how these portraits – both visually and (inter)textually – formed visual repertoires, constructing collective identities of learned women with a shared and recognisable physiognomy.

Suzan van Dijk (Huygens Institute for Dutch History (Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences)) Russian Noblewomen Writers in International Context: The Advantages of Structured Data

Panel / *Session 64*, 'Writing Noblewomen in Eighteenth-Century Russia'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Séverine Genieys-Kirk (University of Edinburgh)

This paper looks at the noblewomen authors discussed by the other members of our panel, placing them in an international context as represented by an online database used within the DARIAH-EU Working Group "Women Writers in History." This resource, a work in progress, contains data on both women's literary production and its reception: information concerning over 6000 women authors (up to the early twentieth century) illustrates how "dialogues" between these authors and their readers cross boundaries and periods. As it is possible to categorize both writers and those who "received" these texts and also to classify elements within the texts, it should be possible also to draw some conclusions about the specificity of noble status for female authorship – in both Europe (depending on relevant data having been entered) and in Russia.

Michel van Duijn (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) Imagineering Capital Punishment: Execution Prints in the Dutch Republic, 1650–1700

Panel / *Session 47*, 'Imagineering: Prints and the Imagination of Complex Concepts ('Earth', 'Violence', 'Author', 'Economy)'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Marijn S. Kaplan (University of North Texas)

In the second half of the seventeenth century, printed images of capital punishment became an increasingly prominent theme in the Dutch publishing industry. Publishers and printmakers revisited old, often unillustrated martyrologies and turned them into lavishly illustrated books full of explicit executions. At the same time, publishers and writers explored new genres through the creation of extensive compendia of 'tragic histories': foreign language texts concerning crime and punishment that were translated and illustrated for a Dutch reading public. In contrast, the actual practice and severity of capital punishment was at an all-time low, with the city of Amsterdam – the third largest city of Europe at the time – only recording four instances of breaking on the wheel between 1650-1700.

Thus, even as the actual practice of capital punishment had been on a slow, steady decline, the print market overflowed with numerous inventive and explicit images of judicial violence. In this paper, I will argue that the increased distance between the practice of capital punishment and its manifestation in print made possible new ways to conceptualize and evaluate judicial violence. Through the work of some of the most productive Dutch printmakers of the late-seventeenth century, I will show how printed images could reconfigure older or translated textual material, and discuss how the sheer number of new prints made judicial violence a broad visual genre detached from strict partisan or religious readings.

Klaas Van Gelder (Ghent University) 'Un petit cadet comme je suis': Count Johann Joseph Harrach (1678–1764), Jack-of-all-Trades in a European Family Network

Panel / *Session* 205, 'In the Shadow of Big Brother: Identities and Roles of Noble Cadet Sons'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Adam Storring (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

This paper argues that the activities of noble cadet sons should be taken into account when explaining the success of specific noble houses. Shrewd patron-client connections, beneficial marriages, considerable wealth, and loyal servants were important factors in the prosperity of early modern noble families. Nevertheless, as the family as a whole was at the heart of all noble ambitions, it is time to shed light also on those scions that sacrificed themselves to sustain elder brothers, nephews and even future generations. I propose to exemplify this with the case of Count Johann Joseph Harrach.

Although the Harrachs belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy's aristocracy for centuries, only superficial inquiries into the lives and careers of most of them exist. In the eighteenth century, they were particularly numerous but the younger sons and daughters remain almost completely out of sight of historians. The many Harrachs were active in diplomacy, in the army, in the judiciary, at court, and in the Church all across the composite Habsburg territories and elsewhere in Europe. The exchange of thousands of letters was the glue that held them together and permitted collaboration for the glory of the family, even if long distances separated them.

Such a dispersed family network could only be successful if at least one member remained in touch with what was going on at court in Vienna and administered the family estate, enabling other scions to develop magnificent careers, even far from home. Johann Joseph Harrach performed these duties for many years. He inspected the landholdings, paid bills for his relatives, settled inheritances, coordinated lobbying activities in which all Harrachs participated, provided first-hand information from the capital or transferred information from one relative to the others. At the same time, he developed his own career in the army and eventually became head of the Aulic War Council. His letters not only enable us to reconstruct his activities, they also contain reflections about the tension between service to the family and personal ambitions, and thus highlight the complicated identity of noble cadet sons in early modern Europe.

Madeleine **Van Strien-Chardonneau** (Universiteit Leiden) Langue(s) et identité(s): le cas du patricien néerlandais Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp (1762–1831)

Panel / *Session* 15, 'Identités complexes'. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jacques Wagner (Université Clermont Auvergne)

Le multilinguisme a constitué l'un des traits caractéristiques de la République des Sept-Provinces Unies (Frijhoff, 2016). À côté du néerlandais qui se standardise au cours du 17^e siècle, le français, langue du commerce international, langue des immigrés, devient aussi seconde langue des élites néerlandaises et concurrence le latin dans la communication savante et plus généralement dans la communication des élites européennes. Cependant au cours du 18^e siècle se manifeste une offensive contre l'hégémonie linguistique et culturelle française qui trouve de larges échos en Hollande. Même si l'on continue à pratiquer le français considéré comme utile, la critique virulente des valeurs sociales et culturelles véhiculées par le français va de pair avec l'intérêt grandissant pour l'allemand et l'anglais, et la revalorisation de la langue et des valeurs néerlandaises. Dans cette communication, nous étudions l'impact de ce multilinguisme sur la construction identitaire (sociale, culturelle, nationale) de Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp : identité sociale et culturelle, d'abord marquée par l'influence de sa mère Carolina van Haren, élevée dans un milieu bilingue où l'on utilisait néerlandais et français, puis par celle d'un mentor qui consolide ses connaissances des langues classiques et l'initie à l'allemand et à l'anglais. Enfin, à une époque, où sous l'influence de penseurs allemands tels que Herder, Fichte, Schlegel (Burke, 2004), se diffuse l'idée qu'une nation est une communauté liée à une langue, on constate chez Van Hogendorp, une prise de conscience de son identité nationale liée à une maîtrise de plus en plus affinée du néerlandais

Beatrijs **Vanacker** (KU Leuven) Transcultural Authorship and Agency in Cottin's and Charrière's letters

Panel / *Session* 63, 'Women, Books, and Cultural Authority'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rindert Jagersma (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen)

In this presentation, I will explore the different modalities through which social networks, as attested in correspondences, provided female authors with a transcultural maneuvering space, enabling them to negotiate and establish their authori(al)ity as a writer, the latter being inferred as it were from the authority provided by other authors, texts and cultures in the transcultural Republic of Letters. In this respect, I will focus on the correspondence of two French female writers actively participating in the literary scene, both as writers and correspondents, in the early days of the Romantic period, namely Isabelle de Charrière (1740-1805) and Sophie Cottin (1770-1807). Whereas especially de Charrière's correspondence has been well-documented over the last decades, the role played by the diverse forms of "cultural authority" accredited to certain literatures, texts, or authors) in relation to Charrière's own authorial representation has not yet been fully explored. Yet, whereas Isabelle de Charrière is known to have advocated for the recognition of female authorship and intellectual ownership, Sophie Cottin more than once took a rather different stance in her private letters. She nevertheless also frequently measured her own authorship against that of fellow (female) writers, both French and foreign. Their letters will thus be studied as argumentative texts, in which these two women authors convey (in some ways very conflicting) ideas on authorship and cultural authority within their (transcultural) network.

Jennifer Vanderheyden (Marquette University) *Suzanne Simonin's Search for Identity in Diderot's La Religieuse*

Panel / *Session* 366, 'Evolution and Revolution: Identity and Gendered Resistance in Eighteenth-Century France'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Alexandra Cook (University of Hong Kong)

"Sœur Suzanne, la bonne religieuse est celle qui apporte dans le cloître quelque grande faute à expier." (Diderot 1972, 125)

Although Suzanne Simonin possesses certain similarities to Hardouin in Diderot's play *Est-il Bon? Est-il méchant?*, her situation in *La Religieuse* as an illegitimate daughter mainly serves as a reversed mirror of Diderot's play. Rather than being a legitimate member of the patriarchal structures of the church and the ancien régime, she resists them by demanding to nullify her vows, and she manipulates her reader, the Marquis de Croismare, so that he will agree to assist her after her escape from the convent. To do so, she must also convince him that she is a good person who has been made a victim through her forced confinement. However, her gender and illegitimacy place her in a "mauvaise" situation from the start. As the above quote by Mère de Moni implies, technically Suzanne qualifies as a "bonne religieuse" because she brings to the convent a sin to expiate, and thus ostensibly possesses a reason to be pious and devout. However, because it is not her sin, but that of her mother, one could question the legitimacy that her illegitimacy prompts.

This paper will explore Suzanne's efforts under forced confinement to not only navigate her rebellion amidst the adversities she encounters, but also her efforts to re-invent herself so that she may find the freedom she envisions, specifically in terms of her implied decision to be a bad nun in order to not expiate her mother's sin. We will explore Suzanne's quest to find her authentic self, or identity, in terms of such questions as whether she is inherently good or bad, demonic or divine, and what agency her gender (and Diderot's understanding of women) occupies in this search.

Valeria Vanesio (Malta Study Center, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library) *Reconstructing Identity, Rebuilding Legitimacy. The Order of St John and its Archival Heritage after 1798*

Panel / *Session* 188, 'The French Occupation of Malta, 1798–1800: New Evidence, New Approaches'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Cláudia Garradas (Hill Museum and Manuscript Library)

When in 1798 the vice-chancellor Carvalho Pinto was obliged to deliver the keys of the chancery to the French, the Knights of St. John, the oldest military and religious order, didn't lose only their last link with the government of the Island. It was the beginning of a deep institutional crisis. The loss of a permanent territorial basis, the fracture between the central convent and its European periphery, and the internal political divisions led the Order to the research of a new balance between the old and the new world, between traditions and innovations. The forced separation from its central archive and the following dispersion of documents in Malta and Europe completely

redesigned the Hospitaller archival scenario. This intervention aims to prove how the reconstruction of its identity and the redefinition of its political, social and legal profile started from the efforts to recover its archival heritage as a proof of legitimacy and as the only way to build a new system and administration. From a little hospital for pilgrims to a powerful principality in the heart of the Mediterranean, only a handful of men remains with the aim to rebuilt an order, finding a new home in its archives.

Mylène Vangeon (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne) Graver l'identité newtonienne française. L'art et la science entre héritage et inventions

Panel / *Session 373*, 'Lumières et héritages'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gilles Montègre (Université Grenoble Alpes)

Dans quelle mesure peut-on considérer que les sciences, qui visent l'universalité, peuvent être affectées dans leur étude par la question de la nationalité ? Plus précisément, comment un savant français peut-il, au XVIII^e siècle, vivre la double tension qui anime l'Académie des Sciences de Paris dans le contexte de la montée en puissance du newtonianisme et le reflux du cartésianisme, entre l'injonction faite de passer à un nouveau modèle de description de l'univers et l'acceptation du triomphe de l'Angleterre au travers de son illustre représentant ? La querelle sur la figure de la terre en est un parfait exemple. Alors que l'expédition en Laponie dirigée par Maupertuis durant l'année 1736-1737 démontre scientifiquement que la terre est aplatie aux pôles, les académiciens, en majorité cartésiens, tentent de décrédibiliser les résultats obtenus et retardent tant que possible leur impression. Le mouvement des Lumières prône une universalité du savoir ; dans le frontispice de l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert, aucune référence à la France, à une supériorité nationale ou à un savoir français, seulement la représentation simple et épurée de la Vérité dévoilée. Cette Vérité, cette science universelle qui dépasse la question de l'identité nationale est l'objectif du newtonianisme. Voltaire, avant d'être un philosophe des Lumières, était un fervent newtonien. La guerre scientifique se joue aussi sur le plan de l'art. Comme toujours, l'art est un outil de propagande, l'image servant à défendre des idées. Il est d'autant plus intéressant d'en étudier le vocabulaire iconographique que le média de prédilection des newtoniens. L'on voudrait s'attacher à la manière dont les débats qui s'ensuivent concernant une éventuelle identité d'une « science française » au travers du corpus constitué par les estampes illustrant divers ouvrages appartenant au corpus newtonien, au premier chef les frontispices mais aussi des portraits gravés de savants ainsi que diverses vignettes de ces ouvrages. L'enjeu en est de tenter de mesurer la manière dont, dans ces représentations, la dimension nationale et les jeux d'identité afférents sont montrés ou bien au contraire éludés.

Steve Van-Hagen (Coventry University) 'For know, dear Woodhouse, that in these two views / We stand ally'd – rhyming and making shoes': Poems Addressed to James Woodhouse by Fellow Labourers, 1764–67

Panel / *Session 316*, 'The Labourer'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

Before Burns, labouring-class poets who had been sufficiently successful to merit tributes in verse by those from similar class backgrounds were few; the major exception was Stephen Duck, who rose from threshing in the Wiltshire fields to rumoured candidacy for the Laureateship in 1730, inspiring numerous poems from fellow labourer bards. In 1764 the 'Poetical Shoemaker', James Woodhouse, published *Poems on Sundry Occasions* and two years later the more successful *Poems on Several Occasions*. This paper will explore two previously unexamined poems published in newspapers addressed to Woodhouse, in 1764 and 1767 respectively, at the height of his fame – 'Verses Addressed to James Woodhouse, By a Brother Craft', by John Hemingway, published in *Lloyd's Evening Post* in May 1764; and John Jones' 'To Mr. Woodhouse', published in *The London Magazine; or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* of June 1767. It will argue that while being the addressee of such verses was a signifier of Woodhouse's status as a part of a very small group of labouring-class poets worthy at this time of such tributes, William J. Christmas' reading (in *The Lab'ring Muses*) of the poems to Duck makes us aware of some differences between these poems and those to Woodhouse. Duck's meteoric literary and social rise resulted in a sort of race amongst would-be labouring-class poets to claim to be more deserving of preferment than Duck had been (Christmas, p.98). These two poems to Woodhouse suggest that labouring-class bards were no longer simply using their most successful contemporaries as an unabashed means of trying to stake a moral claim for preferment for themselves. The poems to Woodhouse are, it will be

suggested, no less significant than the earlier poems, however, since they not only tell us about Woodhouse's reception and public identities, but also about the changing ways in which would-be labouring-class bards throughout the century addressed their inspirations.

Laurence **Vanoflen** (Université Paris Nanterre) De la violence à l'agency : vers une plus grande égalité dans la fiction (Isabelle de Charrière)

Panel / *Session* 62, 'Violence(s) et constructions identitaires de sexe et de genre 1 : L'identité de sexe/genre au prisme des transformations sociales'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jean-Christophe Abramovici (Sorbonne Université)

Isabelle de Charrière s'est montrée particulièrement sensible aux constructions des normes de genre, de classe et de race. Il suffit de lire son commentaire désabusé sur la « société humaine », au nom de laquelle on voulait censurer le Caleb Williams de Godwin en 1798. Dans cette notion, elle décelait le simple résumé des égoïsmes individuels et leur cache-misère, dans le droit fil de certaines pages du Contrat social de Rousseau.

La violence subie par les femmes – voire par tous les individus, y compris le peuple – dans la société d'Ancien Régime est mise en évidence dans les fictions ouvertes et dérangeantes qu'elle écrit dès 1784 dans le sillage du roman sentimental : grossesse illégitime de la servante dans les Lettres Neuchâtelaises, contraintes de l'éducation des jeunes filles et du mariage dans les Lettres écrites de Lausanne, préjugé du rang dans Le Noble, origine de l'inégalité entre les ordres, dans Les Deux familles...

Contre cette violence acceptée et intériorisée d'abord, ses fictions mettent vite au premier plan l'agency des héroïnes. Au théâtre aussi, elle thématise la prise de parole de la jeune femme et les préjugés dont est victime la femme cultivée afin de les déjouer dans Comment la nommera-t-on ? (1788).

Le roturier, le noble, la femme, autant de mots qu'elle refuse d'essentialiser, tout comme elle refuse les a priori sur le peuple, le bourgeois ou le tiers État dans son roman de la Révolution, Henriette et Richard, en 1792. Ses fictions révolutionnaires travaillent à faire de la place à tout le monde, les « braves petites gens », comme les nobles – et à faire reconnaître l'humanité commune de tous.

Mark **Vareschi** (University of Wisconsin) Inhuman Persons

Panel / *Session* 237, 'Personhood and Its Limits'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Sydney Smith Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jason Farr (Marquette University)

My paper surveys the terrain of contemporary surveillance studies to challenge its contemporary focus on the production of a new kind of subjectivity constituted by data; I begin by turning to Antiquity and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle and the oratory manuals of Cicero to illustrate the manner in which these thinkers were conceiving of human memory in terms of inhuman media – as in Plato's block of wax in the Phaedrus.

In casting memory as a faculty essential to personhood but understood through inhuman media of inscription, these thinkers were setting the stage for the reduction of persons to pure information, a conceit N. Katherine Hayles has argued is at the center of posthumanism. In this paper I explore how 21st century forms of surveillance needed a model of personhood and found it, not in an account of interiority, but in an account the memory of actions. That model is to be found in Locke's account of persons from chapter XXVII of the second book of An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1694). In that chapter, Locke considers the problem of the continuity of the self. Locke finds the answer to this problem in memory. This account allows for a detachment of self (or "person") from body (or "man") – as in Locke's example of the prince who comes to inhabit the body of a cobbler – and inversion whereby personal memories of action give way to systems remembering actions that enables the process of externalization so key to contemporary surveillance.

What this paper argues is that accounts of the "new" subject of surveillance are hopelessly belated. More importantly, I show that the opposition between the liberal subject and the entangled surveillance subject is no opposition at all; rather, under the terms by which even the most celebrated philosophers of the liberal subject – that is, Locke – understood personhood, persons were always entangled, always possible subjects of surveillance, and always not quite human.

Devin **Vartija** (Utrecht University) Individualism and Equality: The Enlightenment Origins of a Modern Faith

Panel / *Session 292*, 'Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Joyce Irwin (Princeton Research Forum)

The idea that all human beings are equal in some fundamental sense depends upon a framework in which each individual is endowed with the right to live and act autonomously. The legitimacy of the hierarchical society of orders and estates thus had to be called into question before the modern ideal of equality could gain authority. In this paper, I explore how the advent of the individual in the long eighteenth century was part of Enlightenment thinkers' broader engagement with religion and the issue of social cohesion in the absence of uniform religious faith. Using Ephraim Chambers's Cyclopaedia, Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert's Encyclopédie, and Fortunato Bartolomeo De Felice's Encyclopédie d'Yverdon, I demonstrate that it was in the philosophes' theories of religious toleration that we can find the logic of equal and autonomous individuals replacing the logic of the hierarchical society of corporate bodies. The framework within which the social body acquires legitimacy was shifting from a transcendental religious one to an individual human one and, in the process, the individual came to acquire a new-found sacredness.

I thereby highlight that modern political equality cannot be understood without reflecting upon the transformation of religious belief and practices in the age of Enlightenment. My paper thus makes a contribution to the burgeoning literature on religion and Enlightenment and the continuities and ruptures between the Enlightenment and the Reformation. Rather than drawing dividing lines between various confessional Enlightenments or between a 'moderate' and Radical Enlightenment, I argue that we can find thin but significant coherence in Enlightenment thought by tracing the intertwined history of defences of religious toleration, the rise of the autonomous individual, and the birth of modern political equality.

Anouchka **Vasak** (University of Poitiers) La morale de la Lampedouse

Panel / *Session 326*, 'Diderot et la Morale 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Odile Richard-Pauchet (University of Limoges)

« Ah ! mes amis, si nous allons jamais à la Lampedouse fonder, loin de la terre, au milieu des flots de la mer, un petit peuple d'heureux ! », s'écrie Dorval dans le Second Entretien sur le Fils naturel. La Lampedouse est le lieu idéal du théâtre moral, seul culte digne d'être célébré. La longue note de Diderot signale aussi que la Lampedouse, île quasi-déserte et fertile, à « distance presque égale » de la côte de Tunis, pays mahométan, et de l'île de Malte, terre chrétienne, n'a jamais été habitée que par un marabout puis un prêtre, de peu de vertu l'un et l'autre, du moins au regard de la morale religieuse. Quelle fonction « morale » donner à cette micro-utopie insulaire, en partie comparable à celle de Tahiti dans le Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville ? Comment intervient-elle dans le projet fondateur du nouveau genre théâtral, moral et fidèle à la « nature », promu par Dorval ? Pourquoi la Lampedouse, auquel Jaucourt consacre un petit article dans l'Encyclopédie (LAMPEDOUSE, ou LAMPADOUSE, (Géog.), vol. IX, 1765) intéresse-t-elle les philosophes ? S'il y a, esquissée par Diderot, une morale de la Lampedouse, est-elle encore audible aujourd'hui, à l'heure où, « au milieu des flots de la mer », des milliers d'êtres humains cherchent à gagner par Lampedusa l'Eldorado (Laurent Gaudé) européen ?

Asta **Vaškeliënė** (Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore) Identity Formation in the Latin Occasional Literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 234*, 'Origins and Identities'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : David Alvarez (DePauw University)

Based on the educational principle of Jesuit humanism and written mostly in the academic environment, Latin occasional literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 18th c. accumulated the tradition of the Classical Antiquity and was built upon the models and forms of expression of Renaissance and Baroque authors. It was also closely connected to the history and realities of the country: reflected the essential events of its social, cultural and religious life, and was dedicated to the heroes of these events.

The topics of external circumstances related to the glorified person played a significant role in construction of the dedicatee's picture. Apart from other things, it also covered the national mythology, abundant and often romanticized historical digressions, which were applied to reveal the merits of a given family.

The myth of Palemonas performed an important function in the Latin occasional literature. The narrative of this legendary tale was related to Rome and Romans, i.e. the Quirinus nation. This mythological tope naturally matched with the panegyric feature, essential in the occasional literature works. The epithet Palaemonicus as *locus communis* was widely used in recording the family genealogies, applied to descriptions of lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Vilnius, as well as to cultural connection of characters of the Antiquity myths.

Although there are just a few cases of direct mentioning of the legend on the foundation of Vilnius City, one of the most popular descriptions of Vilnius at the time was related to Gediminas, the main character of the legend: the capital city of the GDL was referred to as the *Urbs Gediminia*, *Gediminia moenia*, *Gediminia porta*. National mythology and history were two most important tools in formation of the national identity, and – it is important to note – they were used in literary works written in other than Lithuanian languages and did not lose their relevance up to the very end of the 18th century.

Constantine **Vassiliou** (University of Toronto) A Liberal Art for the Commercial World: Moderation in the Political Thought of Montesquieu and Adam Ferguson

Panel / *Session 328*, 'Economics and Commerce'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.15, Old Medical School.
Chair / *Président.e* : Felicia Gottmann (Northumbria University)

It is commonly understood among scholars that commercial England was the superlative model that informed Montesquieu theory of moderation. England's institutional complexity helped restrain political actors' naturally despotic tendencies, and accommodated the exigencies of modern commerce, itself an important source of moderation in political and social life. Such accounts omit an important consideration that shaped Montesquieu's idea of political moderation, later echoed in the works of Adam Ferguson. Both thinkers feared that unfettered commerce could lead to a new form of despotism; despite it being a source of moderation, commerce itself needed to be moderated. Yet, the bases of their concerns differed. Whereas Montesquieu bemoaned some of the self-interested aspects of modern commercial activity, Ferguson was primarily concerned with how specialization vitiates the active spirit that animates citizens to meaningfully pursue their private and public endeavours. Both thinkers accept the possibility of multiple intermediate positions between fully embracing a classical republican or a commercially grounded vision of politics. They show readers that one does not need to jump directly from Rome to the Mandevillian beehive; but the means by which their theories accommodate virtue differ. Whereas Ferguson's vision evokes the institutionalized rivalry and dissension observable in the ancient republics, Montesquieu draws lessons from the feudal constituents of honour for maintaining a sociable spirit among citizens. In examining these hinge-points in their theories, this paper enucleates a facet of Montesquieu and Ferguson's moderation that is derivative neither of intellectual nor of instrumental virtue. It is grounded on social contingency, but without a teleological end which animates the commercial virtues. Moderation emerges as a liberal art, which relies on the existence of a dignified civic space that nourishes citizens' sense of interpersonal magnanimity, and frees them from their most inward-looking passions.

Daniele **Vecchiato** (King's College London) Staging the Law: The Vehmic Court Motif in German Plays of the Late Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 181*, 'Representations of Legal Practices and the Law in the Age of Goethe'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Tatiana Korneeva (Freie Universität Berlin)

The motif of the Vehmic Court (*Vehmgericht*) – a medieval secret tribunal – enjoyed a remarkable popularity in German literature of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. From 1773, the year of publication of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's "*Götz von Berlichingen*", which can be considered as the initiator of this literary phenomenon, until 1810, when the last important work on the subject – Heinrich von Kleist's "*Käthchen von Heilbronn*" – was first staged, a considerable number of dramas and novels incorporating the Vehmic Court were written in the German lands.

The aim of this paper is to present an overview on the development of the motif by looking in particular at his representation and function in dramatic texts. Besides Goethe's and Kleist's classics, the analysis will include representative examples of lowbrow plays containing secret tribunal scenes such as Ludwig Ferdinand Huber's "Das heimliche Gericht" (1790), Johann Nepomuk Komareck's "Ida oder Das Vehmgericht" (1792), and Veit Weber's "Die heilige Vehme" (1795).

Firstly, the paper will try to shed light on the peculiarities and possible interactions between works labelled as 'minor' and canonical ones, in particular by examining the role of Goethe's "Götz" as a template for the development of the motif in mass literature. A second aim will be to define how the literary works handle, elaborate and possibly transform the historical subject, in order to unfold how the Vehme motif was used to divulge historical knowledge. Lastly, a specific analysis of the way in which the proceedings of the Vehmgericht are staged in the texts will help point out to what degree the authors functionalised the historical Vehme in order to comment on contemporary legal practices or even express criticism towards the institution of law.

Eva **Velasco-Moreno** (Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Madrid) William Robertson's Works in Spain: The National Interpretation of Universal History

Panel / *Session* 197, 'Between Universal History and National Histories: Building the Past in the Age of the Enlightenment 2'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Niccolò Guasti (University of Foggia)

At the beginning of 1777, the Scottish historian William Robertson published in London the two volumes of *The History of America*. Few months later, the Spanish Royal Academy of History and some political authorities supported the translation of the book. However, it was never printed because the project was suddenly suspended and paralyzed. Years later *The History of America* and *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*, another important analysis of European History by Robertson, were included in the Index of Prohibited books. They were forbidden even to people who had the prohibited book licence.

The main goal of this paper is to examine the reasons why the Spanish authorities changed their position and why the Inquisition intervened in the process. It is usually believed that the Scottish historian contributed to the stigmatization of the image of Spain in eighteenth-century Europe. The arguments and theses he developed in his books about the colonization process contributed to fostering the Spanish Black Legend. I will try to demonstrate that there was a clear misperception of Robertson's books because of the defensive position adopted by the Spanish political élites and authorities due to the constant and unjustified attacks to the Spanish legacy especially during the second half of the century. The reception and consideration of William Robertson's books in Spain reflected the tensions between universal history and its national interpretation and misinterpretation.

Gerrit **Verhoeven** (University of Antwerp) How to Question a Suspect in Five Easy Steps? Criminal Investigation, Cross-Examination, and Best Practices in the Antwerp Vierschaer (1715–1794)

Panel / *Session* 41, 'Confess and You'll Feel Better! Cultures of Interrogation in the Long Eighteenth Century 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Simon Devereaux (University of Victoria)

Under the influence of Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764) and a range of other progressive jurists, legal practice evolved dramatically in the late eighteenth century, as capital punishments, torture, and other obsolete practices were hotly debated and less frequently utilized. Even before Emperor Jozef II launched his ambitious and highly controversial reform plans, legal practice had already radically evolved in the Austrian Netherlands. For the judges of the local benches, the decline in torture was quite a challenge, as they were forced to explore and develop other strategies to worm a confession out of the suspect. In Antwerp, the examining magistrates tried and tested a battery of new procedures, whereby suspects were confronted with inconsistencies in their earlier statements, incriminating material evidence, faulty alibi's, testimonies of eyewitnesses, CSI reports, and other tools. Emotional strategies were also used to elicit a confession. In this lecture, I want to trace these evolutions in examination techniques in eighteenth-century Antwerp in detail. Moreover, I will look at the links with legal theory and advisory literature to measure their impact on legal practice and vice versa. Crime investigation has been a topical theme in

criminal history ever since experts such as King, Porret, or Schwerhoff put it on research agenda in the '90s and '00s, yet less attention has been paid to slow-burn evolutions in interrogation and examination techniques. Delving into the rich proceedings of the Antwerp Hoogere Vierschaer – the so-called *examinatiën en informatiën* – I aim to provide fresh perspective.

Natalia Vesselova (University of Ottawa) Happy 300! What's on the Menu? *Robinson Crusoe* and Robinson Crusoe in Twenty-First-Century Russia

Panel / *Session 72*, 'Daniel Defoe 1'. Monday /*Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Holly Kruitbosch (University of Nevada at Reno)

In the light of the 300th anniversary of Daniel Defoe's *Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, an assessment of novel's effect on culture is a timely task. The influence the novel had on literature as well as the development of genre of the Robinsonade are well researched. It is also no news that the fabula and the character created by Defoe transgressed the limits of literature: pictorial and cinematic representations of Robinson Crusoe are numerous; they have a recent development in the form of cartoons, manga, anime, and video games. The forms of Robinson Crusoe's and Friday's presence in the twenty-first century world include commercials, advertisements, posters, trademarks, names of scout organizations, restaurants, adventure clubs, and many more. As the novel carried its impact far beyond the Anglophone civilization, the paper seeks to analyze the conceptualization and usage of Robinson Crusoe and Friday in a particular – namely, Russian – popular culture, with an emphasis on the country-specific traditional and modern visions of the characters.

Ella Viitaniemi (Tampere University and Åbo Akademi) The Peasantry, Participation, and Political Identity in Eighteenth-Century Western Finland

Panel / *Session 171*, 'Identities, Belonging, and the Prospects of Participation in Local Communities in the Swedish Realm'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Johanna Ilmakunnas (Åbo Akademi)

In this paper, I discuss the participation in the local decision-making and reformation of the peasantry's political identity in the late eighteenth-century western Finland. I focus on parish assemblies in which most local matters were discussed and decisions were made. The parish assemblies were led by local clergy and attended also by local crown officers. All landowners had the right to take part in these assemblies; also the free peasantry were able to attend, discuss and vote in these meetings. The amount of tasks and decisions, which central government delivered and handed over to the parish level, were increasing during last decades of the eighteenth century. In addition, the importance of parish assemblies grew.

This paper is a part of my postdoctoral research project "Making the rural citizens" in which I examine the peasantry's increased participation by using various source material (e.g. parish assemble minutes and letters from central authorities). The diverse discussions held in parish assemblies reveal long-term changes at the local political culture. I study how the peasantry's increasing participation produced deeper experience of belonging to the local political community and how it slowly reformed their identities. I am also looking at whether a stronger political identity and acknowledged belonging to the local community (parish) amplified the participation and willingness to act together for common good. In the end, did this process change the peasantry's political identity from subjects towards citizens?

Anne Vila (University of Wisconsin) Solitary Identities: Perspectives from Eighteenth-Century Literature and Medicine (France, Switzerland)

Panel / *Session 297*, 'Eighteenth-Century Pathologies of Solitude'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Silvia Sebastiani (École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris)

"Solitude is the infirmity of the mind": so declared the Benedictine monk François Lamy in his influential work *De la connaissance de soi-même* (1694). The therapeutic mental benefits of solitude continued to be championed by many

authors (both religious and secular) in eighteenth-century Europe. However, solitude was also increasingly tied to mental disorder, for reasons that included the widespread emphasis on sociability and social engagement, alarm over self-secluding activities like masturbation and overstudy, and suspicion towards claustal institutions like the convent.

After considering the topos of studious and non-studious retreat in selected literary works of the French Enlightenment, I will examine how solitude was medicalized—a development tied to the growing importance of the passions, the imagination, and nerves as topics of hygiene and disease theory. This part of my talk will focus on two Swiss physicians: Dr. Johann-Georg Zimmermann, the Enlightenment's most famous theoretician of the benefits and dangers of solitude for the psyche; and his Francophone compatriot Samuel-Auguste Tissot, an influential medical writer who (in addition to medicalizing masturbation and overstudy) acted as the main conduit for the dissemination in French of Zimmermann's ideas on solitude and melancholy. Reading Zimmermann and Tissot in tandem, I will analyze the curious analogies they proposed between two pathologically contemplative types: the overly zealous scholar and the religious zealot. I will end by considering how retreat, or isolation vis-à-vis society, factored into medical and literary depictions of the Jansenist convulsionaries—the group that embodied fanatical devotion most notoriously from the 1730s to the end of the century (indeed, well into the nineteenth century).

Charles **Vincent** (Université de Kyoto) Fiction politique et personnages collectifs dans *La Destruction de la Ligue* (1782) de Mercier

Panel / *Session* 318, 'Théâtre et théâtralité'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.09, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ana Luiza Reis Bedê (Universidade de São Paulo)

La Réduction de la Ligue (1782) est une pièce de théâtre de Louis Sébastien Mercier qui lui a valu de poursuivre l'exil dans lequel il se trouvait déjà. La Préface en particulier fait un éloge appuyé de la guerre civile pour régénérer la nation. Or l'un des personnages principaux de cette préface, qui oscille entre discours et narration, est le peuple, tandis que paradoxalement, ce dernier est quasiment absent de la pièce qui suit comme protagoniste, relégué la plupart du temps à un objet de discours. Nous voudrions nous interroger à travers le cas particulier de la pièce de Mercier sur l'existence paradoxale de cet être de papier qu'est le « personnage collectif » avant la Révolution française, en comparant le dispositif dramatique à celui de la préface. Pour se faire, nous mobiliserons des outils linguistiques (métaphore et métonymie) mais aussi narratologiques (discours et récit) et dramaturgiques (personnage, scène) pour repenser la mise en fiction de l'histoire politique des idées. Nous voudrions débattre, se faisant, de certaines propositions de Ricoeur sur l'identité narrative et la notion de personnage qui l'accompagne. L'enjeu sera de saisir la spécificité du collectif dans les représentations politiques et sociales et la narrativité inhérente à sa réduction à un personnage.

Corrado **Viola** (Università di Verona) L'invention de l'identité culturelle italienne et étrangère dans la querelle sur le « goût présent » (1780–1786)

Panel / *Session* 272, 'Identités italiennes'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.06, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura Colombo (Università degli Studi di Verona)

Reprenant une initiative similaire de l'Académie de Berlin de 1775 sur la « décadence du goût » (*Verfall des Geschmacks*), l'Académie royale de Mantoue lança en 1781 et 1783 un concours sur le thème du « goût présent des belles lettres en Italie ». Il y eut de discussions articulées de critiques militantes, participées par hommes de lettres italiens et étrangers (I. Pindemonte, S. Bettinelli, F.M. Colle, M. Borsa, G.B. Garducci De Velo, C. Sibiliato, M. Cesarotti, G. Tiraboschi, les anciens jésuites espagnols E. Arteaga, J. Andrés et F.- X. Llampillas, etc.). Le débat portait sur des questions très importantes, telles que l'influence d'autres cultures européennes sur l'italien, les Lumières, la traduction des littératures étrangères modernes, l'influence des langues européennes sur le « génie de la langue » italienne, l'héritage gréco-latin, les nouvelles tendances dans le domaine littéraire (« néoclassicisme », « preromanticismo »), donnant ainsi lieu à des tentatives très intéressantes de définir le « goût » national dans la dialectique avec d'autres traditions culturelles, en particulier la française et l'anglais: un véritable examen de conscience par la culture italienne, qui marque un point ferme dans la réflexion sur l'identité nationale par rapport aux cultures contemporaines européennes. L'homme de lettres mantouan Matteo Borsa, par exemple, qui remporta le concours avec la dissertation *Del gusto presente in letteratura italiana* (1784), identifia de façon emblématique trois

«vices» récents de la culture nationale importés par contagion de l'étranger: «neologismo straniero», «filosofismo enciclopédico» et «confusione dei generi». L'homme de lettres Garducci De Velo publia en 1786 le traité-pamphlet *Del carattere nazionale del gusto italiano e di quello di certo gusto dominante in letteratura straniera*. Au contraire, Ippolito Pindemonte et Melchiorre Cesarotti défendirent le cosmopolitisme comme un caractère nécessaire du siècle

Pieter **Vlaardingerbroek** (Utrecht University) From Dutch Design to British Identity: The Temple of Concord and Victory in Stowe Garden

Panel / *Session 244*, 'Reconstructing Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Country Estate'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.16, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Taylor (The Open University)

Stowe Garden belongs to the most important gardens of England. In the eighteenth century, both English and foreign tourists visited the site and commented on its beauty. Many guides of the property appeared explaining the buildings scattered across this epitome of English garden design. The many editions of J. Seeley's *Stowe: a Description of the House and Gardens* describe the Lorrain-inspired landscape covered with temples and pavilions of classical beauty. Despite the fact that the garden underwent many changes throughout the eighteenth century, all of the buildings were constructed in a classical design, either in the purest Antique or Palladian forms, or in other styles like Gothic and Chinese. Most were designed by architects of renown, such as Sir John Vanbrugh, William Kent, James Gibbs or Giambattista Borra, but others were designed by the owners of the estate. Richard Grenville, later 2nd Earl Temple, most probably designed the Grecian Temple at Stowe in 1749, which was renamed the Temple of Concord and Victory in 1763, celebrating English victory in the Seven Years War. This purely classical structure in the Ionic order was, according to Seeley, modelled after the *Maison Carrée* in Nîmes, exactly copying its measurements. However, the *Maison Carrée* is in the Corinthian order and lacks a sculpted tympanum and crowning statuary. At Stowe a tympanum was added representing the four continents bringing their treasures to Britannia as well as a statue on top of the pediment representing Peace, all executed by the Antwerp-born sculptor Peter Scheemaker. He most probably adapted the designs from the seventeenth-century Amsterdam Town Hall, which was designed by the Antwerp sculptor Artus Quellinus. Scheemaker made them suitable for the British context by replacing Amsterdam with Britannia. Curiously, this means Stowe Garden, which to a large extent glorifies the British monarchy, draws from the most important political structure of the Dutch Republic.

Konstantinos **Vlavis** (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) Shaping the Greek Nation in the Late Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session 196*, 'Balkan Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Maria Baramova (St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia)

The Greek Enlightenment was inextricably linked to the ideology of Greek nationalism during the last two decades of the 18th century. In this paper, I explore the work of three intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment: Daniel Philippides and Grigorios Konstantas who co-authored *Modern Geography* (1791), as well as Rigas Velesinlis who wrote the *New Political Administration* (1798). I focus my interest in the ways they handled the shaping of Greek national identity during that time.

More specifically, I look at the problem of transitioning from a traditional, multilingual, multiethnic Ottoman millet to a modern nation state. This transition involved, or rather demanded, the revisiting of existing identities and the construction of new ones, and gave rise to fundamentally different approaches regarding the issue of their delineation.

According to Philippides and Konstantas, the modern Greek nation had to be based on the Greek language and orthodox christianity. It was, however, also seen as a work in progress, a cultural and political body that could incorporate populations with divergent linguistic and racial backgrounds.

Velesinlis on the other hand took a different approach. In his opinion, the different ethnic groups of the Ottoman empire should be equal parts of a unified Greek kingdom that would contain most of the Balkans and Asia Minor. The

nation would be Greek, with Greek as its official language, and the several constituent groups would be clearly separated from each other. They would retain their cultural identity within the larger national body.

Although there are many ways to approach these two very divergent conceptualizations of national identity, I'm inclined to view them as different strategies of accommodating the diversity of the traditional millet system in the newfound unity of the nation.

Sabine **Volk-Birke** (Universität Halle-Wittenberg) Closets, Chapels, Churches: Sung Hymns in Secular and Sacred Spaces

Panel / *Session* 152, 'Shaping Sacred Space in the Enlightenment 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Laura M. Stevens (University of Tulsa)

The hymn as a form of devotional poetry is a respected 18th century genre, written and read by men and women. The sung hymn as part of a liturgical event, however, is a bone of great contention. While dissenting communities actively promoted its use by their congregations, the Church of England, allowing hymns in private worship, Foundling Hospitals or Sunday Schools, objected to them in divine service on the grounds of their lack of biblical tradition, their individuality of expression, and their association with secular tunes. Within this contest over the appropriate space for hymn singing, there is a gender struggle embedded. In contrast to the great number of women hymn authors, most English hymn collections used in chapels and later in churches are dominated by male contributors (with Watts, Wesley, Doddridge, and Newton among the most frequent). The paper analyses the way in which Presbyterian minister Andrew Kippis' very popular collection (Andrew Kippis and Abraham Rees, *A Collection of Hymns and Psalms for Public and Private Worship*, London 1795, 2nd ed. 1797, 3rd 3d. 1804), which included hymns by female poets like Anna Steele, Anna Letitia Barbauld, Elizabeth Singer Rowe, and Elizabeth Carter, shortened and censored some of them to tailor them to what the editor considered appropriate for the sacred space of the church during divine service.

Yvonne **Völkl** (University of Graz) Imagined Gender Communities in the French and Spanish Spectator Press

Panel / *Session* 279, 'Real and Fictitious Identities in Relation to Political, Social, and Cultural Spaces in the European 'Spectators' 1'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Angela Fabris (University of Klagenfurt)

To the same degree as nations have been identified as 'imagined communities' (Anderson), the female and male bourgeois identities – established through a binary, hierarchical gender model in the 18th century – can be understood as 'imagined gender communities'. In both cases of community building, communicative networks play a central role in the development and dissemination of common norms, values and practices within groups in order to create a (national or gendered) sense of community or of difference. One of such networks functioning as a vehicle of social standardisation is the Spectator Press which existed in all over Europe throughout the 18th century. The Spectators establish a system of degrees of 'normality' (cf. Foucault 1977) which facilitates the formation of a collective female and male identity, i.e. the image that builds a group of itself and with which its members identify (cf. Assmann 1992). Once read and internalized, the female and male readers, constituting the emerging bourgeois society, reform themselves through the self-discipline of the educated mind and through the adaptation to social norms.

The following contribution will address the narrative techniques which enable the Spectator Press to play a prominent role in the dissemination of collective bourgeois female and male identities and the formation of 'imagined gender communities'.

Natalia **Voloshkova** (Dragomanov National Pedagogical University, Kiev, Ukraine) Britishness, Otherness, and Loneliness: Catherinian Petersburg through the Eyes of a British Lady

Panel / *Session* 192, 'Women, Identities, and Travel in Eighteenth-Century Europe'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Sutapa Dutta (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla / Gargi College, University of Delhi)

This paper introduces a previously unpublished journal written by a British lady during her residence in St. Petersburg. The manuscript journal presents a valuable eighteenth-century document which provides first-hand evidence of the imperial city and its inhabitants – from royals to serfs. Not intended for publication, it conveys the author's observations and thoughts, her attempts 'to catch the true Characters of those we are living among'. The paper provides an overview of the journal, locates it in the corpus of eighteenth-century British writing on Russia, and analyses its contents as throwing light upon general concepts of gender, national identities, and travel, as well as personal experiences, including loneliness.

Nataliia **Voloshkova** (Dragomanov National Pedagogical University) Gaining Authority in the Bluestocking Circle: Mary Hamilton's Connections, Intermediacy, and Sociability

Panel / *Session* 111, 'Learned Ladies'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Williams (Northumbria University)

This paper aims at situating Mary Hamilton (1756-1816) within the bluestocking coterie in the 1780s and defining her status in the vibrant intellectual environment. The accomplished young woman who actively attended the bluestocking parties and befriended the renowned women and men of the day managed to gain a high profile in the creative and intellectual community, yet authored no work in print. This paper examines Hamilton's diaries and correspondence which offer a range of insights into the strategies Hamilton employed to strengthen her standing in the circle. It focuses on Hamilton's strong social skills and networking which were central to her bluestocking identity.

Rotraud **von Kulesa** (Augsburg University) Giustiniana Wynne Orsini v. Rosenberg : Pièces morales et sentimentales (1785)

Panel / *Session* 166, 'Écriture de soi et formation des identités féminines 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Catriona Seth (All Souls College, Oxford University)

L'auteure cosmopolite vénitienne Giustiniana Wynne, comtesse Orsini v. Rosenberg (1737-1791), est née le 21 janvier 1737 à Venise, de père anglais et de mère vénitienne. Giustiniana a passé son enfance à Venise, une période dont nous n'avons que peu d'informations. À la suite du décès du père, en 1751, la mère de Giustiniana, soucieuse de la réputation de sa fille, part en octobre 1758 avec ses filles pour un voyage à travers l'Europe qui les mène d'abord à Paris et ensuite à Londres. Durant tout le voyage, la jeune fille entretient un échange épistolaire avec son amant vénitien dans lequel elle lui raconte minutieusement ses rencontres avec de nombreux prétendants qui la courtisent de manière plus au moins polie et lui proposent soit leur protection soit le mariage, comme c'est le cas d'Alexandre La Riche de la Pouplinière (1693-1762). Son œuvre littéraire, entièrement écrite en français, comporte entre autres un roman de mœurs intitulé «Les Morlaques» (1788), qui a fait sa renommée comme auteure. Elle publie, en 1785, à Londres, ses «Pièces morales et sentimentales». Dans cet ouvrage, qui fera l'objet de cette intervention, Giustiniana Wynne donne maintes réflexions d'empreinte personnelle, qui s'inspirent de sa propre vie et de ses intérêts. Dans la lettre préfacielle qu'elle adresse à sa nièce, Maria-Augusta Wynne, l'écrivaine développe ainsi ses idées par rapport au statut et à l'identité d'auteure. Ses réflexions témoignent de l'intérêt qu'elle porte à la condition féminine, aux rapports entre les sexes et aux questions de sociabilité. Dans le chapitre intitulé 'Mes premiers voyages', Wynne fait le récit de ses rapports avec Andrea Memmo et de ses séjours à Paris et à Londres qui suivent leur relation illégitime. Contrairement à ce que nous apprenons de son échange épistolaire avec l'amant, publié par Nancy K. Isenberg, cette période de sa vie est quelque peu embellie dans ses «Réflexions morales» et donne matière de réflexion sur les âges de la vie d'une femme ; un sujet qui est d'ailleurs récurrent dans cet ouvrage.

Rebekka **von Mallinckrodt** (University of Bremen) Slavery in the Holy Roman Empire: Legal Concepts and Case Studies

Panel / *Session* 394, 'German Slavery 1: Legal Problems, Legal Cases, and the Struggle for Identity'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Diana Paton (University of Edinburgh)

The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation is usually perceived neither as a slave-holding state nor as a state where slaves lived, all the more as the countries of the Old Empire had only very limited colonial holdings and a slave trading company just for a short period of time. Still, German envoys, merchants, missionaries, and soldiers brought back trafficked people with them whom they had bought as slaves in other European countries or colonies, and thus confronted German administrations and jurisdictions with the question of the legal status of these persons. In the proposed paper I will present several case studies from 18th century Germany in which the slave status was explicitly confirmed. I will also be discussing legal traditions and contemporary notions that document an acceptance of slavery and an application of the legal concept of slavery in the Holy Roman Empire beyond the individual case. Although geographically at the margins of the transatlantic slave trade, 18th century Germany in this way was deeply embedded in Atlantic history

Georgia **Vullingsh** (University of Edinburgh / National Museums Scotland) **Rebellious Women: The Material Culture of Jacobite Women**

Panel / *Session* 335, 'Jacobite Material Culture'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vicky Coltman (University of Edinburgh)

This paper will explore the way in which women took part in and expressed their loyalty to the Stuart cause between 1716 and 1766. The existing historiography largely suggests that women who were involved in Jacobitism were somehow stepping outside of the constrictions of their gender. An examination of Jacobite women's use of what can be considered particularly feminine material culture, and their involvement in networks of exchange, reveals that most women took part in the politics of Jacobitism in a way which conformed to eighteenth-century gender norms. Jacobite women's material culture should not, however, be considered any less 'political' because of this.

Renée **Vulto** (Ghent University) **Constructing Identities in Song and Collective Singing Practices: Political Songs in Eighteenth-Century Netherlands**

Panel / *Session* 154, 'Songs and Singers'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Annika Windahl Ponten (Uppsala University)

Singing songs together was a common activity in the early modern Netherlands. At events and festivities, at work and in the pub – everywhere people were singing. Yet, songs were not solely a form of entertainment. Research on European political song cultures of that period has indicated that a key aspect of such songs was to evoke feelings of collectivity and unity – especially in times of instability. During the late eighteenth century, the Northern Netherlands were going through several political and societal conflicts and changes. In these turbulent decades a Dutch national identity was cultivated in art and literature, although a collective identity was not easy to define in this culturally fragmented region. I will argue that therefore the construction of collective identities – whether local, regional or national – may have depended largely on performances of such a unity in collective practices, such as singing together.

In my paper I will relate collective singing practices to the discourse on sympathy and enthusiasm, and theories of the qualities and effects of music and verse of that time. These discourses often reflected the idea that feelings could be transferred through reading and performing song and lyrical texts. Such ideas inspired 'cultivators of national culture' to write songs that enabled their audiences to perform, and identify themselves with, the community voiced in that song.

An interesting example of a context in which a collective identity was performed and explicitly connected to a national identity, is that of civic militia. In line with eighteenth-century ideals of enlightenment and sociability, they wanted to educate people in the use of weapons. Their marching exercises, accompanied by singing, are a convincing example of how a singing group could become the embodiment of the ideas of collectivity voiced in their songs. Zooming in on a civic militia in the city of Leiden and their songbook *Vaderlandsche Liederen* (1784), I will discuss how these songs

voice a collective Dutch identity, how they were incorporated in the society's collective exercises, and how we can analyse this in the context of the conflicted historical situation.

Jacques Wagner (Université Clermont Auvergne) Une identité catholique à l'épreuve de la Modernité : l'Abbé Grosier rédacteur du Journal de littérature, des sciences et des arts (1779)

Panel / *Session 373*, 'Lumières et héritages'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Gilles Montègre (Université Grenoble Alpes)

Confronté à la diffusion massive d'écrits inspirés par les Lumières, l'abbé Grosier tente, en 1779, dans ses comptes rendus bibliographiques de réaffirmer avec vigueur, en polémiste virtuose, la supériorité de son discours, de son savoir et de sa morale sur tout autre énoncé moderne. Son identité religieuse le contraint à une fidélité dont la répétition est le mode d'exercice permanent et usant. En compensation, il se permet quelques incursions dans la sphère mondaine, qu'il s'intéresse à des ouvrages consacrés à la situation des femmes, à la poésie, ou à la comédie, ou qu'il s'autorise quelques anecdotes piquantes nées dans les cercles ou les salons. Mais sa capacité à emprunter des marqueurs idéologiques variés n'entame en rien l'assertion fondatrice de sa personne : je suis catholique et donc soumis au verbe divin, à l'ordre monarchique et à la tradition esthétique et rhétorique. Admirateur de Cicéron, disciple de Boileau, lecteur de La Bruyère, il reste figé dans une admiration inconditionnelle pour les hommes et les œuvres du passé, de l'Antiquité biblique et romaine jusqu'aux derniers feux de Louis XIV, défendant Massillon, au détriment de la poésie profane de Racine, pour confirmer la supériorité de l'éloquence sacrée, mais défendant même Lully contre des attaques inspirées par des auteurs 'philosophiques', pour son lien avec le Roi. Ses bêtes noires sont Buffon, Voltaire, Diderot et surtout d'Alembert, tous corrupteurs séduisants de la culture antique, catholique et monarchique et tous trahissant l'identité de la France par leur refus de la tradition et la menaçant par leurs innovations irrespectueuses. Usant sans faiblesse et très habilement des artifices de la rhétorique du pamphlet, recourant au ton sévère et indigné du professeur magistral confronté à des élèves indisciplinés trop jeunes, trop 'immatures' à ses yeux pour être crédibles, il n'en est pas moins consterné par l'attrait grandissant pour la modernité et d'autant plus violent qu'il se sent de plus en plus minoritaire et impuissant. Il sera d'ailleurs, à la fin 79, non pas remplacé mais entouré d'une équipe de rédacteurs plus consensuels, ouvrant le journal à un public plus large.

Martin Wählberg (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) L'Espion dans le public: opéra-comique et identité politique pendant la Révolution

Panel / *Session 20*, 'Opéra-Comique and Identity During the French Revolution'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Valerie Mainz (Independent Scholar)

Au lendemain de la liberté accordée aux théâtres, une sévère censure théâtrale s'installe progressivement dans les salles de spectacle d'opéra-comique à Paris. Cette communication prend pour point de départ une série de procès verbaux des archives de police conservés aux Archives Nationales. Ces documents consistent principalement en des rapports envoyés par les agents secrets qui opéraient dans les salles de théâtre afin d'assurer une surveillance secrète et politique des acteurs et des publics. Ces archives sont généralement présentées, dans divers inventaires et descriptifs plus tardifs, comme étant consacrées au théâtre de manière générale. Pourtant, elles portent presque exclusivement sur la censure des salles d'opéra-comique. La communication portera sur les questions liées aux identités politiques, la manière dont elles se manifestent dans les salles, et la manière dont elle est acceptée ou réprimée par la police. Cette analyse sera particulièrement attentive aux manières dont les comportements du public répondent aux éléments qui sont propre à l'opéra-comique pour donner lieu à des faits qui sont remarqués et rapportés par les agents secrets. La communication s'intéressera principalement aux archives portant sur la salle Feydeau. Cette salle, ouverte peu avant la Révolution et liée à Monsieur frère du roi, était, à divers moments de la Révolution, très fortement associée aux courants royalistes au point de devenir un véritable club royaliste. A en juger par les archives qui nous sont parvenues, et qui ne sont que fragmentaires, on peut conjecturer que la police montrait un intérêt particulièrement intense à l'égard du public de cette salle aux couleurs politiques antirévolutionnaires. Quelques exemples frappants de surveillance particulièrement sévère seront choisis pour confronter ces rapports de police aux œuvres d'opéra-comique qui donnaient lieu aux faits mentionnés et commentés par les agents de la police.

Rosanne **Waine** (National Museums Scotland) The Role of Highland Clubs and Societies in the Romantic Revival of Highland Dress, c. 1782–1822

Panel / *Session* 319, 'Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland – Exploring a Major Exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vicky Coltman (University of Edinburgh)

'The Natives of the Highlands have always been distinguished for their attachment to their ancient Garb, which they look upon as a National Dress, peculiarly calculated for mountainous districts, and well fitted for the purposes of war.' – Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, senior member of the Highland Society of London (1813)

Formed in 1778, a principal aim of the Highland Society of London was to end the ban on Highland dress instituted across Scotland in the aftermath of the Jacobite rising of 1745. When the ban was repealed in 1782, members of the Highland Society of London resolved to celebrate Highland dress culture through a programme of club activities and public events. They were not alone in this endeavour. Other Highland clubs and societies formed during this period, such as the Ancient Caledonian Society and the Society of True Highlanders, also sought to provoke a revival in Highland dress culture.

From the repeal of the ban in 1782 to the fated visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, Highland clubs and societies actively promoted the romantic character of Highland dress in Scotland. Such efforts included offering prizes to the 'best dressed' competitors at piping exhibitions and Highland games, the publication of patriotic essays and poems celebrating the 'heroic' history of Highland dress, and the collection and preservation of ancestral 'clan' tartans.

Highland dress represented all that the literary and artistic world saw as romantic about Scotland. As demonstrated by the words of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, the romantic revival of Highland dress culture aligned with popular visions of noble warriors occupying a wild and majestic Highland landscape.

Showcasing new research on the Highland dress and tartan fashion collection at the National Museum of Scotland, this presentation will illustrate how the 'ancient Garb' of the picturesque Highlander was transformed into the national costume of Scotland during the era of European romanticism.

Vera **Waksman** (Universidad Nacional de la Plata) Identité du moi et identité du philosophe dans les écrits autobiographiques de Rousseau

Panel / *Session* 409, 'Rousseau: identités et intimités'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Alberto Postigliola (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale')

Les écrits autobiographiques sont pour Rousseau beaucoup plus qu'une occasion pour raconter l'histoire de ses malheurs. Le récit de la propre vie peut se concevoir comme la réalisation de sa mission en tant que philosophe. Dans cette communication, on présente, d'abord, l'identification de Rousseau avec la figure de Socrate à travers divers topoï typiques de la philosophie socratique-platonicienne dans le premier et le second Discours. Ainsi, l'éloge de l'ignorance en rapport avec la difficulté de concilier la connaissance et la vertu ; la critique aux sophistes et l'apologie de la véritable philosophie ; le sens de la comparaison avec la statue du dieu Glaucus dans la représentation de la nature humaine, emprunté à la République de Platon.

Dans un deuxième temps, on montre comment cette identification change de signe dans les textes autobiographiques d'un Jean-Jacques plus âgé et désabusé. On y retrouve des éléments typiquement socratiques mais inversés. Rousseau n'est donc plus empoisonné comme l'Athénien, mais devient empoisonneur et, au lieu d'être accusé et jugé, il n'est que la victime d'un complot, de sorte que c'est lui-même qui met en scène un accusateur et un défenseur dans Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques.

Finalement, Rousseau semble comprendre que la cité n'a pas de place pour le philosophe et que celui-ci est condamné à marcher seul dans les bords de la ville. Les Rêveries sont, donc, l'expression du philosophe, de l'homme retrouvé qui avait commencé sa mission dans les Confessions, en présentant « le seul portrait d'homme peint exactement d'après la nature ». Le philosophe est donc l'homme de la nature qui a traversé les divers moments de la vie sociale et qui reprend les traits de l'homme naturel : la bonté, l'oisiveté et le sentiment d'existence. Socrate est le médiateur de cette mission et le miroir inversé dans lequel Rousseau se regarde.

Mark Wallace (Lyon College) The Influence of Associational Culture and Enlightenment Ideas of Reform

Panel / *Session* 313, 'Scottish Clubs and Societies at the Margins of Enlightenment'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosalind Carr (Queen Mary, University of London)

During the Scottish Enlightenment, numerous organizations facilitated an intense interest in cultural and intellectual improvement and advancement. The academic and intellectual vigor produced new forums for discussion and debate, and Enlightenment sociability in the form of clubs, societies, and associations became extremely popular. Among these societies were groups which, according to historian Davis D. McElroy, existed as "organizations of learned men who combined for the purpose of exchanging ideas on any subject which was of interest to themselves, to the other members, or to mankind at large."

As the moral reform societies of the beginning of the eighteenth-century diminished in importance, however, new elements of continuity in associational activity appeared and developed. Much has been made about specific organizations, individual members, and topics debated by these societies. However, the term "association" increasingly is rather limited, as it all too often restricts those groups that fall under its scope to convivial, literary, and secret societies. And the articulation of associationalism as a broad movement and the ways in which associations developed in response to particular needs, wants, and deficiencies are often overlooked, ignored, misinterpreted, or expressed in generalities.

This paper will speak to the role of servitude in creating a social hierarchy, and socio-economic patterns of servitude and their impact on the formation of a national identity. Implicit in my approach to these topics are the ways in which various societies advocated for reform and affected social change in Scotland, and the influence and impact of such reform movements.

Taylor Walle (Washington and Lee University) James Boswell, Allan Ramsay, and the Scottish Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 421, 'Boswell between Scotland and England'. Friday /*Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Deidre Dawson (Independent Scholar)

The extent of Boswell's allegiance to Scotland remains up for debate. On some occasions, such as his first meeting with Johnson, he minimizes his Scottish origins—"I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it."—while on others, such as his letters to Rousseau, he expresses a fervent loyalty to his homeland: "Oh, vouchsafe to preserve a true Scot!" While much attention has been paid to Boswell's relationship to Scottish Enlightenment thinkers and his role in the Ossian controversy, I would like to propose that we consider his attitude toward another well-known Scotsman, the poet and lyricist Allan Ramsay (1684–1758). Boswell's journals contain frequent references to Ramsay, his library housed many of Ramsay's books, and, what's more, he socialized with Ramsay's son, the painter Allan Ramsay the younger. This paper suggests that Ramsay illuminates an alternative to the traditional ways that Boswell's relationship to Scotland has been conceptualized: instead of a desire to distance himself from "low" Scottish culture, or a nostalgic engagement with a remote Scottish past, Boswell's affinity for Ramsay suggests an interest in the living, ongoing iterations of the Scottish vernacular in the eighteenth century.

Jonathan Walsh (Wheaton College) Narrative Reflections and Reader Identification in Two Novels by Prévost and Marivaux

Panel / *Session* 226, 'Empathy and Emotion'. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Peace (Sheffield Hallam University)

In the 1730s a dramatic change occurred in the way first-person novels moved readers with intimate, psychologically direct narrative reflections, as Arnold Hauser has shown in his *Social History of Art*. Marivaux's *La vie de Marianne* and Prévost's *Cleveland* are good examples of novels whose narrators reveal their most intimate reflections, anticipating the autobiographical breakthrough of Rousseau's *Confession* in fiction (Gilot). Both offer

insight into how the narrators' self-reflection allows the reader to identify with their thoughts and emotions, which sometimes defy description. But they differ significantly in two ways: the degree of realism in the adventures they relate and the way their narrators invite the readers' identification. The strength of the reader's identification with the narrator of *La vie de Marianne* stems, on the one hand, from a vicarious intimacy allowed by the narrator's confidence in the unnamed narratee, and on the other by candid reflections of her feelings. At the same time, the plethora of seemingly banal details she provides, like the gloves Climal has her try on, or Mademoiselle Toinon's reaction to her dress, create an intimate realism like those of raw autobiographical portraits like those of Rousseau's *Confessions*. In contrast, Prévost's *Cleveland* appeals directly to the reader, confronting her/him with a story of suffering that rivals that of Job in the Old Testament. But *Cleveland*, with its baroque adventures of shipwrecks, transatlantic pursuit, unbelievable coincidences and unbearable obstacles, combined with the naked rendering of the narrator's emotions and unparalleled suffering, creates an odd mixture of fantasy and reality. In this paper I show that the kind of reflections we find in the novels of Marivaux and Prévost, which both helped transform the relationship between author and reader achieved this in very different ways.

Stefanie **Walther** (University of Bremen) 'Hidden' identities: The Pictorial (Re-)Presentation of Black People in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation

Panel / *Session 430*, 'German Slavery 2: Identities, Perception, and Representation'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Wolfgang Schmale (University of Vienna)

In the research literature on black persons and their living conditions in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, pictorial representations have been neglected so far, although there is an abundance of such early modern paintings showing people of colour. The proposed paper is based on a systematic collection of more than 180 paintings of black people, which is an ongoing part of the research project "German Slavery". In particular, the portraits of princes and princesses accompanied by black pages play a central role. The blacks depicted on such paintings are commonly seen as a symbol of the cosmopolitan lifestyle, splendour and abundance of early modern court culture. Therefore, they were often considered as purely fictitious attribute, an artistic convention peculiar to this type of painting. However, the motif of the black servant in early modern portraits allows for a broad and even conflicting spectrum of interpretation, ranging from the "picture-worthiness" of blacks and the lack of ethnic resentment visible in the paintings to the stereotypes of blacks in baroque visual art and especially to the question whether real black persons were depicted or not. Using both iconographic analysis and archival sources from German courts the proposed paper will examine the biographical circumstances, perceptions, and representation of several black persons depicted on eighteenth century paintings.

Sarah **Walton** (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) 'Every Fresh Face': The Metaphorical and Literal Tourist Experience in Austen

Panel / *Session 342*, 'Old and New: Jane Austen's Engagement with Contemporary Society'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Janet Aikins Yount (University of New Hampshire)

The contrast between Emma Woodhouse, whose revelatory travel experience is limited to nearby Box Hill, and Anne Elliot, whose getaway to Lyme Regis only scratches the surface of the exotic travels that lie ahead for her as a navy wife, draws attention to the narrative possibilities in and lived realities of travel in Austen's day. On the one hand, Austen's attention to detail in describing tourist attractions (both fictional and real) situates her alongside other non-fiction, travel female writers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As one of the few public arenas available to women, the tourist destination offered opportunities for writers to display observational powers and deploy setting as a narrative tool. On the other hand, Austen's adoption of travel and tourism as a mechanism for character growth gestures more obviously to the ostensible purpose of the Grand Tour. By conforming to feminized, non-fiction genre conventions and extending those conventions to apply to fictional women's emotional maturation, Austen's novels mark the transition between exotic, masculine eighteenth-century travel and more democratic Victorian tourism.

Yuen Yuk (Liz) **Wan** (The Chinese University of Hong Kong) Rationality vs Sensibility: Sexual Identities of Enlightened Feminist Writers

Panel / *Session* 131, 'Enlightenment Feminisms'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Michaela Mudure (Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania)

The science of man, which was founded on the understanding of the passions and sentiments, constituted an important part of the Enlightenment. From a macro perspective, on one side were Hobbes, Grotius, Locke, Helvétius, etc., who generally championed for the idea that humans existed solely for survival with a capacity of reasoning and abstraction; on the other side, there were Pufendorf's idea of sociability ("socialitas"), Shaftesbury's "natural affection", Hume's "sympathy", Rousseau and Adam Smith's "pity", and so on. This debate on the (natural) sentiments influenced feminists around the time of the French Revolution, such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hays, who were grappling with the tension between rationality and sentimentality, both politically and personally. My paper aims at showing that while both writers were fighting for more rights for women by being logical and intellectual like men, they were also struggling with their sexual identities in romantic relationships. I will first briefly examine the aforementioned concepts, and then explore Wollstonecraft's ambivalence towards Rousseau: she on the whole supports his ideas of sensibility in two short novels (*Mary, a Fiction* (1788) and *Maria: or, The Wrongs of Woman* (1798)) about the feminist heroines' (attempted) escapes from arranged wedlock and eventual gain of real love; but she also subverts them in her non-fictional writings, such as *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). Next, I will analyse how the heroine in Hays's *Memoirs of Emma Courtney* (1796) transgresses social norms by actively pursuing a man, but fails, despite her perpetual efforts to balance between reason and passion; I will also investigate Hays's interactions with both Helvétius and Rousseau in her novel. The social value shift from 'selfishness' to 'sentiments' during the Enlightenment will hence be shown to be both favourable and disadvantageous to feminists. Ultimately, I will try to prove that women's exertions to be Enlightened would not suffice to win them fulfilling romantic relationships or sexual liberation, unless there were more respect and gender equality (which are still inadequate in today's world).

Sijie **Wang** (Justus Liebig University Giessen) Exile from Romance and Reality: Self-Annihilating Mobility in *The Female Quixote*

Panel / *Session* 39, 'China and the English Enlightenment: Cultural Traffic and Beyond'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sayaka Oki (Nagoya University)

Widely acknowledged as an important work in the history of the novel genre, Charlotte Lennox's anti-romance *The Female Quixote* tells a domestic story in which women read about disorderly battles in their well-ordered houses. As the constrictive banality of mid-eighteenth-century England, where deviant behaviour is punished and reformed, prohibits any adventurous crossing of social or gender boundaries, female characters in *The Female Quixote* indulge themselves in an illusion of female authority by psychologically and narratively travelling into the world of romance. As they liberate themselves with the help of romance stories from the normalizing space of early modern England, these mobile women rewrite reality by transforming common incidents into extraordinary adventures. Their frequent shuttling between romance and reality fails to provide freedom, however, as they find themselves thoroughly inscribed by narratives into pre-given plots. Lennox's self-styled romance exiles turn out to be no more than dreamers exiled from romance, who have inherited its beautiful ideals but not its liberating power. As seemingly self-elevating mobility eventually shows an annihilating impact on the self, Lennox's *The Female Quixote* captures women's painful but not always successful endeavours to reconstruct female identities in the age of Enlightenment.

Tsai-Yeh **Wang** (Fu Jen Catholic University) The Establishment of Modern Citizenship during the French Revolution and the Identity Problem of British Radical Expatriates in France

Panel / *Session* 473, 'Trajectories of the Enlightenment'. Friday /*Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Gregory Brown (University of Nevada, Las Vegas / Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford)

This article examines the identity problems of politically radical British expatriates in France, who viewed themselves as “citizens of the world” while the concept of modern “citizenship” was being established during the French Revolution.

The main body of this article comprises seven parts: Parts one and part two focus on the conflict between the concepts of “citizens of the world” and modern “citizenship.” Parts three and four respectively discuss the definition of modern citizenship during the early phase of the French Revolution and the definition of citizenship by British radicals. The new French regime translated abstract principles of citizenship into concrete prescriptions; that is, the French government created a documented citizenship with nationality and political rights—while British radical expatriates in France still defined citizenship in the way it had been viewed in classical philosophy; that is to say, “citizens” implied good and virtuous people. As the French Republic went to war against the first coalition, the revolutionary government made extensive legislative proscriptions against foreigners and defined citizenship on political grounds. Parts five and six therefore explore the definition of “citizens” used by the French government during the Terror and the experiences of British radical expatriates in France. This reveals the problems the British expatriates faced during this period.

In part seven, the article concludes that the main identity problem that British expatriates suffered during the French Revolution stemmed from the fundamental conflict between their classical view of the concept of citizenship and modern “citizenship” as defined concretely by the French government. They repeatedly mistakenly equated their “cosmopolitanism” with the French “fraternity.” Most importantly, this article also argues that current research on French modern citizenship tends to simplify the fluid and problematic issues of identity and belonging that emerged during the French Revolution as well as a complex cultural shift from the High Enlightenment to the rise of European states in the revolutionary age.

Caroline **Warman** (University of Oxford) *Ways of Speaking, Ways of Seeing: The École normale (1795) and ‘Enlightenment’*

Panel / *Session 215*, ‘Oppressive Enlightenment? Discourses and Practices of Knowledge/Power 2’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. Seminar Room 4, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Yann Robert (University of Illinois, Chicago)

This paper will address the way in which the École normale of 1795 was conceptualised specifically as an extension and perpetuation of the Revolutionary government, or, to use its own metaphors, as a way “de répandre sur tout un peuple des lumières toutes nouvelles” [to shed utterly new rays of light over an entire people]. It will further look at the pressures (internal and external) which forced the Ecole normale to collapse less than 5 months after opening its doors. Through the prism of this case study, I will be looking at the extent to which institutionalised education, on the one hand, and knowledge and power, on the other, can be seen as overlapping and/or connected terms. I will also be paying attention to the metaphors and models informing this government’s notion of the process of education, and thus, given the insistent focus on the semantic field of light, to the notion of “enlightenment” more generally. I will subsequently explore why “Enlightenment” is such a monolithic term in eighteenth-century studies, looking at some of the current debates around the notion.

David **Watkinson** (Garden Court Chambers, London) *John Thelwall and the Law of Treason*

Panel / *Session 173*, ‘John Thelwall 1: The Rule of Law’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christoph Houswitschka (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg)

On 1st December 1794, John Thelwall, the agitator for Parliamentary reform, political writer and lecturer, poet, playwright, teacher of elocution and public speaker, was put on trial for treason together with John Horne Tooke and Thomas Hardy. At the time, the sentence, if convicted for that offence, was still hanging, drawing and quartering. Nor, as the law then stood, was Thelwall able to give evidence in his own defence. The Crown had earlier successfully prosecuted Thomas Paine for seditious libel. Paine had fled the country. Thelwall and the others were defended by Thomas Erskine, the greatest advocate at the UK Bar then and acknowledged as such since. On 5th December, they were all acquitted by the jury amidst general jubilation. My paper will consider that law of treason at the time, how the prosecution attempted to extend its scope in order to secure conviction and the counter arguments of Erskine and

Thelwall (not delivered at trial but set out in his work “The Natural and Constitutional Right of Britons”). Questions to be asked include how much the legal dispute influenced the jury and whether Thelwall showed himself the better lawyer but Erskine the better tactician. Arguably the event demonstrates, how legal submission and political activism can interact, a process which continues to this day, e.g. the Greenham Common cases and the Stansted 15.

Carly Watson (University of Oxford) ‘The Songs I Sung’: Mary Jones, Periodicals, and Song Culture

Panel / *Session* 154, ‘Songs and Singers’. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Annika Windahl Ponten (Uppsala University)

Mary Jones has earned a place in the modern canon of eighteenth-century women’s poetry as the author of sociable poems such as ‘An Epistle to Lady Bowyer’. This paper explores another side to her literary identity: her role as songwriter.

As Paula Backscheider observed in her 2005 study of eighteenth-century women’s poetry, we still know relatively little about women’s contribution to eighteenth-century song culture. Using Jones as a case study, I will argue that by looking more closely at women’s songs we can gain new insight into how female poets negotiated expectations of gender and genre; we can also develop a more rounded understanding of female poets’ participation in print culture.

This paper focuses on three songs written by Jones: a juvenile translation of an Italian aria, a mock pastoral song, and the popular ballad ‘The Lass of the Hill’. It is generally thought that Jones’s writings did not begin appearing in print until the 1740s, but I will show that her translation of an Italian aria was printed in a newspaper in the 1720s, in a context that sheds new light on her early life as a poet. I will also trace the literary and musical influences on Jones’s pastoral song and ballad, revealing how she tapped into a repertoire of songs in print and performance that is largely unexplored by literary scholars today.

Patrick Watt (National Museums Scotland) ‘These are the Heroes’: the Highland Society of London, Material Culture, and the Scottish Military Tradition

Panel / *Session* 319, ‘Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland – Exploring a Major Exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Vicky Coltman (University of Edinburgh)

The Highland Society of London was the first of many Scottish-themed clubs and associations which were formed in Britain in the late-eighteenth century. At their first meeting in 1778, members agreed eight objectives for the society which were largely concerned with documenting and preserving the Gaelic culture of northern and western Scotland, and seeking to improve the lives of those who lived there.

One aim stood apart: The keeping up of the martial spirit and rewarding the gallant achievements of the Highland corps’ of the British Army. Highland soldiers were first incorporated into the regimental structure of the British Army when the 42nd Highlanders – later known as the Black Watch – were formed in 1739. By 1800 around sixty regiments of Highland soldiers had been formed for overseas service or home defence. Through their distinctive dress and music, and their valour on battlefields across the world, Highland regiments captured the public imagination and were celebrated as romantic icons of Empire.

Nowhere was this more obvious than following the British campaign in Egypt in 1801. At the Battle of Alexandria the 42nd Highlanders added to their laurels by capturing the standard of the French ‘Invincibles’ regiment. The story dominated the British popular press. In keeping with their aim to reward the gallant achievement of Highland regiments, the society commissioned an elaborate silver trophy to be presented to the regimental mess, and individual medals to be awarded to the officers and men who took part in the battle.

This paper examines the significance of these objects as material evidence of the development of the romantic image of the Scottish soldier and shows how the relationship between the Highland Society of London and Highland regiments was manifested. By setting these objects in both their regimental and wider context, this paper highlights the importance of using material culture to gain a greater understanding of the Scottish military tradition.

(This paper is a collaboration between Dr Nicole Hartwell and Dr Patrick Watt; Dr Hartwell with present on behalf of both authors).

James Watt (University of York) Identity in *The Citizen of the World*

Panel / *Session* 116, 'Oliver Goldsmith's Enlightenment Identities'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : David O'Shaughnessy (Trinity College Dublin)

This paper will consider Oliver Goldsmith's exploration of questions of identity in his sophisticated adaptation of the informant narrative, *The Citizen of the World* (1762). It will discuss among other things Goldsmith's construction of the persona of a Chinese philosopher (and his use of this persona to think about his own status as an Irishman in London), the terms on which his work appeals to a transnational community of the enlightened, and – in the context of the Seven Years' War – the way in which it also offers a largely sympathetic engagement with forms of popular patriotism.

Andrew Wells (University of Greifswald) Freedom, Space, and Identity: Liberty and Locality in the Early British Enlightenment

Panel / *Session* 122, 'Relative Liberties'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. Seminar Room 5, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Joyce Irwin (Princeton Research Forum)

This paper will examine the debate on 'freedom' and 'liberty' in the early British Enlightenment (to c.1760) to establish how far these ideas were bound to concepts and issues of space, community, and identity. The intellectual genealogy of liberty, as Quentin Skinner and others have shown, moved in a number of different directions in the era between Hobbes and Mill but most of these strands of thought posed a common question: whose freedom? Where once liberty had been a matter of privileges granted by a monarch, it moved to be the common 'birthright' of a particular ethnicity, nation, people, or religion. Yet over the course of the Enlightenment, liberty arguably became a 'right' to which all people – with some notable exceptions, particularly women – are entitled. This paper examines English-language texts on freedom from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries in order to investigate these shifts and to ask whether freedom was something that all could share or whether it remained bound to particular communities, identities, and their cultural, mental, and physical spaces.

The stakes of such an enquiry are high. For one thing, freedom in the British Atlantic world was a tangible asset that enabled its possessor to participate in politics, trade, and the life of the local, national, and imperial community. Most people possessed some (but rarely all) of a range of freedoms, and the extent of a person's freedoms depended largely on their sex, ethnicity, religion, and social status. It will be argued that the widespread acceptance of freedom's limits left a hostage to fortune that would later be exploited by the defenders of slavery. The everyday understanding of a liberty bounded by a number of restrictions meant that the difference in the conception of freedom between abolitionists and slavery's apologists was one of degree, not kind, which meant that the only remaining course was to insist on freedom as a fundamental human right.

Adrian Wesolowski (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology) Philanthropic Celebrity and the Structuring of British Collective Identity at the End of the Eighteenth Century

Panel / *Session* 54, 'National Identities'. Monday /*Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Julia de Moraes Almeida (University of São Paulo / Getulio Vargas Foundation)

At the end of the eighteenth century, John Howard (1726-1790) thrived in his self-imposed task to reform British prisons. Avowedly the most famous actor in penitentiary history, he is now considered to be lying 'buried beneath the deadweight of two centuries of hagiography', as put graphically by Rod Morgan. However, the Whig historians who elevated him so would be in shock if they looked more closely instead of neglecting the way he was celebrated. During his life, Howard was not (only) a pious missionary, but a media-savvy celebrity in his own right, crafting his image carefully in order to appeal to the crowds of his readers. This was followed by a frenzy of his fans, who saw a philanthropist achieving such popularity as a sign of the shift in the history of fame, the history in which the Brits were

supposed to play a leading role. One such a fan hoped ‘that this, through God’s providence, may become an epoch in the moral history of mankind; and that, under such auspices, the public man may henceforth become what he always ought to have been’.

Humanities have long considered structural studies as passé and attempts at writing history in this manner as at the very least stubborn enterprises. In this presentation, I intend to be stubborn and insist that we have yet to learn of the structures of significance which governed the relationship between fame and collective identity. I will use the example of Howard and the emergence of philanthropic celebrity at the end of the eighteenth century in order to present how the British elites made sense of the acceleration of cultural change, and particularly how they criticised the rise of celebrity, when offered an opportunity to propose a celebrated philanthropist as an alternative model. In the letters concerning the idea of erecting a statue to Howard while he was still alive (1786-7), fame showed itself to be as much a signal of virtue as of civilisational aspirations of the Empire entering modernity.

Alex **Wetmore** (University of the Fraser Valley) Barometric Pleasure: Meteorological Devices, Mercurial Selfhood, and the Rhetoric of Sensibility

Panel / *Session 267*, ‘Environment’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : To be confirmed / à confirmer

This paper will build on my previous work on the intersections of sentimentalism and technology in the eighteenth century by examining the links between the barometer (and other newly available weather-measuring devices) and the “culture of sensibility” of the middle decades of the 1700s. As Jan Golinski observes in *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (2007), over the course of the eighteenth century, “thermometers and barometers became the most widely circulated accessories of ‘polite science’” (109). In 1700s material culture, acquiring and consulting a barometer thus became a way to perform one’s enlightened rationality, but the barometer offered opportunities for exploring identity in other directions as well. Put succinctly, to own a barometer might be a marker of one’s enlightened rationalism, but to be a barometer became a marker of one’s sensibility.

In the early decades of the century, as Terry Castle explores, thermometers and barometers became commonplace figures among wits for satirizing the perceived “mercuriality” of women. She also notes these devices would later be recuperated and “universalized” by (male) Romantic writers who aligned them metaphorically with the stormy internal atmospheres of the poetic mind. My paper will draw on these insights, but focus on representations of barometers in an array of British writing in the period between 1740-1790. As I will explore, the barometer begins to emerge at this point as a common figure for masculine as well as feminine sensibility and emotional susceptibility in literary and popular discourse. For instance, Eliza Haywood’s *Betsy Thoughtless* likens male passions to a weatherglass attuned to female attention (83). Varied allusions to “my heart’s barometer” (from *The Two Mentors* by Clara Reeve, in this case), meanwhile, speak more broadly to the close affinity presumed between the fluctuations of the barometer and the fluctuating reactivity of feeling subjects. As these figurative alignments of barometers and human feelings become increasingly common after the sentimental turn, the ideological resonance of mechanistic analogies for sensibility shifts in ways reward critical reflection.

Joanna **Wharton** (Göttingen Institute for Advanced Studies) ‘Telegraphic fame’: Maria Edgeworth, Mediation, and the ‘Man of Science’

Panel / *Session 465*, ‘Media and the Mediation of the Individual’. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Anna Senkiw (Mansfield College, Oxford)

In her continuation of *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth* (1820), Maria Edgeworth seeks to substantiate her father’s claim to have ‘practiced telegraphic communication in the year 1767, long before it was ever attempted in France’. She provides a detailed account of his later telegraphic experiments and exhibitions in Ireland and of his lengthy negotiations with the government at Dublin Castle. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Edgeworth makes no direct mention of her own participation in the scheme. She was, however, central to the public promotion of her father’s optical telegraph in the years leading up to its brief establishment in Ireland from 1804 to 1805. In creative partnership with her father, she wrote ‘An Essay on the Art of Conveying Secret and Swift Intelligence’ (1797) and ‘A

Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Charlemont on the Tellograph and on the Defence of Ireland' (1797), both of which were published under Richard Lovell Edgeworth's name.

This paper explores the mediation of Richard Lovell Edgeworth's character in the literature surrounding the optical telegraph. I begin by addressing the performative aspects of the Essay, focusing on the exhibition of literary-scientific knowledge, the use of code and the interplay between text and illustrations, each of which enact Richard Lovell Edgeworth's 'spirit of invention'. I then consider the publication of his correspondence with government officers in the Letter. Here, I draw on Sören Hammerschmitt's discussion of the eighteenth-century 'intermediality of character' to argue that the printing of private letters was crucial to the formulation of Richard Lovell Edgeworth's 'sincerity and openness'. I show that the promotion in the Letter of the telegraph as a political cause hinges on the contrast that emerges between Richard Lovell Edgeworth's character—typified by a disinterested dedication to 'public utility'—with that of John Jeffreys Pratt, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Finally, I turn to Maria Edgeworth's efforts in Memoirs to secure her father's posthumous fame as an exemplary 'man of science', highlighting her insistence on the integrity of his character in private letters and public affairs.

Joanna **Wharton** (University of Göttingen) On New Models of Education and Science of the Mind in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain

Panel / *Session* 341, 'Newness in the Eighteenth Century: Launching the BSECS/Boydell and Brewer 'Studies in the Eighteenth Century' Book Series'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Matthew Grenby (Newcastle University)

Frances Burney famously credited Anna Letitia Barbauld for having initiated the 'new Walk' in children's literature, and many writers self-consciously represented themselves as following in Barbauld's footsteps. My discussion will centre on the educational works of Barbauld, Hannah More, Honora Edgeworth, Elizabeth Hamilton and Maria Edgeworth. While highlighting the innovative contributions these writers made to late-eighteenth century educationalism and their influence on pre-disciplinary developmental psychology in the longer term, I will problematize claims to 'priority of invention' by reference to processes of adaptation, collaboration and appropriation, particularly in the case of the Edgeworth family and their jointly authored Practical Education (1798).

Willow **White** (McGill University) Laughing Comedy: Frances Burney's *The Witlings* and Arthur Murphy's *All in the Wrong*

Panel / *Session* 260, 'Comedy; Morality; Sentiment: Mid-Eighteenth-Century Literature'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Leigh-Michil George (Geffen Academy at UCLA)

Frances Burney is best known as the novelist who inspired Jane Austen, George Eliot, and the Brontë sisters, but she was also the author of eight plays—four comedies and four tragedies. None of Burney's plays, however, were published during her lifetime and only one, *Edwy and Elgiva* (1795), was ever staged. Scholars have focused on the incidents surrounding the suppression of Burney's first play, *The Witlings* (1779), as indicative of her lifelong inability to succeed as a playwright. The play was condemned by Burney's father, Dr. Charles Burney, and a family friend, Samuel Crisp—an act from which Burney never fully recovered. In a joint letter, Dr. Burney and Crisp based their opposition to *The Witlings* on the play's apparent satire of Elizabeth Montague, its similarity to Molière's *Les Femmes Savantes*, and its general weakness in plot, but the intensity of their opposition to the play remains somewhat mysterious. This presentation seeks to further illuminate the suppression of *The Witlings*, and the development of Burney's comic voice, by considering Burney's relationship with comic playwright Arthur Murphy. Murphy was one of the most popular playwrights of the eighteenth century as well as an outspoken proponent of laughing comedy, a rejection of the more fashionable sentimental comedy. At the behest of Hester Thrale, Murphy mentored Burney in 1779 as she wrote *The Witlings*. He gave Burney advice about stagecraft, playwriting techniques, and comic voice. Consequently, *The Witlings* is best described as a laughing comedy, complete with satire, farce, and biting ridicule. Unfortunately, both Burney and Murphy failed to predict how Burney's gender would complicate her foray into this primarily male-driven genre. Using Burney's journals and letters from this period as well as an unpublished manuscript

of Burney's housed in the Beinecke Library, this presentation will consider the significant influence Murphy had on The Wiltings as well as the inadvertent role his mentorship played in the suppression of the play.

James M. White (Ural Federal University / University of Tartu) Religious Ritual as a 'Middling Matter': The Emergence of Adiaphora in Russian Orthodox Thought, 1762–1800

Panel / *Session 273*, 'Intermediate Churches and Confessions in Early Modern Times'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Erica Camisa Morale (University of Southern California)

As Peter Burke once stated, 'if historians shift their ground from ritual acts to attitudes to ritual, then they will have a story to tell which is just as dramatic as the old one told by Spencer and Weber, Gluckman and Shils [about the disenchantment of the modern world].' In this paper, I intend to tell just such a dramatic story about a shift in the attitude to liturgical and extra-liturgical rituals that occurred in Catherinian Russia. In the period prior to 1762, Orthodox thinkers considered rituals as being indistinguishable from dogmas. This was affirmed in secular law, conciliar provisions, and missionary propaganda.

However, with the accession of Catherine the Great and the extension of religious toleration to the Old Believers, the leaders of the Church formulated a 'ritual re-evaluation' in order to provide a theological justification for the empress' policies. This was especially the case in the works of Metropolitan Platon (Levshin), Russia's premiere enlightened cleric. In his works, ritual was divorced from dogma and turned into a 'middling matter'. Thus, the foundations were laid for edinoverie, a settlement established in 1800 that would allow the old rituals alongside the new ones in the Church. The stage was also set for a debate over the value of liturgical rituals that took place across the 19th and much of the 20th centuries. This change in the Church's perspective on rituals proved destabilising for three reasons. Firstly, it destabilised the clear-cut distinction between Orthodoxy and Old Belief (and therefore between orthodoxy and non-orthodoxy). Secondly, in deemphasising the role of external ritual and instead placing focus on a person's inner intent, the Church signalled a shift away from policing behaviour and towards disciplining thought. Thirdly, by placing the locus of religious value firmly on individual intent, the Church unwittingly contributed to the beginnings of the privatisation of religion and thus secularisation.

James White (University of Warwick) Sir William Jones and the Canon of 'Oriental' Poetry: Invention or Continuity?

Panel / *Session 118*, 'Oriental Literature: Identification, Translation, and Canon-Formation'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.10, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Dhruvajyoti Sarkar (University of Kalyani)

The agenda set by Sir William Jones in his studies of Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature influenced the work of many subsequent orientalists, and the poets whom he valued most of all, including Hafiz, Imru l-Qays and Rumi, remain among the most studied in contemporary research on middle eastern literatures. Yet, despite the long shadow that Jones cast over later scholarship, there have been few attempts to analyse the canon of 'Oriental' poetry which he created in his works, or to investigate the assumptions on which it was founded. Did Jones create his canon through his own, intuitive sense of what constituted good poetry, a sense founded on classicising models, or did he use pre-existing critical and historical frameworks in Arabic, Persian and Turkish? What do his choices say about his own brand of Orientalism and about how middle eastern literatures have been studied in the academy since his death? This paper seeks to address these questions by examining select passages from Jones's 1774 Latin commentary on 'Oriental' poetry in conjunction with his collection of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts.

Thomas Whitfield (Newcastle University) 'Decorated with lines in prose and verse': The Peculiar Interior Decoration of Thomas Spence's Shops as Articulations of His Radical 'Plan' and Identity (c. 1782–1814)

Panel / *Session 374*, 'Making Rooms: Interiors, Identity, and Makers'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. M1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Clare Taylor (The Open University)

“This man lives in the dirtiest poverty but his shop is decorated with lines in prose and verse, expressing a determination to carry on this traffic [political pamphleteering] in spite of the laws of magistracy.” This quote, taken from a 1793 report on sedition in London, provides a starting point for this paper. Clearly describing the interior decoration of Thomas Spence’s shop in Little Turnstile, the quote illustrates the connections made between Spence’s living conditions, their decoration, and his identity as a radical activist; connections which are repeatedly made in reports on his activities. Focusing on Spence’s premises in London, this paper explores how their appearance and decoration can be understood to have articulated Spence’s identity and politics; materialising his radical ‘Plan’ into the very fabric of his home and shop and codifying his shops as radical places. It thus explores the central role played by interior decoration and display in the mediation of power relations, political engagement, and identity. These are themes which are particularly relevant in the context of the 1790s when space and place were increasingly mobilized by ‘radicals’ and ‘loyalists’ in discourses of power and ideology; discourses within which decoration and design could constitute powerful statements. The paper employs a multi-source and deeply contextual methodology derived from the approaches of Katrina Navickas (2016) and Martin Hall (2000). Through this methodology, it explores how the interior decoration of Spence’s shops functioned as part of his multi-media propaganda repertoire which enabled him to mobilise and codify his shops as places of protest, problematising and challenging ideas of land ownership and power, core elements of his ‘Plan’.

Nel **Whiting** (University of Dundee) ‘To educate his Son’: Fatherhood and Enlightened Scottish Manhood

Panel / *Session* 411, ‘Scottish Enlightenment Identities 1’. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Paul Tonks (Yonsei University)

Historians of masculinity have lately begun to show that, while men were expected to perform within a masculine polity and socialise within homosocial spaces such as coffee houses and debating societies, home and family life was an intrinsic and important part of elite men’s identities. In sermons, conduct manuals, philosophy, literature, journalism, art and even art theory manuals, the tender father was often conflated with the commendable public man; a man’s private life was a very public concern. Indeed, recent work highlights that paternity was considered a central identity, a ‘key attribute of manhood’. While motherhood was sentimentalised and sanctified, a parallel trend, particularly in periodicals and novels, for ‘sentimental masculinity’ or ‘tender paternity’ existed; the language of sensibility encouraged and allowed men to be affectionate and emotionally engaged with their children.

John Dwyer has evidenced the emergence of a specifically Scottish discourse on human morality which was concerned with the redevelopment of a new, polite Scotland which could hold its own with its southern neighbour. A focus on the development of the Scotland’s youth and the notion of education as moral cultivation permeated the approach of the Enlightenment literati; it was propagandised in sermons, novels, periodicals and, as this paper will highlight, art. In this context, engaged fatherhood was understood as a patriotic imperative.

This illustrated paper offers a close reading of three family portraits produced by the Scottish artists David Allan, Alexander Nasmyth and David Martin. They show men who were consciously engaged with Enlightenment ideas, with their sons. They are studied along with contemporaneous texts and the subjects’ family letters to explore enlightened Scottish fatherhood.

Tyler **Whitney** (University of Michigan) Auricular Deception: Sonic Terror, National Identity, and the Emergence of the American Novel

Panel / *Session* 330, ‘Enlightenment for the Ears: Negotiating Identities Through Acts of Listening in the Long Eighteenth Century 1’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. Seminar Room 2, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Mary Helen Dupree (Georgetown University)

Often referred to as the ‘first American novel,’ Charles Brockden Brown’s *Wieland* (1798) depicts the strategic manipulation of the ear to produce terror and gain control over unwitting listening subjects. The novel ends with the titular protagonist murdering his family after believing to hear the voice of God. Crucially, Brown chooses not to resolve the question of whether the voice is an auditory trick played by the malevolent ventriloquist Carwin, the subject’s own hallucination, or a divine message. As critics such as Leigh Eric Schmidt and Steven Connor have shown,

Brown's decision to foreground the voice and the art of ventriloquism reflected a number of contemporaneous discussions related to the politics of voice in the American Enlightenment and, ultimately, the Declaration of Independence. With these same questions of sound's relationship to emerging national identity political antagonisms during the American Enlightenment and Revolution, this paper will focus on figures of the listening ear and discourses not only on the power and politics of the voice, the anatomy and physiology of the ear and corresponding pathologies, auditory hallucinations, and sonic illusions of space and time. More specifically, I will demonstrate the extent to which Brown's literary work, which includes footnotes with references to scientific journals, borrowed from contemporaneous scientific discussions of the ear in order to reflect on sound's role in an aesthetics and politics of terror during a crucial and unstable time in early American history. To outline Brown's sonic aesthetics of terror, I will analyze how literary representations of what the novel terms "auricular deception" drew on early work in physiology and medical science such as Albrecht von Haller's *Vorlesungen über die gerichtliche Arzneiwissenschaft* (1784), Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia* (1794) and Jean-Baptiste de La Chapelle's writings on ventriloquism as well as popular scientific articles which appeared in the *New York Weekly Magazine*, where Brown himself published.

Érika **Wicky** (Collegium de Lyon) *L'œillet Louis XV, Les Jardins d'Armide, Le Bouquet Greuze : La parfumerie du XIXe siècle et l'imaginaire de l'Ancien Régime*

Panel / *Session 462, 'Inventer le XVIIIe siècle : valeurs et enjeux d'une identité séculaire'*. Friday / *Vendredi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.04, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Christophe Martin (Sorbonne Université)

En partie édifée par les auteurs du XIXe siècle, la construction historiographique faisant du XVIIIe siècle un siècle frivole a considérablement affecté nos conceptions de l'Ancien Régime. Les représentations du XVIIIe siècle qui se sont répandues ainsi n'ont pas seulement inauguré des répertoires de lieux communs dans lesquels nous puisons encore aujourd'hui, elles ont aussi permis à ces auteurs de définir leur propre époque par opposition au siècle précédent. L'histoire du parfum et de la parfumerie telle qu'elle a été écrite et diffusée au XIXe siècle témoigne de façon privilégiée des modalités de cette construction ainsi que de ses paradoxes. En effet, bien qu'elle réproue les parfums lourds de l'Ancien Régime et stigmatise la puanteur de la cour de Versailles, l'histoire des parfums du XVIIIe siècle qui se dessine au siècle suivant valorise la tradition aristocratique, nécessaire au succès commercial de cette industrie de luxe, en insistant sur l'héritage des eaux de senteur légères qu'affectionnait Marie-Antoinette. Il s'agira de voir comment la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle articule conceptions scientifiques et valeurs morales pour faire du parfum un emblème de la légèreté des mœurs du XVIIIe siècle, emblème qui a essentiellement valeur publicitaire, au moment même où se développe en France l'industrie du parfum (1880-1900).

Hedvig **Widmalm** (Uppsala University) *The Enlightenment and Popular Protest in Sweden: The Case of the Great Copper Mine*

Panel / *Session 328, 'Economics and Commerce'*. Thursday / *Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.15, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Felicia Gottmann (Northumbria University)

In Swedish historiography, there has been a debate about whether Sweden took part in the Enlightenment. Some historians have stated that commonly held views on the nature of religion and of man never fundamentally changed in Sweden throughout the eighteenth century. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences was created in 1739, and during the 1700s, its members included prominent scientists and thinkers such as Carl Linnaeus, Anders Celsius and Emanuel Swedenborg. However, it could be argued that the academy's scientific investigations served a mostly utilitarian purpose, documenting the nation's resources in order to exploit them efficiently. The utilitarian and economic focus of the scientific academy has sometimes been used as an argument for why Sweden cannot be said to have had an enlightenment that could be compared to the French enlightenment. This debate has raised further questions: can any country besides France be said to have had anything like the French enlightenment, what exactly is "the Enlightenment" and what did it mean in practice?

My purpose with this paper is not to join in the debate about whether or not Sweden had an enlightenment, but rather, to use the arguments brought forth in the debate as a springboard. I look at how new reforms, new structures and institutions were created through the interactions between ideologies and public discourse. Sweden lost its status as a great power in 1721, and through the 1740s there was a drive to regain this lost status. The economic situation

was unstable. There were many popular protests and riots. In my doctoral thesis I studied one such protest in the copper mining town of Falun in 1724. The protest was a response to some drastic economic reforms the administration had implemented. In this paper, I use that protest as a case to show how the Swedish economy was shaped by an amalgamation of traditional culture, new ideas and changing material realities in the epoch of the Enlightenment.

Ellwood Wiggins (University of Washington) Agonistic Pain and Identity in Adam Smith, G. E. Lessing, and J. G. Herder

Panel / *Session* 392, 'Enlightenment Connections'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : David Purdie (University of Edinburgh)

In G. E. Lessing's seminal study on aesthetics *Laokoon* (1766), Sophocles' *Philoctetes* plays a central role. His cries of pain are inarticulate expressions that lead to a "return to nature" and to the identity formation of *Philoctetes'* sympathetic spectator, Neoptolemus. For Lessing, this is the key ethical moment for the drama. To make his point, he polemically critiques Adam Smith's reading of *Philoctetes* (*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1759). J.G. Herder takes issue with Lessing's interpretation of language and pain in Sophocles' tragedy. He marshals Smith in order to offer a counter-reading of *Philoctetes* that constructs a very different aesthetic of the representation of suffering and identity (*Erstes kritisches Wäldchen*, 1769). He then goes on to produce his own creative versions of the *Philoctetes* myth (*Ursprung der Sprache*, 1772; *Philoctetes: Szenen mit Gesang*, 1774) that compete with both Sophocles and Lessing. In this paper, I argue that the agon of performing the scream and unconsciousness between Herder's and Lessing's *Philoctetes* restages a competition between the primacy of word and image in human self-knowledge. It turns out that that identity formation is predicated on staging agonistic scenes of pain and sympathy.

David Wiggins (Independent Scholar) Illustration in the English Gothic Novel: The Curious Case of Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*

Panel / *Session* 387, 'Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration 4'. Friday /*Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30.
G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Nathalie Collé (Université de Lorraine, CLSH de Nancy)

The Gothic novel was very popular in England in the late 1700s and early 1800s, dominating the English publishing business and influencing other art forms such as opera, theatre, ballet, and music. In this paper I will analyse the frequency of illustration in Gothic novels, chapbooks, and serial publications, including the pattern of illustration over the course of individual authors' publishing histories. Only about 20% of English Gothic novels and serial publications were illustrated – illustration was much more common in cheaply published Gothic chapbooks, which almost always (90%) included a frontis illustration.

Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* was one of the most popular and controversial novels of the Long Eighteenth Century and set the tone for a new branch (the "horror school") of the Gothic novel, with much more explicit depictions of violence and sexually-charged scenery. *The Monk* was so popular that it was adapted to theatre, opera, and magic lantern shows, and was also the focus of a number of illustrations outside the realm of the book. Curiously, *The Monk* was not illustrated in any of the first seven London editions. Across the English channel, publishers showed no such reticence to illustrate *The Monk*, with illustrated first editions quickly appearing in Germany, France, and Spain. In England, redactions/abridgements of the *The Monk* were common, especially with respect to the Bleeding Nun episode in the story, and these shorter chapbook editions were nearly always illustrated. In novel format, illustrations were probably not viewed favourably by the publishers (nor by the author) of *The Monk*, especially given the already charged critical atmosphere surrounding several controversial text passages (some of which were toned down by Lewis in the 4th edition). The rapid expansion of the reading public in the late 1700s and early 1800s led to a surge in cheaper, more lurid chapbook publications and within this publishing milieu, illustrations flourished and the Bleeding Nun became an iconic figure within the extensive chapbook history of *The Monk*.

Chloe **Wigston Smith** (University of York) *The Marrying Kind: Transatlantic Tales and Objects in Charlotte Lennox's Euphemia (1790)*

Panel / *Session 254, 'Transnationalism and Eighteenth-Century Women's Writing'*. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Susan Carlile (California State University, Long Beach)

This paper examines the relations between domesticity and colonialism in Charlotte Lennox's transatlantic novel *Euphemia*. The novel is often assumed to be based on Lennox's direct experience of the area in late childhood and adolescence and, in many ways, has been read as a memorial to that earlier period of her life. Set in the 1740s, this epistolary novel opens with the titular heroine's marriage to a violent husband, whose gambling debts prompt him to purchase a commission in the colonies. Mr. Neville, in Susan Kubica Howard's description, enacts 'domestic tyranny' over his wife and children. In Lennox's novel, the institution of marriage produces miserable wives.

In the New World setting, however, female friendship and material culture palliate the violence of men. Forced into an unhappy marriage and an undesired colonial landscape, *Euphemia* turns to the kindness of women. In colonial New York, maternal bonds between English and American Indian women soften the hardships faced by wives and indigenous peoples. In Albany and Schenectady, moreover, *Euphemia's* contact with American Indian tribes centre on domestic spaces and frequently focus on the exchange of objects such as handkerchiefs, garters, china and textiles. Her colonial experience underlines the role of women, families, and domestic artefacts to colonial expansion, one that shadows and also tempers Dutch and British colonial ambitions. My paper draws attention to how such cross-cultural bonds between women sit alongside the military violence and commercial exploitation of colonialism, by tracing *Euphemia's* formal and ideological complexities. These complexities, I suggest, account for Lennox's recourse to competing narrative modes, as she traces how the hierarchies and literary traditions of the 'Old World' trail *Euphemia* across the Atlantic.

Hazel **Wilkinson** (University of Birmingham) *William Collins, Odes, and Ornaments*

Panel / *Session 27, 'The Poems of Thomas Gray, William Collins, Oliver Goldsmith'*. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Marcus Walsh (Liverpool University)

In his headnote to William Collins's *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects (1747[6])*, Roger Lonsdale observes that 'The emblem, engraved by Van der Gucht, on the title-page had been used for several earlier editions of Thomson's *The Seasons*'. The point of the observation, though not spelled out by Lonsdale, is clear enough: the image creates a recognisable association between Collins and Thomson, telling the reader something about the aspirations of Collins and his *Odes*, the aspirations his printer Andrew Millar had for the volume, or both. Emblems and ornaments have the power to situate texts in their literary and social milieu. Unavailable to the editor in 1969 was the means to easily investigate these images further. Does the *Odes* emblem have further layers of association that are not as readily apparent as the Thomson connection? What associations and visual allusions are being made by the other ornaments that adorn lifetime editions of Collins's poems? New technology allows us to investigate these questions comprehensively for the first time. In this paper, I will present the findings of my analysis of Collins's printers' ornaments, using computer vision and machine learning to discover how the visual elements of his books may have influenced contemporary interpretations of his poems.

Ben **Wilkinson-Turnbull** (University of Oxford) *Identity in the Library: Elizabeth Thomas, Poetic Separates, and Intellectual Patronage*

Panel / *Session 21, 'Professional and Amateur Identities in Women's Writing'*. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (University of Oxford)

My paper looks at how poetic identity is formed through the hitherto unexamined volume of 23 printed poetic separates collected, annotated, and bound by the poet Elizabeth Thomas (1675-1731). In this, I will consider how her literary tastes, reading practices, and the importance of the material text to Thomas can be understood through her use of the volume (binding, annotations) and her extensive surviving letters that discuss her famed library at length. By looking at how and from whom she received these poetic separates (quite often indicated by ownership marks as

having come from the authors themselves), I argue that the volume can be understood as repository of the literary patronage/mentoring received by the impoverished Thomas that helped to shape her poetic identity. Finally, I argue that the volume's MS annotations demonstrate why critics need to reconsider the current condemnatory critical consensus surrounding Thomas's editing practices. Critics currently argue that Thomas hastily published her *Poems* (1722) with the looming threat of debtor's prison. However, Thomas's use of manuscript annotations to post-print edit her own printed poems for later republication, and preserve presentation copies of newly written poems for eventual publication twenty years later, evidences her status as a careful textual editor revising and rewriting her work at various points in her career.

Claude **Willan** (University of Houston) Ahistorical Poetics

Panel / *Session 239*, 'Poetics, Aesthetics, Criticism, 1640–1760'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.05, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Christine Gerrard (University of Oxford)

Historical poetics has a problem best revealed by considering the term's antonym, a supposedly ahistorical poetics, against which its recovery projects must be undertaken. That ahistorical poetics departicularizes its subjects and makes them into laws of taste. The jurisdiction of the ahistorical poetic object is asserted as a *fait accompli*, and our task as readers is to justify the ways of lawmakers to man, rather than examining the accounts given of man by the laws themselves.

Historical poetics contains self-contradictory urges. On the one hand, it bears witness to those poems whose aesthetics lead readers on no Whiggish journey to present glory, in a series of etiologies of failure, discontinuation, contingency and the accidents of history. On the other hand, historical poetics is as hamstrung as any oppositional tendency, always predicated on the teleologies it opposes. How can historical poetics be rescued from this bind? How, then, can we read poetry without reifying it as either historical or ahistorical?

Through a series of short readings of contemporary, politically adversarial, texts — Whig martial verse and Jacobite manuscript poetry, 1689–1715, — I suggest that we ask not whether a poem is good, or bad, and why or why not. Instead we might ask, why does this poem exist? If we have evidence that a poem found favour, however briefly, then can we conjecture what it was about the poem that was effective? By asking about poems' effectiveness we can place all poems — those which we might want to recover from neglect, and those we know well, alike — in the same category, as a series of claims for what poetry ought to accomplish.

On this account historical poetics allows readers to bear witness to texts on their own terms: where a poem can be revived, it is by asking what it, alone, managed to achieve, and for whom, in a microhistorical reconstruction of a group of readers and their aesthetic categories. J. Paul Hunter called 1690-1720 "the missing years" of literary history. This paper suggests that we have forgotten how, and why, to read the majority of the verse written during that period, and offers answers to both questions.

Pierce **Williams** (Carnegie Mellon University) Accounting for Taste: Science by Subscription in Restoration England

Panel / *Session 293*, 'Digital Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Studies'. Thursday / *Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Lecture Theatre 1, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Ileana Baird (Zayed University)

The circulation of scientific print was key to the emergence of science in Augustan England as a form of lay expertise and a source of symbolic capital. Yet little can be said with precision about the audience for scientific print during this period or how it evolved over time. My research uses dynamic network analysis to explore an undervalued source of data concerning the non-specialist audience for scientific print: subscription lists. Subscription lists record the names, addresses, and a variety of demographic information about individuals who paid for copies of books before they were printed. Extant subscription lists record the commitments of every class of society, from bricklayers to officers of state. They indicate when certain kinds of people found certain kinds of learning worthwhile. Subscription lists have long been dismissed as a valid basis of inference for two reasons. First, the vast constellation of relationships they record is difficult for serial readers to analyze at scale. Second, they do not present reliable pictures of readership. With respect to the former, my work demonstrates the power of network analysis to reproduce economic and social developments, both familiar and unfamiliar to scholarship, from the data preserved in subscription lists. With respect

to the latter, I argue that while subscription lists may not present reliable pictures of readership, they do present reliable pictures of what Chris Warren has called “net work”: the labor of making and sustaining associations, between communities and commitments, people and ideas, and practices and public judgments about their place in society.

Helen **Williams** (Northumbria University) Sterne and the Ramble Novel

Panel / *Session 25*, ‘Sterne Digital Library: A New AHRC-funded Research Project’. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Allan Ingram (Northumbria University)

Ramble novels, in terms of their plots and literary style, seem to bear little resemblance to Laurence Sterne’s classic fictional autobiography. They are usually episodic, written in the third person, and follow the slapstick mishaps of an aimlessly wandering masculine hero through low-life encounters and scenarios. Yet many of the now-forgotten fictions known in the eighteenth-century as ramble novels were marketed on the back of the success of Tristram Shandy, and one of the most common terms used by reviewers and readers to describe Sterne’s novel was ‘rambling’. What were the similarities between the new genre of ramble fiction and Sterne’s ‘odd’ creation, according to the print market? In this paper, I read these novels, and their marketing and reception, alongside Sterne’s Tristram Shandy. I argue that the slipperiness of the term ‘ramble’, which in this period could mean sexual exploration, geographical wandering, as well as digression, meant that the term, and therefore the genre, could be seen as a sort of catch-all for anything that fell within the wide remit of dealing frankly with sex and adventures, whether or not that text employed a linear narrative. Whilst engaging with the theoretical implications of imposing twenty-first century notions of genre on a period with multiple contradictor genre labels, this paper article argues for a more careful definition of the genre and exposes Sterne’s problematic position relative to it.

Brett **Wilson** (College of William and Mary) Arabella’s Extravagances: *The Female Quixote*, Enthusiasm, and the Sovereign State

Panel / *Session 367*, ‘Female Fashioning and Self-Fashioning’. Thursday / *Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

Arabella, the protagonist of Charlotte Lennox’s *The Female Quixote* (1754), emulates French romantic heroines and arrogates their social power. She aims to adventure unhindered and keep marriage at bay in a “Blaze of Enthusiastick Bravery.” Among moral and political philosophers in the era, “enthusiasm” per se names a class of behaviors—perhaps an identity—that tests the limits of official toleration for holders of “odd Opinions and extravagant Actions,” for diversity of belief. Arabella’s romance-inspired thoughts and deeds are described by her quizzical peers as nearly incomprehensibly outside prevailing norms: as “Frenzy” and a “ridiculous System,” among other remarks. Unbowed, she imperiously avows the “independent Sovereignty of Love” subject only to the “Laws of Romance,” supranational subject of an “Empire” apart. One of the first things the Learned Doctor asks in the interrogation that ultimately disenchants her is why she would undertake, echoing Locke, “so extravagant an Action.” Extravagance, etymologically, connotes straying beyond limits. For most of the novel, Lennox figures Arabella’s frenzied eccentricity as a mode of liberty. Arabella’s quirky and quixotic conduct frequently plays out as more awkward than dangerous, as Lennox calls for liberty-loving Georgian Britain to accommodate nonconforming individuals. But Arabella’s extravagant folly ceases to be a tolerable sign of robust civil liberty when its effects threaten a deadly level of harm that would incur a correspondingly capital punishment. Loving as though in a French romance entails deeds the sovereign state criminalizes as murder and treason. By the novel’s end Lennox reconsiders, and sanctions, the ability of the British juridical state to regularize irregular subjects. In this paper I will demonstrate the extent to which Lennox reminds us that nonconforming quirks can precipitate grievous harm, and by chastising Arabella’s exceptional individuality folds her dissident protagonist back into the body politic of Great Britain—as a triumph, not a defeat, for a multifarious and heterogeneous form of British Enlightenment national identity.

Kathleen **Wilson** (Stony Brook University) Blackface Empire: Racial Counterfeit in *Montego Bay* (1778) and *Sydney* (1796)

Panel / *Session* 165, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 3: Performing Whiteness in Colonial Spaces: A Transoceanic Analysis'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Onni Gust (University of Nottingham)

How did the theatrical practice of blackface travel across the 18th century British empire? This paper will discuss the use of blackface in theatrical performances in the urban centers of Jamaica and New South Wales in the last two decades of the period. These representations of 'blackness' in the theatre, parsed and interrogated in local contexts, come together in spite of their differences to congeal around the idea that 'blackness' constituted the lowest common denominator of the human, ensuring that 'black' colonials—a group that included, at various points, African, Aboriginal, Malay, Bengali, and Sumatran peoples—remained low on the scales of civilization, emblems of what Europeans were not: peoples both the most in need of the humanizing impact of European culture and most resistant to its effects. Far from harmless theatrical practice, blackface did the crucial work in shaping increasingly global visions of 'blackness' as a subjected and subaltern state, consolidating and filtering the rich plenitude of black bodies represented in the print and theatrical cultures of the period to impact geopolitical distinctions and global visions alike. Inhabiting imperial space and culture in circulation, blackface performances in these British outposts also remind us of the unexpected consequences of those mimetic practices that allowed Britons to inhabit, resignify and refuse colonial otherness, as the compulsion to become the other unleashed its own forms of subversion, both embracing and altering what is seen as 'the same.'

Diana **Wise** (University of California, Berkeley) *Serpentine Selves: Lord Hervey and Lines of Grace in Eighteenth-Century Memoir*

Panel / *Session* 288, 'Aesthetics and Taste 2'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. Seminar Room 1, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

In *Religio Medici* (1643) Thomas Browne explicates providence as a "serpentine and crooked line" whose zigzagging looks like the chaos of "meer chance" until re-read, through enlightened hindsight, as the providential back-and-forthing of the "meer hand of God." A century later William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* (1753) enshrined the serpentine line as the fundamental contour of beauty, the "line of grace" that "leads the eye a wanton kind of chace, and from the pleasure that gives the mind, intitles it to the name of beautiful." As a serpentine narrative un-folds in time, so the Hogarthian line uncoils in space, tracing in its sinuous grace both pure beauty and wanton desire. In the intervening years, I suggest, the serpentine line manifests as a significant figure in life writing, its commingling graces—the salvific and the aesthetic—modeling a new understanding of identity. With Lord Hervey's *Memoirs* (1727-37) as its primary focus, this paper will examine the narratological and syntactic potency of the sinuous, with its capacity to un- and rewind, to juxtapose prolepsis and retrospection, and to collate the seeming accidents of existence into an orderly and graceful providential chain. In particular, Hervey's pervasive use of antithesis generates a serpentine sense of identity through a balancing of opposites: he presents his self within the machinery of his sentences as an antithetical or amphibious entity, a this-and-that, a bothness. He thus precipitates in his own rhetoric, no less than in his bisexuality, Alexander Pope's famous slight that he, "familiar toad," is "one vile antithesis," "amphibious thing!" Hervey's sinuosity is both writing style and lifestyle, a performance of queerness and nonchalance that finds grace in the self-deprecation and self-aggrandizement demanded of a courtier.

Etienne **Wismer** (Université de Berne) *Du savoir à l'illusion : Emplois des vues de paysage suisse*

Panel / *Session* 336, 'La Suisse dans les Lumières européennes'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvie Moret Petrini (Université de Lausanne)

Depuis leur invention, les représentations du paysage suisse se sont manifestées dans des médias et des systèmes de communication les plus divers. En 1702 Johann Jakob Scheuchzer publie sous le titre "Ouresiphoïtes Helveticus" une description richement illustrée d'un voyage dans les Alpes. Dédié à la Royal Society et étudiant les minéraux, la flore et la faune helvétiques, ce livre est édité à Leyde et diffusé largement durant la première moitié du 18e siècle. Au cours du 18e siècle, le paysage suisse attire l'attention des voyageurs. Dans le sillage des écrits d'Albrecht von Haller entre autres, l'on vante le caractère paisible et idyllique de la Suisse. Cette imagerie touristique est fabriquée dans des conditions proto-industrielles et destinée à la vente aux touristes avant tout britanniques. Moyennant de nouveaux

supports médiatiques comme le papier parchemin, l'artiste bernois Franz Niklaus König présenta ses vues de paysages rétroéclairées en France, en Suisse et en Allemagne.

C'est vers la fin du siècle que le paysage suisse fit son apparition sur le papier peint panoramique, médium alors hautement à la mode à la fois dans les milieux bourgeois et nobles. D'un point de vue iconographique et stylistique ces représentations imitèrent la production des artistes comme König. Mais au lieu de véhiculer un savoir ou d'impressionner par un savoir-faire, elles furent destinées à des fins décoratives et illusionnistes, voire immersives. Cette contribution s'intéresse tout particulièrement à ces papiers peints panoramiques et à l'usage qu'on en fit dans l'espace où ils servirent par exemple comme toile de fond à des productions théâtrales domestiques. Il s'agira de rendre compte de l'alliance entre cette iconographie éprouvée que sont les vues de paysage et le papier peint panoramique, médium qui venait tout juste d'être inventé dans les dernières décennies du 18^e siècle.

Stanisław **Witecki** (Jagellonian University, Cracow) Pastoral Letters in the Everyday Life of the Parish Clergy in the Late Eighteenth-Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Panel / *Session* 52, 'Letter Writing in (East-)Central Europe Between Textuality and Materiality 1'. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Veronika Capska (Charles University in Prague / Trinity Hall, Cambridge)

The aim of the presentation will be to explore the content of pastoral letters and the role they played in the everyday life of parish clergy in the late eighteenth century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. I have investigated the examples of Roman Catholic dioceses of Kraków, Płock, Chełm and Vilnius. My research is based on the queries in the archbishopric archives in Płock, Lublin and Kraków, Central Lithuanian Historical Archives, Vilnius University Library and State Archives in Lublin. I have investigated pastoral letters as well as visitation protocols, homilies, and catechisms.

Sermons are recognized as crucial clergy activity and one of the most important external sources of an early modern folk knowledge. However, my investigation proved their role to be overestimated. Clergy used almost exclusively Sunday and holiday sermons, which hardly ever contained ideas unrelated to religion. Against background of parish preaching, the pastoral letters stood out. Parsons were obliged to read them to the faithful. They were receiving a few letters a year, most of which were about funerals. Political issues were discussed directly less frequently, and the other topics only sporadically. Nevertheless, as letters were always written on a specific occasion, they provided information about current events. Through encouragement to prayers, at an emotional and imaginary level, they engaged both priests and faithful in the public affairs.

Several pastoral letters in the late eighteenth century contained key ideas of the Enlightened Catholicism and the Catholic Enlightenment. Although the parsons read pastoral letters to the faithful only occasionally, even the most innovative of the bishops' ideas reached and influenced lives of villages and little towns inhabitants. Some of them were a direct attempt to alter the everyday life of both parsons and their parishioners.

Alun **Withey** (University of Exeter) Commodifying Masculinity: Shaving Products and Men's Personal Grooming in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Panel / *Session* 443, 'The Material Body'. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Helen Berry (Newcastle University)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, shaving the face was an important component of polite masculinity. A smooth, clean-shaven face bespoke neatness, elegance and control over appearance. Facial hair, however, suggested neglect of the self, bodily dereliction and rough, rustic manliness. After centuries of visiting the barber to be shaved, men were also increasingly beginning to shave themselves, in line with broader ideas about refining the body to meet polite ideals of appearance. At the same time, a new market arose for men's shaving products, including not only razors, but also a raft of shaving soaps, oils, pastes and powders. For perhaps the first time, men could purchase cosmetic goods that were both produced and advertised solely for them. But the advertising of shaving products reveals interesting fault lines in terms of the discourses of polite manliness. On the one hand, razor makers appealed to masculine characteristics such as hardness, control and temper in their advertisements. Perfumers and other

manufacturers of shaving soaps and related products, however, stressed softness, ease and luxury. In both cases, however, shaving products and paraphernalia embodied ideas about masculinity, acting as vectors for the conveyance of politeness. This paper explores the place of shaving products in the construction and commodification of polite manliness in the later eighteenth century, and the competing discourses that men were forced to navigate.

Alexis **Wolf** (Birkbeck, University of London) 'Erin's Isle shall soon be free': Lady Mount Cashell's 1798 Rebellion Broadside

Panel / *Session* 201, 'Eighteenth-Century Ireland 2'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Harry Dickinson (University of Edinburgh)

Margaret Moore, Lady Mount Cashell is primarily cited today as the pupil of Mary Wollstonecraft during the latter's brief period as a governess in Ireland and as the fictionalised subject of Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788). Yet she is increasingly appreciated by scholars as an important author and activist in her own right. As a young Anglo-Irish aristocrat in Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century, she opposed her family's interests by writing anonymous anti-Unionist pamphlets and embracing genteel classical republicanism. This paper will expand knowledge of Mount Cashell's writing during the period through the attribution of a newly discovered political poem, 'The Bard of Erin', which she penned prior to the Rebellion in 1797 and printed and circulated anonymously. Traced through annotation in common place books composed by women in her circle as well as a surviving broadside, this paper will reunite disparate archival and print materials to illuminate Lady Mount Cashell's covert participation in the political dialogues of the 1798 Rebellion and subsequent Union Crisis of 1799-1800. It will also evaluate her poem in terms of Wollstonecraft's early political and creative influence, to whom Mount Cashell later attributed "the development of whatever virtues I possess", querying the impact of women's mentoring on public forms of literature. At the same time, the paper will explore how the anonymity of popular writing such as broadside poetry allowed eighteenth-century writers and political agents to test out new identities on the page.

Boris **Wolf** (Independent Scholar) Christopher Smart, a 'Völkisch' Poet in Eighteenth-Century Britain?

Panel / *Session* 163, 'Biological Classification'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Brycchan Carey (Northumbria University)

The racialist and racist undercurrents of the word 'race' didn't come fully to the fore of European thought until the so-called Aryan 'science' of the late 19th century. However, some seeds were sown as far back as the Renaissance and the second half of the 18th century may be seen as one such key moment in the emergence of a racialised discourse on race.

Christopher Smart (1722-1771) both carries on from various scholarly Renaissance and Augustan traditions and evinces beliefs that are very heterodox-sounding.

There are hints in *Jubilate Agno* (1759-1763) that Smart believed England to be on the threshold of a new political, scientific, religious age with himself, prophet and psalmist elect, at its head. However, as much as he may sometimes be a hyperbolic patriot, he is no less a worried one, combining national anxieties with anxieties of his own – in particular around race and genealogical hierarchies.

By comparing him, on the one hand, with the contemporary discourse on race of Enlightened philosophers (Voltaire, Goldsmith, Herder) and, on the other, with the new ethnohistorical history promoted by the historian-folklorists in the 1770s and 1780s (John Pinkerton, Richard Hurd, John Horne), we hope to gain a new understanding of Smart on race.

In particular, this paper will discuss if Smart's idiosyncratic sensibility and interest in esoteric associations as well as racial and historical hierarchies, could not be best described as 'völkish' by anticipation.

Nicholas **Wolters** (Wake Forest University) Col-loqui de quatre aprenents: Labor Cultures and Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Barcelona

Panel / *Session* 144, 'Peripheral Identities in the Hispanic World 1'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Enid Valle (Kalamazoo College)

This paper will contextualize the consolidation of Catalan icons of working-class manhood during the eighteenth century by examining a *plec solt* (cordel sheet) titled *Col·loqui de quatre aprenents: un teixidor, un forner, un sastre y un sabater*. With an eye to situating the text within mass culture more broadly, the presentation will also examine the role of Barcelona's guilds in the construction and development of labor cultures and masculinities during the Enlightenment.

James **Wood** (University of East Anglia) *Johnson's Dictionary and the Performance of Labour*

Panel / *Session* 316, 'The Labourer'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

In the Preface to the *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), Samuel Johnson counted the writer of dictionaries among those who "toil at the lower employments of life," who is regarded "not as the pupil, but the slave of science, the pioneer of literature, doomed only to remove rubbish and clear obstructions from the paths of Learning and Genius." Famously, Johnson defined the "lexicographer" in the *Dictionary* as "a harmless drudge." This paper revisits Johnson's self-representation as a labourer in light of Hannah Arendt's distinction between labour and work in *The Human Condition*, in which Arendt argues that labour is distinguished from work by having no definite end or artifact as its object, a nonvoluntary activity related to the life process of itself, with its endless cycles of creation and consumption. My argument is that Johnson's performance of labour in the *Dictionary* reflects a wider shift in which labour is no longer regarded as the abject preserve of the lower orders but as the precondition for any successful contribution to human society, manual or mental. Johnson endeavours to preserve acts of mental labour that (like any act of labour) are apt to disappear without trace in the act of performing them. The paper closely reads some of the specific entries in the *Dictionary*, showing how the definitions and quotations paint a picture of mental labour as the mirror of manual labour.

Amelia **Worsley** (Amherst College) *Lonely Poets, their Publics, and the Poetry of Abolition*

Panel / *Session* 297, 'Eighteenth-Century Pathologies of Solitude'. Thursday /*Jeudi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Silvia Sebastiani (École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris)

In this paper, I draw British poetry about abolition and slavery into dialogue with the wider abolitionist movement, to show how influential the poetry of loneliness was for the abolitionist cause. William Cowper, Mary Robinson, Robert Southey, Amelia Opie, and S. T. Coleridge frequently experimented with presenting not just themselves, but the slaves and repentant slave-holders they depicted as lonely speakers, worthy of sympathy. Abolitionist politicians John Newton, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce, many of whom were close friends with Romantic poets I will discuss, at first considered themselves "public" men who shunned solitude. Over time, however, in dialogue with the poetry I will discuss, they started to position themselves as lonely voices amidst the crowd. The embrace of the role of the lonely, path-breaking politician entailed an ethical struggle for each of these figures, but was finally overcome, and still has resonance in political rhetoric today.

Alexander **Wragge-Morley** (New York University) *Involuntary Motion: Physiology, Regimen, and Aesthetic Experience, 1700–1750*

Panel / *Session* 126, 'The Science of Aesthetic Experience'. Tuesday /*Mardi* 08.00 – 09.30. M3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Joanna Stalnaker (Columbia University)

It used to be widely accepted that the 18th-century emergence of the 'aesthetic' as a category of experience depended on an explicit denial of the pleasures, pains, and functions of the body. In recent years, however, scholars such as Aris Sarafianos have become increasingly interested in how medicine and theories of matter shaped the

development of philosophical aesthetics, for instance highlighting Edmund Burke's close engagement with debates about the sensibility of the body in framing his account of the sublime.

In this paper, I go one step further, arguing that changing ideas about the body's involuntary functions – along with their pathologies and therapies – had a crucial role in the development of aesthetics and art theory in Britain during the first half of the 18th century. Drawing on a wide range of sources – including hitherto overlooked manuscripts – concerning the imperceptible motions of both plant and animal bodies, the paper shows how debates about the effects of air pressure, food, and exercise on the body's involuntary responses to the world outside it shaped arguments about what we now call aesthetic experience, and vice-versa.

I thus offer new interpretations of the interplay between aesthetics, art theory, physiology, and medicine. This paper will do more than simply show that art theorists such as Jonathan Richardson and William Hogarth responded to philosophical and medical attempts to describe and control the body's involuntary motions, from John Arbuthnot's An essay concerning the effects of air on human bodies to George Cheyne's famous therapies for the so-called 'English Malady'. Rather, it will seek to demonstrate that a concern about involuntary motion was a central theme in 18th century thought, animating a range of interconnected discourses and practices concerned with non-cognitive responses to sensory experience, ranging from the attractive force exerted on mind and body by beauty to the forms of experience arising from – or modified by – the mysterious, involuntary vibrations taking place inside the body.

Kent **Wright** (Institut d'études avancées de Nantes) Utopisme et identité dans les Lumières françaises / Utopianism and Identity in the French Enlightenment

Panel / *Session 19*, 'Nature, identité, authenticité : perspectives croisées sur les Lumières européennes / Nature, Identity, Authenticity: Crossed Perspectives on the European Enlightenment'. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Seminar Room 6, Chrystal McMillan Building. Chair / *Président.e* : Pierre Carboni (Université de Nantes)

L'étude récente de Stéphanie Roza sur Morelly, Mably et Babeuf, Comment l'utopie est devenue un programme politique (2015), a donné un nouveau souffle à un sujet qui était autrefois essentiel à la compréhension du siècle des Lumières et de ses diverses "identités." En effet, la réalisation de Roza est telle qu'elle inspire une réflexion sur la longue histoire de l'érudition sur l'écriture utopique au XVIIIe siècle, à laquelle elle a apporté une contribution phare. Ce papier se penchera sur une série de textes classiques sur le sujet – notamment *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* de Carl Becker, *Kritik et Krise* de Reinhard Koselleck, *L'utopie et la réforme au siècle des Lumières* de Franco Venturi, et *Lumières de l'utopie* de Bronislaw Baczko. Même un survol rapide de ce terrain devrait nous permettre, d'une part, d'isoler certains des termes clés du discours utopique – "nature" et "histoire", "authenticité" et "artifice", "pureté" et "corruption", etc. ; et d'autre part, réfléchir sur le rôle que les "identités" jouent dans l'écriture utopique – à la fois collective (le discours sur la nature humaine) et individuelle (les identités assumées par les écrivains en question (philosophe, réformateur républicain, révolutionnaire jacobin)). Le papier se terminera par des remarques sur les deux personnages qui figurent à la fin du livre de Roza, chevauchant le fossé qui sépare l'utopisme des Lumières et l'utopisme moderne, Babeuf et Fourier.

Thomas **Wynn** (Université de Durham) La veuve Lescombat : l'identité criminelle sur la scène des Lumières

Panel / *Session 95*, 'Théâtre et Identités 2 : Identités en scène. Reconfigurations du personnage des Lumières à la Révolution'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Pierre Frantz (Sorbonne Université)

Cette communication porte sur les représentations artistiques (pièces de théâtre, roman, oraison, portraits) d'une meurtrière, la veuve Lescombat, reconnue coupable et pendue à Paris (1755) pour avoir été complice de l'assassinat de son mari. Elle analyse la création de son identité criminelle et les enjeux de sa célébrité.

Hu **Xiangyu** (Qing Institute of Renmin University of China) Judicial Unity in a Segregated City—The ‘Web’ Structure of the Judicial System in Eighteenth-century Beijing

Panel / *Session* 322, ‘Asian Identities in the Global Enlightenment 2 (co-chaired with Atsuko Tamada, Chubu University)’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 14.30 – 16.15. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Shinichi Nagao (Nagoya University)

China historians commonly understand that Qing judicial structure was vertical constructed and that the Manchu Qing court adopted Han legal principles while upheld a judicial pluralism by treating Manchus separately. This paper aims to reshape these common understandings through analyzing how both Manchu and Ming (or Han) judicial elements integrated and how a unique judicial system was established in Qing Beijing (Jingshi). In Qing Beijing, the judicial structure was not vertical or hierarchically as in the provinces. The “web” structure combined both Ming and Manchu judicial elements. It broke the bannerman-civilian (or Manchu-Han) division. The Five Wards and the Commander-general of Metropolitan Infantry Brigade could settle minor cases only if the parties to the cases were not imperial clansmen or any person administered by the Imperial Household Department. Regular bannermen and civilians were adjudicated by the same court. All major cases were handled by the Board of Punishment or the Three High Courts. Thus, ethnic division was not emphasized. The “web” structure also demonstrated that no “local” government in Qing Beijing. These institutions in the judicial system were branches of the Qing central government.

Masano **Yamashita** (University of Colorado, Boulder) Accidental Revolution and the Self-Understanding of Emigrés

Panel / *Session* 5, ‘Changing Identities in Revolutionary and Postrevolutionary France’. Monday /*Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Annelle Curulla (Scripps College)

This presentation will examine the ways in which the notion of an “accidental” French Revolution helped shape the self-understanding of émigré characters, whose social position and political status came to be radically altered in 1790s France. The trope of the Revolution as accident by émigré fiction writers such as Sénac de Meilhan and Joseph Rosny prompted a reflection on the contingency of political circumstances and the political agency of exiled émigrés. In my paper, I would like to direct attention to another form of contingency and its linkage to the historiography of the French Revolution as an accident or a “naufrage” (shipwreck): the chance-ridden event of noble birth and the arbitrary nature of Old Regime forms of social distinction. Does the Revolution fundamentally alter émigrés’ conception of social identity? The perception of émigrés as “êtres amphibies” (Charrière) invites the possibility of a supple conception of social identity that could be characterized by cosmopolitanism, hybridity, and social change. In this sense, the Revolution could be seen to usher in a new modernity that force émigrés to rescript and reinvent their social existence.

In my paper, I would like to first nuance the common perception of émigrés as being uniformly noble by considering the crucial role played by domestic servants who followed their masters and mistresses in exile and aided them in adapting to foreign environments. I will center the first part of my analysis on Charrière’s *Trois Femmes* and *Lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d’émigrés* as innovative literary works that set the stage for chance, social experimentations and new understandings of equality. I will then draw on Joseph Rosny’s *Firmin, ou le jouet de la fortune* and Sénac de Meilhan’s *L’Emigré* to assess the various roles that the leitmotifs of *Fortuna* and *chance* play in alternatively destabilizing and reinforcing émigrés’ sense of social selfhood in a postrevolutionary international society.

Asuka **Yamazaki** (Nihon University) The Development of Actors’ Cosmopolitan and Enlightened Identity: Through the Promotion of Theatre Education and Market Cosmopolitanism

Panel / *Session* 223, ‘Civic Education’. Wednesday /*Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.11, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Jürgen Overhoff (University of Münster)

The socially negative idea of the actor as an outlaw that was formed under the influence of Christianity has changed, especially since the latter half of the seventeenth century. The beginning of the development of actor’s enlightened identity was marked by the intellectual discourse for theatre education. Under the influence of the French cultural and

theatre policy, Montesquieu and Pascal appreciated the social and culturally educational effect of the theatre. In the German-speaking sphere, the school theatre and Jesuit Theatre played a role in the moral education of aristocrats' children and extended their sphere of influence. Leibnitz, who developed his illuminating educational philosophy from the secular educational one of the Baroque period, proposed a programme of theatre education for the people. He emphasised the function of the actor in human cultivation and the acquisition of transnational cultural experiences.

In the expanding civil society of the eighteenth century, the idealistic and market cosmopolitanism that advocates transnational human liberation was developed and theorised by Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant. In particular, Smith contributed to the improvement of actors' social status, as he designates the value of the actor's labour a service business. The actor transcends borders and classes, embodies the universal world spirit, shares in its spiritual life and enjoyment of citizens from different countries, and acts as a medium between the classes. During this period, the cosmopolitan and enlightened identity of actors as world citizens was strengthened; they contributed to sharing the intellectual property in the theatrical culture that was established as a public space and in developing the city and citizens' lives.

Yan Yang (Peking University) Enlightenment from Ancient India: Sir William Jones's Journey to Transcultural Identity

Panel / *Session* 395, 'Indian Identities'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.14, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Tina Janssen (University of Warwick)

In the 1780s, Sir William Jones initiated collaborative researches on various aspects of Indian culture. With his frame of mind and methodology profoundly shaped by Western Enlightenment Empiricism—classifying branches of knowledge into history, science, and arts, and studying them by collecting, analyzing, and synthesizing primary sources—Jones envisioned to expand his cultural identity via investigating India. Current scholars tend to underrepresent the enlightening impact of India on Jones, whose interpretation of Indian culture inspired many Western thinkers (such as Shelley and Byron) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

This paper focuses on Jones's appreciative understandings of Indian culture, especially ancient Indian literature, law, and philosophy that lead him to construct an opener, transcultural identity. It examines Jones's comments on Indian works he translated—in particular, an ancient Indian drama *Sakuntala* (1789) and the *Laws of Manu* (1794)—and traces his representations of Indian culture in his *Anniversary Discourses* (1784-1794) delivered as president of Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In so doing, this paper argues that, while informed by European Enlightenment mentality and Mosaic chronology, Jones begins with a reverent and scholarly vision of ancient Indian culture, and develops a more catholic and empathetic attitude towards it. In this evolving process, Jones cultivates his transcultural identity, embracing Western tradition (such as the scenes of punishment in Christianity) with more critical discernments and incorporating ancient Indian culture (such as tenets of Vedanta philosophy) as germs of a more comprehensive vision of mankind.

Myron Yeager (Chapman University) Spatial Identity: Samuel Johnson and the Self-formed City

Panel / *Session* 232, 'London'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.14, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Joanne Myers (Gettysburg College)

While Samuel Johnson's infatuation with the city of London is a well-worn story, too frequently scholars and social historians see Johnson's love affair as a consequence of his need for intellectual and social stimulation. For such studies, Johnson's identity is a product of representations of the city. However, while Johnson clearly thrived on all that the city offered, the identity he crafted for himself from the time he arrived in London to his death was not simply a product of the city; rather, Johnson created for himself a city to serve the needs of his identity. Social theorist Henri Lefebvre proposes that between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries there emerged a code—architectural, urban, and political—that brought together physical spaces (nature), mental and logical forms (abstractions or representations such as the dome or steeple), and social spaces (public promenades) to achieve a unity to be decoded by the observer. From that decoding which necessitated spatial ordering, the observer defined order and meaning for the self. The decoder created for the self the significance of space; the decoder created the space. For Johnson, London offers a representational space with associated images that afford him the means to process and assimilate daily practice and

private reality; he creates his own city for himself. In this production of space, Johnson defines a means to combat the demons of his mind and manage the multiple facets of identity. This process, significant to the Johnson biography, offers a fresh means to explore the way Johnson situates the self in his works. Such works as “London,” “The Vanity of Human Wishes,” and *The Life of Savage*, for example, illustrate how the self creates space and the consequence of such a process. This spatial reconsideration suggests a production of space achieved not by markers and symbols, but by the perceiver, the participant who creates a space to form and accommodate personal identity.

Tsai-ching Yeh (National Taipei University of Technology) *Masquerade and Female Identity in Eliza Haywood’s *The Masqueraders**

Panel / *Session* 367, ‘Female Fashioning and Self-Fashioning’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 16.45 – 18.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Gillian Williamson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

Introduced by John James Heidegger (1666-1749), the Swiss Count, masquerades became a “fashionable Amusement” (*Guardian* 261) in London society in the early eighteenth century. The disguised attendees came from different social backgrounds, such as aristocrats, gentry, merchants, thieves, and prostitutes alike, while such masked assemblies turned out to be the arenas where the social order was challenged and reversed.

The issue of the “doubleness” of identity of the masqueraders deserves further discussion. As Terry Castle notes that the early eighteenth-century masquerades were a “collective meditation on ‘self’ and ‘other’ and an exploration of their mysterious dialectic” (4). In reality as well as in literary texts, the masked meetings provided the eighteenth-century women the space to reverse their inferior positions in man-woman relationships, helping them achieve a state of sexual license and libertinism. Therefore, this paper aims to discuss the issue of female identity in Eliza Haywood’s *The Masqueraders* (1724-25), for the purpose to investigate the idea of the doubleness of “self” and “other” as well as to define the concept of women’s emancipation in this time period.

Soile Ylivuori (University of Helsinki) *Precarious Performances of Whiteness: Creoles and the Construction of Britishness in Georgian Polite Society*

Panel / *Session* 165, ‘Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 3: Performing Whiteness in Colonial Spaces: A Transoceanic Analysis’. Tuesday /*Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Onni Gust (University of Nottingham)

While the culture of politeness has long been recognised as an important part of British national identity in the eighteenth century, what has thus far not been explored are its links to the construction of whiteness, or Britishness as a racialised identity. Through an examination of West Indians and their cultural, social, and economic practices in London, Bath and other fashionable spaces of polite interaction, this paper argues that the gendered culture of politeness played a crucial role in British formulations of whiteness during this period. Even though Creoles and other wealthy West Indians could (and did) their best to buy their way into fashionable society through conspicuous consumption, the paper argues that their failures in polite genteel behaviour not only excluded them from full social acceptance but rendered their race questionable. These cases show that the feeling of cultural alienness (and political suspicion) that Britons felt towards West Indians was translated into ambiguous but persistent beliefs of actual physical racial difference—thus suggesting that whiteness was a fluid and precarious identity. The culture and practices of politeness played a dual role in this process, first as serving a measuring stick against which Creoles could be found lacking in their genteel manners and behaviour, and second as providing the practical means for their social exclusion.

Sharon Young (University of Worcester) ‘To defend her from the Censure of Criticks’: Mary Chudleigh’s Poems on Several Occasions and the Creation of an Eighteenth-Century Poetic Canon

Panel / *Session* 262, ‘Criticism: Canon Formation and Patterns of Influence’. Thursday /*Jeudi* 08.00 – 09.30. G.12, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Corrina Readioff (University of Liverpool)

The lack of female eighteenth century poets included in the English literary canon(s) has been widely discussed and attributed to numerous difficulties: the allusive nature of the poetry itself, the fact that some poems do not fit with modern taste in terms of topic; and that the poetry does not align with feminist, or indeed other, theoretical frames. However, perhaps most pertinent is Roger Lonsdale's assertion that contemporary critical debates had an enormous impact on the contemporary reputation and thus canonical status of the writer. Many of the key critics of the period had dual roles as poet and arbiter of poetic taste. This twofold position was a powerful one: it raised the poet's profile and it mutually reinforced literary reputations, establishing a form of self-canonization. It was also a predominantly male position with clear consequences for the female poet who could not, or would not, participate on equal terms.

This paper will look at the ways in which one female poet Mary Chudleigh engages with these mutually reinforcing contemporary critical and poetic practices. I shall argue that, like many of her female peers, such as Anne Finch, Chudleigh does not do so directly. Instead her engagement is oblique and frequently located in the range of prefatory materials which frame her texts. In this paper I will explore at the (self) authorising gestures in the preface and dedicatory epistle in Mary Chudleigh's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1713) to understand how she positioned her work vis-à-vis her own literary culture and its critical debates.

Ronnie **Young** (University of Glasgow) Burns's Enlightenment Identity: Correspondence, Character, and Life-Writing

Panel / *Session* 149, 'Robert Burns and the Scottish Enlightenment'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. 2.04, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Andrew Prescott (University of Glasgow)

This paper aims to explore the extent to which the construction of Burns's identity during the late Enlightenment is shaped by the character sketch as a mode of life-writing and how such activity can be traced through correspondence and print culture during the period. It will explore the processes by which the popular understanding of Burns as poet and person were shaped by contemporary views regarding 'character' as a moral, social and philosophical category for understanding individual psychology within the wider Enlightenment study of human nature. In doing so, it aims firstly to cover the discourse on character as it appears in Burns's own letters – currently undergoing re-examination as part of a new edition of the correspondence of Burns for OUP – with particular regards to autobiography and the writing of the poet's own life. This paper will then examine how correspondence about Burns shapes popular perceptions of the poet: specifically, the role the character sketch plays in such correspondence; how such written accounts then go on to shape early biographies of the poet, including those of editor James Currie and later John Gibson Lockhart; and in turn how those create influential yet problematic views of Burns.

Hannah **Young** (Institute of Historical Research / University of Hull) Colonialism, Violence, and the Twenty-First-Century Museum: Slave-Ownership and the Victoria and Albert Museum

Panel / *Session* 128, 'Colonial Spaces, Colonial Power 2: Imperial Identities and Afterlives'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 10.00 – 11.45. G.06, 50 George Square. Chair / *Président.e* : Rosalind Carr (Queen Mary, University of London)

Found across the length and breadth of the country, absentee slave-owners used their wealth, rooted in the exploitation of enslaved people, to help build eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain. The legacies of this history continue to shape the world we live in, and the museums we visit, today.

This paper will uncover the links between British slave-ownership and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Through collecting decorative arts and other curiosities absentee slave-owners, inspired by Enlightenment ideals, were able to indulge their interests in history and art and establish reputations as gentlemen of culture and taste. Objects that were once in the collections of these men are now dotted throughout the V&A, found in almost every gallery. But the violent histories embodied in these objects are rarely acknowledged. The paper will thus also raise the question of how, in a twenty-first century museum, we can confront and engage with this difficult, contentious and uncomfortable history.

The paper will explore one example of attempting to make a critical intervention within a major national museum. It will discuss my experience of undertaking this research at the V&A and working with artist-in-residence Victoria Adukwei Bulley, who has created a series of five short films and poems ('A Series of Unfortunate Inheritances') that unearth the names, lives and experiences of individuals whose enslavement is ineffably tied to objects held in the museum's collections. It will highlight how important critical interventions can be in helping museums to engage with more complex and inclusive histories, while also discussing the difficulties involved in embedding such work within institutions that in many respects continue to be colonial spaces.

Virginie Yvernault (Sorbonne Université) « Comment regarderaient-ils Chérubin ? » Le page scandaleux de Beaumarchais

Panel / *Session* 95, 'Théâtre et Identités 2 : Identités en scène. Reconfigurations du personnage des Lumières à la Révolution'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.12, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Pierre Frantz (Sorbonne Université)

Cette communication s'intéresse à l'indétermination sexuelle du personnage de Chérubin dans *Le Mariage de Figaro*, mais aussi dans les reprises et les parodies (du *Mariage inattendu de Chérubin d'Olympe* de Gouges au *Chérubin* de Massenet), en passant par des œuvres romanesques ou poétiques.

Juan Zabalza (University of Alicante) Adam Smith in the Political and Intellectual Debates during the 'Trienio Liberal' (1820–1823) and the Exile

Panel / *Session* 287, 'Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations in Spain, 1780–1830 2'. Thursday / *Jedi* 10.00 – 11.30. G.05, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Jesús Astigarraga (University of Zaragoza)

After six years of absolutism that suppressed the Cádiz parliament and Constitution in 1814, a new period was inaugurated in 1820 when the King finally signed up, as a result of a military coup, the Constitution. During this period known as the "Trienio Liberal" —the three years liberal period (1820-1823)— the parliament was restored and developed the liberal principles established in the Constitution. In 1823, French troops invaded Spain to restore absolutism and many liberals exiled in London where they developed a productive intellectual activity. This contribution to the ISECS Conference analyses the influence of Adam Smith on two realms: the parliamentary debates on issues related to commercial policy, monetary issues and public finances; and, on the other hand, these issues in the writings of the liberals (journals and monographs primarily) during their British exile.

Tara Zanardi (Hunter College) Botanical Identity: Natural History, Porcelain, and the King's Room at Aranjuez

Panel / *Session* 229, 'Identity and the Interior'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.11, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Christina Lindeman (University of South Alabama)

At the Royal Palace of Aranjuez, Charles III (r. King of Spain, 1759-88) promoted agrarian experimentation and modernization with the cultivation of global botanical specimens and the collecting and breeding of animals. These specimens derived from myriad countries and colonies, making Aranjuez a microcosm of empire. Inside the palace, the king encouraged innovation in interior design, including the tour de force employment of porcelain in his 'antedespacho' (outer office; reception area), produced by the Buen Retiro Porcelain Factory in 1760-65. In this space, botanical, aviary, and simian motifs dominate. By relating the botanical and zoological operations conducted at Aranjuez specifically to the diversity and abundance of natural and animal motifs in the Porcelain Room, both the room and the estate show analogous ways to display imperial wealth that the king wanted to showcase, not only for his own pleasure, but also for the cabinet ministers, diplomats, and other visitors to the palace. Thus, the interior served an official role in formulating Charles III's identity as king and a site for official court business.

Through the room's ornamentation, the king's artful "collection" of specimens is materialized in porcelain. The ornamentation does not mimic the exact specimens found on the grounds or replicate the parterres located within view of the room's window. Rather, it allows the viewer to experience an aestheticized nature, idealized and

controlled, and be transformed by the porcelain's emulative techniques of the natural abundance and material splendor on the estate. The porcelain motifs and the specimens planted and bred on the grounds sought to render nature as artful, collectable, and profitable. The real and porcelain examples demonstrate Charles III's magnificence as innovator, collector, and sovereign of a grand and global empire, of which he could survey and explore at Aranjuez.

Rémy Zanardi (Université de Lausanne) *La Mythologie d'Alexandre-César Chavannes (1767-1800): l'origine et les causes du polythéisme*

Panel / *Session 243*, 'Quêtes d'identité : pensée, histoire et projections du religieux au tournant des Lumières (1780–1815)'. Wednesday / *Mercredi* 08.00 – 09.30. 2.07, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : François Rosset (Université de Lausanne)

En 1788, Alexandre-César Chavannes, pasteur et professeur de théologie à l'Académie de Lausanne, publie son *Anthropologie ou Science générale de l'homme*. Cette version ne représente qu'une table des matières étendue d'un projet plus vaste en treize volumes et neuf parties qui demeurent cependant manuscrits. De ces neuf parties, seule la dernière, appelée *Mythologie*, n'est pas abordée dans l'imprimé de 1788. Dans cette partie, Chavannes cherche à identifier la première religion des peuples anciens et de comprendre comment certains peuples sont passés d'un monothéisme primitif au polythéisme.

Laurel Zeiss (Baylor University) *Haydn's Correspondence, Epistolary Identities, and the Century of Letters*

Panel / *Session 213*, 'Musical Identities'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 16.30 – 18.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Anne Desler (University of Edinburgh)

Secret missives to rival parties, epistles from a confidant going astray, methodically copied love letters, couriers rushing dispatches between distant royal palaces—these may sound like scenes from an eighteenth-century novel, yet composer Franz Josef Haydn experienced all of the above. In fact, the composer's letters and notebooks reflect just how inseparable life-writing and literature were during the 1700s, a time when epistles dominated both fiction and non-fiction publications.

A few scholars (i.e., Beghin 2015, Fuchs 2013, Sisman 2005) have examined Haydn's correspondence and personal notebooks through the lens of Briefkultur. This presentation expands on their work by analyzing Haydn's correspondence in light of common epistolary practices and the larger literary context. For example, while modern readers often assume letters to be intimate, private documents, Haydn's epistles to Maria Anna von Genzinger probably were shared and read aloud within the family circle—a practice that adds aural and communal elements to the words on the page. The custom of destroying letters after a person's death may explain why no complete letters to or from his brother Michael survive. Analysis shows that phrases similar to those found in sentimental epistolary novels infuse Haydn's correspondence with von Genzinger and the letters he received from the widow Rebecca Schroeter. In short, Haydn's letters reveal that he adopted multiple personae or identities depending on the addressee. Additionally, Haydn's correspondence demonstrates how fact and fiction, public and private, actual letters and literature intertwined during what is sometimes called "The Century of Letters."

Wen Zhang (University of Oxford / Wuhan University of Technology) *Unconscious Enlightenment: Motivated Cognition and Fabricated Identities in Fielding's Works*

Panel / *Session 393*, 'Fabrication of Enlightenment Identities: Sensation, Perception, and Cognition of Eighteenth-Century Prose'. Friday / *Vendredi* 09.00 – 10.30. G.13, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Rebekah Andrew (University of Birmingham)

At the very beginning of his career as a novelist, Henry Fielding avails himself of the fact that an epistemic purpose underlies his works, which makes it necessary for him to serve "truth", the highest knowledge. In the dedications of *Tom Jones* and *Amelia* he has emphatically stated that it was his intention to recommend judgment of "truth" and to

promote the cause of virtue as well. Judgment is the cognitive ability that will teach one to know mankind better than they know themselves.

Fielding is aware of the problem of motivated cognition or the reader's unconscious shift of self concept for enlightenment. He has played with his new species of writing to simultaneously fabricate reader's identity and promote critical reading. He created a "voice" of "I" so constructive and illuminating that readers are elicited to adapt their self identity to the justification of knowledge. He also maneuvered to construct a national identity as a social representative of various cognitive agents by an interaction between the fabrication of national characters and the building of the text.

For social and practical wisdom, the process of enlightenment needs to be consolidated by practice in the social context. It is this contextual purpose that has motivated Fielding's all-inclusive writing as an attempt to achieve verisimilitude of social diversity. The basis of this diversity is a resonance between text and context, text and history, novel and ideology. The resonance, in turn, creates a social and cultural identity for the cognitive agent, i.e., the reader, so that the agent is immersed in the cognitive ecology for enlightenment till intellectual virtues are finally habitualized and internalized.

This paper aims to expound Fielding's conviction that human cognition is beyond the acquisition of knowledge of nature and self. It involves responsibility to Others and our social being. Fielding's epistemology distinguishes the predictive competence and potential to face the unknown world. With the fabrication of enlightened identities, he dedicated his writing to the developmental cognition with a consummation of the harmony of human, nature and society.

Yue **Zhuang** (University of Exeter) *Sir William Temple, Constantijn Huygens, and Sharawadgi: Identities and Poetics of Variety*

Panel / *Session 35, 'British Visual Culture: Garden and Landscape Identities 1'*. Monday / *Lundi* 14.00 – 15.45. Lecture Theatre 3, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Dana Arnold (University of East Anglia)

In an essay entitled 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus,' the English statesman and essayist Sir William Temple uses the term sharawadgi to describe the irregular beauty of Chinese gardens. Wybe Kuitert (2013) suggests that just as Temple's own garden, Moor Park, in Surrey, was inspired by Constantijn Huygens' Hofwijck garden estate and exemplified the beginning of a taste for the Dutch garden in England, Temple's notion of sharawadgi resonated with Huygens's interest in the irregular pattern of a Japanese robe, then fashionable in the Low Countries. Rather than treating sharawadgi as a foreign form of beauty that was to trigger a radically different aesthetic in the Enlightenment, this paper argues, instead, that sharawadgi and its associated Confucian philosophy were received comfortably within a European intellectual framework, that is, the poetics of variety as framed by Epicureanism-Stoicism in the 16th -17th century. Examining both Temple's and Huygens' descriptions of gardens (Moor Park and Hofwijck) respectively, I show that they do not judge the art of gardening by proportional or disproportional forms only; rather they hold dear to the heart the experience of variety and contrast evoked by a stroll through the garden, an experience helping to maintain an emotional balance of the soul in their search for ataraxia or tranquillity. Not unlike the gardens of Moor Park and Hofwijck, sharawadgi may also be perceived by Temple and Huygens as a source of humanist pleasure, a means to attain tranquillity which, as they understand, was equally treasured by the Confucian literati.

Lee **Zimmerman** (Hofstra University) *Frankenstein and Frankenstorm: Freud's Burning Child, Shelley's Creature, and the Climate Crisis*

Panel / *Session 18, "Men Appear to Me as Monsters': Mary Shelley's Frankenstein at 201'*. Monday / *Lundi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 5, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Sylvia Marks (New York University Tandon School of Engineering)

When the 2012 "superstorm" that so devastated New York City and its environs was on its way, it was initially designated as "Frankenstorm," the name by which I first heard it referred to in the media. But, curiously, that rather suggestive name soon disappeared, substituted out for the anodyne name "Sandy." That substitution of the wild name for the domesticated one is itself suggestive—a kind of parable of the way the increasingly extreme and

devastating weather “events” over the past years are, in the mediasphere and elsewhere, consistently detached from the climate crisis of which they are a sign. Taking up the hint offered by that brief identification of the devastating violence with the story of *Frankenstein*—a novel appearing at precisely the historical moment when atmospheric carbon, stable for 10,000 years at 270 ppm, began its precipitous and catastrophic increase (410 ppm and rising)—this talk suggests that the figure of Victor’s nameless creature can stand as a telling figuration of the climate crisis itself. Just as the Creature is seen only superficially—as his real nature and meaning remain invisible—so, too, do we “see” extreme weather events without seeing, or really registering, the real nature and meaning of the climate crisis they signify. Mary Shelley’s novel, that is, can help us think about our astonishing failure to respond to the existential crisis posed by global warming. This talk pursues that question by way of considering the Creature’s story together with what might be read as its later refiguration in a dream Freud describes in *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

Abigail Zitin (Rutgers University) ‘What was I a Whore for now?’: Addiction and the Logic of Character in *Roxana*

Panel / *Session 72*, ‘Daniel Defoe 1’. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. G.07 Meadows Lecture Theatre, Old Medical School. Chair / *Président.e* : Holly Kruitbosch (University of Nevada at Reno)

Is addict an Enlightenment identity? In this paper, I discuss addiction’s narrative forms to argue that the answer is yes. The discourse of addiction shares with the eighteenth-century novel its roots in spiritual autobiography. Taking as my central example Defoe’s *Roxana*, I explore how the concept of addiction might shed light on the constitution of character in the realist novel. In what ways is Defoe’s penitent protagonist legible as an addict? She is not a substance abuser in any literal or even figurative sense. She craves autonomy, making her story look like a parody of addiction: the elusive goal of independence renders her psychologically dependent, which is to say, makes her behave like an addict. She narrates her sinfulness as a pattern of compulsions, unmet intentions, and failed abstinence. In his protagonist, Defoe gives us a prescient illustration of a conceptual problem at the heart of modern thinking about addiction. Her spiritual crisis manifests as a disorder of the will; her confession dramatizes the problem of not being able to help it, where “it” turns out to be the most elusive part of her story. Unlike a drug, sin itself appears to give her no pleasure; sex and money are means to the end of controlling her own (financial) affairs. Her sinning can therefore be glossed as addiction without pleasure, her narrative as a study in addictive psychology, lacking only a substance for its protagonist to abuse.

The critical context for my reading of *Roxana* is an ongoing conversation about the historicity of addiction and its coincidence with modern consumer capitalism. Eve Sedgwick set the terms for this conversation 30 years ago in her essay “Epidemics of the Will,” a companion piece to her better-known and more obviously Enlightenment-oriented “Jane Austen and the Masturbating Girl.” Returning to Sedgwick in light of the ongoing opioid epidemic in the US, I argue that addictive psychology both echoes and underwrites a theory of novelistic character.

Lena Zlock (Stanford University / Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford) How Did Voltaire Read? The Voltaire Library Project: Using Digital Humanities to Bridge Book and Intellectual History

Panel / *Session 426*, ‘Digital Humanities’. Friday / *Vendredi* 11.00 – 12.30. Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower. Chair / *Président.e* : Melanie Conroy (University of Memphis)

To understand Voltaire’s thinking and impact, where better to look than his massive library of nearly 6700 volumes? Understanding the Voltaire’s library through a big-data approach will give us new insights into the forces that shaped Voltaire’s thinking. With the advent of digital humanities, we can now visualize the full breadth and depth of Voltaire’s “laboratory.” How many works of history did Voltaire own? Science? Theology? Jurisprudence? Did he purchase these books or were they gifted to him? How many were clandestinely printed? Where is the historical weight of the library? The goal of my project is to create a three-dimensional portrait of Voltaire’s “life of the mind.” What shaped Voltaire’s library? And what in the library shaped Voltaire’s work? These two questions are the same coin because the books that he used cannot be separated from the people, places, and contexts that produced them. In a working library, the owner is actively engaged with the texts. Voltaire left marginalia in over half of the texts he owned, and made deliberate choices as to which books became a part of his collection. By looking at thousands of books at once, we can

start to uncover these patterns of choice. My talk will explore the secrets of the library that data has unveiled, including how old are, in fact, Voltaire's sources, the genre distribution of the library, and more. I will also talk about how digital humanities can aid scholars in thinking about reading practices, knowledge collection, and the production of ideas. This project has been presented at the Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School poster session, the Digitizing Enlightenment III conference at the University of Oxford, and the Center for Spatial and Textual Analysis at Stanford University.

Natalia Zorrilla (Université de Buenos Aires) « Humanité originaire » et « superstition » dans la *Lettre de Thrasybule à Leucippe*

Panel / *Session 76*, 'Herméneutique de l'individuel'. Monday / *Lundi* 16.15 – 18.00. 2.05, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : James Harriman-Smith (Newcastle University)

Cette communication vise à analyser le traitement que le personnage fictif Thrasybule donne aux phénomènes de la genèse et de la propagation des représentations du divin dans la *Lettre de Thrasybule à Leucippe*.

Attribuée à Nicolas Fréret, cette œuvre est souvent considérée comme l'un des piliers de la littérature philosophique clandestine athée; ayant circulé comme manuscrit pendant la première moitié du dix-huitième siècle, elle est publiée par d'Holbach en 1765.

L'explication historico-généalogique que Thrasybule déploie à propos de l'origine des figures du divin se fonde sur la prémisse que les déités sont des productions « chimériques » de l'imagination des « premiers hommes ». En effet, selon l'auteur de la *Lettre*, on a d'abord conçu les divinités comme les causes des phénomènes naturels dont les lois étaient inconnues. L'ultérieure contagion généralisée de la superstition aurait provoqué, d'après Thrasybule, la consolidation de la cosmovision religieuse, ainsi que l'institutionnalisation des pratiques sacrificielles dénoncées par lui.

Or, est-ce l'humanité intrinsèquement superstitieuse ? Est-ce le comportement religieux essentiel au développement des sociétés? Les « funestes » effets des cultes des entités surnaturelles, sont-ils irréversibles? La résolution de ces problématiques s'avère décisive pour la pensée radicale antireligieuse des Lumières. Nous montrerons donc que Thrasybule cherche à établir une notion d'humanité originaire qui lui permette de répondre négativement à ces questions. Cependant, il faudra examiner aussi les différences qu'il y aurait entre cette représentation des origines de l'espèce humaine qu'il propose et les fictions ou « fables » des religions qu'il appelle « erreurs utiles » (e.g.: l'enfer ou le ciel), lesquelles inciteraient la « populace » à agir vertueusement.

Eugenia Zuroski (McMaster University) Beckford's Gothic Humour

Panel / *Session 174*, 'Laughing Matters'. Tuesday / *Mardi* 14.30 – 16.00. Lecture Theatre 4, Appleton Tower.
Chair / *Président.e* : Ros Ballaster (Mansfield College, Oxford)

William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786, 1816) is a perplexing text. Combining the genres of gothic and oriental tale, it presents a gleefully violent fantasy that draws on the tropes and styles of both genres to amplify the implausibility and outlandishness of each. As Kenneth Graham points out, *Vathek* evokes eighteenth-century conventions in order to bend, break, and escape from them. As a result, twentieth- and twenty-first-century readers have reached beyond the bounds of eighteenth-century literary models to describe its effects: Donna Landry uses the model of "reenactment" and "re-staging" to account for its "perverse quotation and transfiguration of Orientalist tropes," for example, and Eliza Bourque Dandridge calls upon comic book theory to explain its techniques of visualization.

Vathek is thus very much "of its age" in its immersion in popular orientalist and gothic tropes, and an odd fit in the category of eighteenth-century fiction that has been carved out by theories of the novel. This paper asks how the energy of this generic strangeness interacts with the dark comedy within the story, which includes elements resonant with the twentieth-century categories of "screwball" and "slapstick." If *Vathek* generates laughter, it is undoubtedly related to the cruel sense of eighteenth-century humour detailed by Simon Dickie, premised on the ritual humiliation of women, ethnically and racially marked persons, and the disabled. But does the generic instability or overwroughtness of the tale extend to its sense of humour, estranging the book's funniness from these familiar modes of comedy, and allowing it to generate other kinds of effects?