

Abstracts of Papers / *Résumés des communications*

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Jean-Christophe **Abramovici** (Sorbonne Université) Assignment 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, Chrystal 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 Tusculanum 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 concept 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 Vullings (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 Delamare.

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 / *Jeudi* 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 / *Jeudi* 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 l'*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 l'*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 Lövestabruk in northern Uppland (Sweden). The Library of Lövestabruk 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 Lövestabruk. 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 Lövestabruk 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 those 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* : Dhrubajyoti 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.

Michał **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** (Bahcehesir 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 18^e 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 corrélaient 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 pioneerism. 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, emblément 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 XVIII^e 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 (Rancière). 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 Tribunato 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 résonnances 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 Coteries, 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* : Cliona 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 à 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 inservientium" (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 l'*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-fictitious 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 / *Jeudi* 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 Readioff (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 26e 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 rétien 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 » rétien 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 Cişmeaua Roşie (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 'Frument,' 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's 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 *Contemtuoso 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 Southern 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 (Pontifícia 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 Adauct 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/Dusseck, 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 XVIII^e 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'établiront au Canada après la guerre et certains d'entre eux se verront 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 reinstitute 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 Jacques 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 XVIII^e 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 XVIII^e 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 crystalizes 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 XVIII^e 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 uncivilized 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 suffise 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 McMillan 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 croquera 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 Rochefoucauld, 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 réformatrice 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 réformatrice, 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 familière 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 familière avant d'en examiner plus tard les liens éventuels avec l'œuvre entier. L'écriture familière 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), *Tancredé* (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 binationaux, ou même plurinationaux?

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 MEDATE'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 Orrery's The Tragedy of Mustapha, the Son of Solymán 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 engagées 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 Loutherbourg'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'acception 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 prétend 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 / *Venerdì* 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 contemporains, 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 politique 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.