

Guido Abbattista (University of Trieste)

The case for a “long Enlightenment”: commercial ideology and the civilizing mission in the relationships between Europe and Asia (India and China), 1780-1850

If we observe the cultural history of Western Europe between the latter quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century – the period of time Reinhart Koselleck defines as a *Sattelzeit* – we grasp an increasing exchange with and debate on the non-European world and the historical facts of intense commercial and imperial expansion, especially in the Asian world (India, China). Did Enlightenment ideas provide suitable means for understanding these processes, as far as the varieties of cultures and ethnicities, the civilization of commerce and the overall relationships between Europe and the non-European, notably the Asian world, are concerned? The point at the basis of the present proposal is that a core of Enlightenment ideas on what defines a modern, free, civilized commercial society particularly inspired British commercial, diplomatic, missionary policies towards countries such as India and China. A “long Enlightenment”, inheriting a peculiar brand of the Enlightenment worldview, thus contributed to substantiate the idea of a civilizing mission belonging to the Christian West, well into the nineteenth century. The liberal, free-trade, evangelical creed that inspired British politics especially in India and China should be seen in its complex and contradictory relationship with the Enlightenment legacies. This problem will be analyzed by taking into account such diverse figures as Diderot, Condorcet, Benjamin Constant, John Barrow, George Thomas Staunton, James Mill, John Shore, Charles Grant, James Silk Buckingham, John Bowring, and such influential periodical publications as *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1850) and the *Oriental Herald and Colonial Review* (1824-1829). The transition from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, if observed from the viewpoint of global history, can suggest not only a different chronology than usual as far as the Enlightenment cultural inheritance is concerned, but also the enduring meaning of some core Enlightenment ideas for the understanding of nineteenth-century European commercial and imperial civilization.

Sergey Androsov (The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg)

The First (Münnich’s) Catalog of the Hermitage Art Gallery and New Perspectives of the Collection Study

The history of collecting works of art in Russia was not very popular for both technical and ideological reasons in the previous period. V. F. Levinson-Lessing’s fundamental study on the history of the Hermitage art gallery, published posthumously in 1985, was an exception to this.

Over the years, a lot of additional material, concerning the history of the imperial as well as private collections in Russia, has been accumulated. Nevertheless, the initial period of the history of the Hermitage remains insufficiently studied. This is largely due to the fact that the correspondence of the Cabinet of Catherine II has not been preserved in its entirety. Letters that preceded the purchase of a collection are almost always unknown. Besides, there are often no lists of paintings purchased as part of an entire collection.

Several years ago, the staff of the Department of Western European Fine Arts began to work on the publication of the so-called Münnich's catalog, the first Hermitage art gallery catalog, dated 1773-1785. The catalog is a three-volume manuscript in French. The compiler was Ernst Johann von Münnich (1707-1788), son of a famous field-marshal.

The catalog includes the name of the author, the theme, a brief description of the paintings and their size (in arshins and vershoks). In some cases, the presence of engraved reproductions and the judgment of the author on the merits of the work and the correctness of its attribution are indicated. At the same time, with very few exceptions, there is no indication of the origin of the paintings.

Currently, only the first volume of the catalog, including about half the total number (1317 paintings), has been edited. It shows Münnich's original text in French, its Russian translation, as well as brief contemporary information about the painting (including the sources). As a result, new data were obtained on more than 250 paintings, although 226 remained unidentified.

The work carried out made it possible to systematize the subsequent history of Catherine II's collection. It has been possible to identify numerous paintings that left the Hermitage under various circumstances and are now in museums in Russia and nearby countries, as well as in European and American collections. Certain results have been obtained from the comparison of the data provided by Münnich's catalog with Catherine II's ukases concerning the payment for acquisitions. Thanks to the cooperation with the University of Italian Switzerland, we have new opportunities for working with our colleagues from abroad, who have more possibilities for research in the public and private archives of European countries. In particular, new information has been obtained about the collecting activities of Count Carl Cobenzl, whose collection was fully acquired in 1767 through the mediation of Prince D. A. Golitsyn. On the basis of German documents, the composition of J. E. Gotzkowsky's collection, which formed the basis of the future museum in 1764, was also recreated. In some cases, Münnich's catalog makes it possible to reconstruct the composition of a collection, because the pictures received at the time of working on the catalog were recorded successively, one after another (for example, the collection of R. Udny received in 1780).

A full publication of the Hermitage art gallery catalog with a scholarly commentary will be an important contribution to the history of collecting and will help to clarify many questions related to museum practice.

Igor Fedyukin

(National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

**‘Riding in the Island of Love’: Translation by V. Trediakovsky of
‘Le voyage de l’isle d’Amour’ by P. Tallemant and its Court Context**

In this report, the question of the nature of the Enlightenment in Russia and the relationship between Western European cultural models and Russian social practices of the first half of the 18th century is examined using the example of a specific episode: the translation by V. Trediakovsky of ‘Le voyage de l’isle d’Amour’ by P. Tallemant. This translation is considered to be a key element in shaping the language and style of the new Russian literature, in particular, in the formation of models for describing love experiences and feelings in general. The legitimation of the theme of physical love in Russian literature in general is often associated with this translation. According to Trediakovsky himself, this translation was very popular at the court and among noble youth. However, the archival data allow us to clarify the social context of the early 1730s, in which the translation appeared and circulated. In particular, the appearance of the translation is considered in the context of the love affair between Tsarevna Catherine Ivanovna, the Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a patron of the translator, with Prince M. Belosselsky, and of Beloselsky’s connection with Prince A. Kurakin, thought to be the direct commissioner of the translation. The investigation materials of the Secret Chancery reveal the details of this connection, as well as the accompanying episodes. This episode allows us to problematize the correlation between West European literary models of courteous behavior and the real nobility’s conduct: the assertion that these practices were formed under the influence of literary models seems to be questionable. The question is rather how one or other of these literary models helped to formulate and legitimize the practices, which were already common in society.

Vincenzo Ferrone (University of Turin)

**Virtues and Rights of Man
from the Late Enlightenment to the French Revolution**

My talk, focused on the history of the word “virtue”, aims to emphasize the autonomy and cultural discontinuity of the emancipating project of the late Enlightenment as a historical period in comparison with the culture of the French Revolution. Therefore, it makes a break from the former simplistic historiographical paradigm, that lacked the perspective useful to new research. The significant examples, drawn from the Italian and the German contexts, will show the relation between “virtue” and the rights of man introduced by the Late Enlightenment.

Jonathan Israel (Princeton University)

Revolution and the Radical Enlightenment: an Overview (1650-1848)

Pre-1789 early modern revolutions were hence typically envisaged as occurring “rather than being made,” as the result of acts of collective will only in a rather restricted and passive sense. Keith Michael Baker and several others have convincingly argued that usages characteristic of the Glorious Revolution era mostly conceptualize revolution as a corrective process with a set course directed from above or outside. This leads logically to the further conclusion that the characteristic seventeenth-century notion of a providential revolution averted any need to conceive of revolution as a prolonged act of rebellion and collective struggle requiring violent resistance to the existing political order of a kind that forged self-conscious “revolutionaries.” Contemporary usage of the term shows that pre-1789 revolutions could be “happy,” “extraordinary,” or ‘glorious,’ and were essentially part of the ordained order of things. Revolution was “a fact but not yet a collective act; there were certainly revolutions but no revolutionaries”. These were “God’s Revolutions,” in David R. Como’s telling phrase, part of a divine plan characterized by “a reluctance to claim agency beyond the divine”. As the British historian David Armitage aptly sums up the thesis, from 1789 revolution became “voluntary, transformative and repeatable: revolution as fact gave way to revolution as act”.

This paper claims that the revolutionary era (1789-1848) was indeed characterized by a new kind of revolutionary consciousness and outlook that has no real precedent before 1789 and that the historian needs to find some pan-European and trans-Atlantic set of factors of sufficient breadth and depth to explain such an immense and immensely important change. The explanation given here is that however great the social and cultural resentments and frustrations of certain segments of society before 1789, however much certain classes and religious minorities were oppressed, exploited and discriminated against, there are no social or cultural changes that are capable in themselves – without a major boosting format - of explaining this great transformation. The essential point that needs to be grasped, it is argued here, is that social discontent takes on a drastically new form and gains a new power and self-consciousness when injected into an uncompromising intellectual framework that explicitly rejects all the justifications, sanctions, and claims to authority of the existing religious and political monarchical-ecclesiastical-aristocratic European system. Only the Radical Enlightenment, rejecting all religious authority while simultaneously urging democratic republicanism was a sufficiently powerful intellectual engine to generate such an across the board wholesale transformation of men’s attitudes.

Sergey Karp

(Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

The Publication of the Correspondence of Catherine II with Friedrich Melchior Grimm: the Experience of the Realization of a Utopia

In the summer of 2016, the first (out of five or six) volume of the correspondence was published. It had been worked on for 25 years (with interruptions). Of course, this length of time seems excessive, but there is an explanation for it. The complex multilingual texts of such a level, which publishers and commentators worked on meticulously, required serious and long-term efforts and endless consultations with representatives of different disciplines, who live and work in different countries and who have different priorities. In general, these conditions contradict both the poor basic funding of our academic institutions, and the desire of ‘effective managers’ from the academic world to point scholars primarily to journal publications and citation indexes. However, over the years we have accumulated a certain experience, showing that despite all these obstacles even the most utopian projects can currently be implemented. I am going to talk about the way the publication was conceived and carried out, how it differs from previous ones and what stage the work is at now.

Tal Kogman (Tel Aviv University)

Cultural Contacts and Modeling of Knowledge:

The Case of the Jewish Enlightenment in the German Speaking Sphere

The *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment) movement, established in the German speaking sphere in the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, wished to create a new Jewish society based on enlightened values, such as religious tolerance, self-improvement, morality and universalization. The *maskilim* (the adherents of the *Haskalah*) strove to widen the scope of the traditional-religious body of texts and composed multifarious literature, including poems, prose, philosophical essays, plays and science books, which contained modern values and ideas. Educating Jewish youth with enlightened values was one of the *maskilim's* main goals, and so they published textbooks, reading books, and periodicals for this audience.

The *Haskalah* was greatly influenced by the German-Christian educational *Philanthropismus* movement, which expressed German-Christian enlightenment educational perceptions. Some of the *maskilim* formed personal relations with Christian educators, most famously the relations between Moses Mendelsohn (1729-1786) and Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724-1790). Many

maskilic authors translated German *Philanthropist* textbooks into Hebrew or adopted their textual models.

Jewish Enlightenment is an illuminating example of the spread of the Enlightenment's ideology in minor European groups, and of its alterations upon integrating with existent culture. In my talk, I will focus on *maskilic* scientific texts. The main goal of these books was to elevate the inferior status of the sciences in Jewish culture, and to update Jews' knowledge and perceptions of the modern sciences. The exploration of the modeling of scientific knowledge illuminates the cultural constraints that these books' authors faced and the creative ways in which they chose to deal with them. It reveals the areas of congruency between the Jewish *Haskalah* and the ideas of the European-Christian enlightenment, but also the *Haskalah's* unique character.

Galina Kosmolinskaya

(Institute of World History / Research Centre for the History of Book Culture,
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

**Parisian or Muscovite? From the History of Russian-French Cultural Ties
in the Enlightenment (Presentation of the Completed Project)**

The report will present the results of a source study of the handwritten album 'Views of Old Paris' from the library of Fedor Karzhavin (1745-1812) in the context of the history of perception of European cultural phenomena of the Enlightenment period in Russia. The album is edited under the title: 'Paris of the Enlightenment: Sights, History, Everyday Life (the Album of the Russian Parisian Fedor Karzhavin)'. The text of the document is accompanied by an introductory article, a commentary and some illustrations.

The album includes 23 anonymous French engravings of the 17th-18th centuries with views of Paris (including the general view of Paris produced in 1607 by Léonard Gaultier), for which Karzhavin compiled a commentary based on the books he had read as well as on his personal observations and memories. The history and mythology of Paris are supplemented in the Album with information of an autobiographical nature. The album was created in Russia in two stages, in the early 1770s and in the 1790s, originally as a teaching aid on architecture for students of the Model House school at the Moscow Kremlin, where Karzhavin served as an assistant to the architect V.I. Bazhenov. In the 1790s, attentively watching events in France, he returned to the Album and completed it with new 'views' and comments.

Karzhavin grew up in Paris, studied at the Sorbonne, enjoyed the friendship and patronage of French scholars, married, tried to get the position of keeper of manuscripts at the Royal Library, hoped to become 'a real Parisian' and at the same time to be a cultural intermediary between Russia and France... His hopes were not realized. At the same time, Karzhavin was an admirer of

Voltaire and a diligent reader of the *Encyclopedia* – he dreamed of benefiting his country, but his knowledge and experience were not in demand in this regard, either.

The uniqueness of Karzhavin's Album, in our opinion, lies in the fact that its author is at the same time an insider and a foreigner in relation to the object of perception – Paris. A special case from the history of intercultural ties of the 18th century would seem to be at the centre of the study, but its study, given Karzhavin's pronounced bibliophilic inclinations, is inseparable from the anthropology of reading, which leads to a wider range of questions concerning the history of ideas.

Eszter Kovács (University of Szeged)

Between Metaphor and Concept. Emerging light for the Enlightenment

In most European languages Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*, *Lumières*, *Просвещение*, *Ilustración*, *Illuminismo*, *Felvilágosodás*, etc.) is a metaphorical concept, widely used by historians, philosophers, literary historians, contemporary political thinkers, journalists and even in education. The concept, based on the metaphor of light and a binary opposition between light and darkness, is also part of a narrative process, be it historical, philosophical or literary. Before defining the Enlightenment as a movement, a period or an age, as a phenomenon or an essential part of the history of ideas, we can also observe the historical semantical changes of the metaphor becoming a concept. Light for knowledge, understanding or the capacity of understanding, and therefore for human reason is a very ancient metaphor, present in very different cultures. Already polysemic in its figurative meanings, *lumière* and *lumières* become a historical and philosophical concept as a *neoseme*. Although France was not necessarily among the first states in radical political and social reforms and thought, French texts of the 17th and 18th centuries may reveal important aspects of the conceptualization of the light-metaphor. In my paper, I intend to follow the semantical and conceptual change from the mid-17th century to some of Diderot's and D'Alembert's writings in the 1750s, including critical remarks about the use of the metaphor and counter-examples.

Guillaume Nicoud

(Archivio del Moderno, Academy of Architecture, University of Lugano,
Mendrisio)

The probable “encyclopedic” origins of the Hermitage

Catherine II created and furnished her Hermitage at the same time as she invited Diderot to continue the publication of the *Encyclopédie* in Russia, which was

finally published in 1772. A writer and a great reader, she must have looked carefully at the articles “cabinet”, “galerie” and “musée”. She was certainly also interested in the article “Louvre” written by Louis de Jaucourt (1704-1779) in 1765. The article criticises the French crown for still not having decided to install a museum in the old palace, bringing together the best paintings from the French royal collection. This project, worthy of “la gloire de [la] Nation” was made public (and polemical) by writers such as Voltaire in the 1740s. Thus, Catherine could read in the Encyclopedia that “in the southern part [of the palace] it would be possible to put together all the king’s paintings, at present piled up and mixed together in the store-rooms of Versailles where no-one can enjoy them” (“dans la partie située au midi, on pourrait placer tous les tableaux du roi, qui sont présentement entassés et confondus ensemble dans des garde-meubles [de Versailles] où personne n’en jouit”). Such writings are perhaps not foreign to her desire to make a gallery in the Hermitage.

Maria Petrova

(Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

**Collecting Works of Art as a Practice in the Diplomatic Environment
of the Enlightenment: the example of Russian Representatives in the
German States**

The Age of Enlightenment, which is mainly associated with the reign of Catherine II in Russia, brought significant changes to the duties of diplomats. They had not only to represent their monarchs on the international stage, but they also had to negotiate and collect information about the host country, as well as transfer any significant political, educational and cultural experience from the European powers back to their homeland. They were also involved in the search for, and purchase of, works of art for the imperial collections as well as for their own. Collecting art treasures, an important feature of the period and a fashionable hobby of the aristocratic milieu, not only contributed to the development of cultural exchanges between Russia and European countries, but also created the image of Catherine II as a patroness of the sciences and the arts in European public opinion.

Most of the Hermitage’s collections (including the most famous ones: those of Gotzkowsky, Brühl, Tronchet, Crozat, Braamkamp, Cobenzl and many others) were purchased in the second half of the 18th century with the direct involvement of Russian diplomats and with the help of local agents, who were often represented by prominent figures of the Enlightenment. Russian ambassadors, envoys and residents also contributed to the development of their relatives’ and patrons’ art collections, which played an important role in their career progression. They also formed their own collections, inspired to a certain degree by the monarch’s example.

The report will attempt to summarize the existing knowledge about collecting in the diplomatic milieu; to identify algorithms for the search and acquisition of works of art using the example of Russian diplomats who served in the German states; to find out how they assessed their own activities, and whether they considered themselves cultural mediators while acting as such.

Nadezhda Plavinskaya

(Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

An International Publishing Project ‘The Complete Works of Montesquieu’: the Experience of a Historian

In 1987, a group of researchers forming an international society for Montesquieu at the initiative of J. Ehrard and G. Benrekassa, conceived a monumental project of a complete collection of works by Montesquieu, which would replace A. Masson’s three-volume edition, published in 1950-1955. From 1998 to the present day, 14 out of 22 volumes have been published. The first eleven were published thanks to the efforts of the Oxford publishing house ‘Voltaire Foundation’ and the Neapolitan ‘Istituto italiano per gli Studi Filosofici’. Since 2010, the project has been implemented by the publishing house ‘ENS Editions’ based in Lyon and by the Parisian ‘Classiques Garnier’.

A team of philologists, philosophers and historians from France, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany and Switzerland have set themselves an ambitious task: to offer the ‘Montesquieu of the 21st century’, as complete and accurate as possible, to the modern reader. As complete as possible, because the collection includes not only long and short writings on the philosophy of laws and well-known literary opuses, but also texts, to which the word ‘writing’ is not always applicable, such as readers’ notes, Roman law summaries, notebooks, translations. As accurate as possible, because the texts are published in accordance with modern philological norms, and because an extensive critical apparatus, excluding any evaluative judgments (which quickly become outdated), is aimed at giving the modern reader an opportunity to read Montesquieu the same way as his contemporaries did.

In 2008, the editor-in-chief of the publication, Catherine Volpilhac-Augier, invited me to join this work as the author of a scholarly commentary on the volumes of correspondence and on the volumes of the ‘Pensées’, which are notes that Montesquieu made over three decades and which represent his ‘intellectual laboratory’. I was initially embarrassed by the proposition. I had had a little experience in publishing commentaries, but I did not consider myself a ‘Montesquieu expert’ in the literal sense of the word, certainly did not know much about him, and in addition to that was far from the main archives and libraries that should be involved in such a research. However, the temptation to join such a large-scale activity was great, and I agreed to try my hand at it. Over

the years, I have accumulated some experience, and I would like to share it with the conference participants. It will be about the specific contribution that a historian can make to a modern edition of 18th century sources, about the algorithm I have developed for the scholarly commentary about such fragmentary and spontaneous sources as letters or notebooks, about the problems that I have had to face, and about the valuable experience of international and interdisciplinary cooperation.

Sergey Polskoy

(National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

Vladislav Rjéoutski

(German Historical Institute, Moscow)

**The Transfer of European Socio-Political Ideas
and Translation Practice in 18th Century Russia**

In 18th century Russia, the literature in translation played a very important role in the dissemination of new ideas and concepts, words and meanings, which transformed Russian culture. The history of printed literature in translation of the period is studied well enough, but a huge layer of manuscript literature in translation, preserved in Russian archives and libraries, remains little studied. The volume of the socio-political manuscript literature in translation is considerable. One of the tasks of modern historical studies is to describe this corpus of literature and to introduce it into academic use. To accomplish the task, we need to study the whole corpus of literature in translation, which can serve as a basis for a comparative study of the presence of manuscript and printed texts in 18th century Russia and will help to provide a complete picture of the development of the language of “civil sciences” during the Enlightenment.

The report will present the research project of the German Historical Institute in Moscow devoted to the study of socio-political translations and their significance in the formation of the conceptual apparatus of the social sciences in Russia. The research field of the project lies in the area of intellectual and socio-cultural history, specifically in the history of ideas. Within the framework of the project, it is planned to determine the special features of the selection of European works to be translated, the role of commissioners and translators in the development of literature in translation, to study the “social history” of translation in 18th century Russia; to trace the translations which enjoyed the greatest demand and were diffused in manuscript copies; to discover which ones were most influential for Russian readers; to consider the development of the disciplinary discourse of socio-political “sciences” and the key political concepts in Russian literature in translation during the 18th century; to analyse the relation between translated works and original Russian political essays and

to determine the value of literature in translation in the transformation of the Russian socio-political lexicon in the 1700s–1790s.

Lyudmila Posokhova (Vasyl Karazin Kharkiv National University)

**The ‘Garden of Ukrainian Sciences’ and Its Creators:
the Reconstruction of Intellectual Networks
(the Second Half of the 18th – Early 19th Centuries)**

‘The Garden of Ukrainian Sciences’ is what contemporaries called the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and Chernihiv, Kharkiv and Pereyaslav Collegiums in the second half of the 18th century, adding a number of new features of an enlightening nature to this metaphorical expression. These educational institutions existed in Ukraine, which was part of the Russian Empire in the 18th century, and adopted many educational and cultural traditions of Western and Central Europe. They became organizational structures, thanks to which an intellectual community was formed on these territories for the first time. In this case, the results of a study of this community of intellectuals will be presented. Its structural features, as well as the variations in intellectual ties that became typical of the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries, will be characterized. The research was based on the methodology of network analysis, proposed by Randall Collins.

The community represented a new type of intellectual relations in the eastern part of Europe, uniting professors and graduates of ‘Latin schools’, representatives of the clergy, public figures of the region and intellectuals who lived far beyond its borders. The reconstruction, first of all, of epistolary contacts has made it possible to identify both vertical and horizontal links and to represent the structure of the community. Thus, threads of correspondence connected the German philosopher Friedrich Christian Baumeister, the Kyiv Metropolitan Samuel Mislavsky and the rector of the Kharkiv Collegium, Laurent Cordet.

Studying these contacts allows us to document the peculiarities of the understanding of the meaning and goals of the Enlightenment by the members of the community. A radical change in the content of teaching in colleges that occurred in the 1760s (the study of rational philosophy, the use of a peculiar set of works by European enlighteners as teaching aids, etc.) may be considered as one of the results of the correspondence. Documenting the trajectory of a specific opinion becomes the basis for understanding why some of the teachers ‘suddenly’ integrated an innovation in their training course (for example, the Kharkiv Collegium professor Yakov Tolmachev translated one of the works of Moses Mendelssohn and studied it with his students).

The reconstruction of the networks that united many of the ‘average’ intellectuals of Hetman and Sloboda Ukraine in the second half of the 18th

century is important for identifying the distribution area of certain enlightenment ideas; it marks the originality of their ‘composition’ and allows us to talk about their ‘survivability’ in this region of Eastern Europe.

Irina Roldugina

(National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

‘The End of Fornication’: Enlightenment, Libertinage and Urban Sexuality in St. Petersburg in the Mid-18th Century

Sexuality – ‘enlightened’ or ‘popular’ – remains one of the least researched topics in Russian historiography. The lack of a historiographical tradition and, of course, a certain shortage of non-declarative sources also affect the situation. On the contrary, in Western European historiography, the problem of the refraction of enlightened values in the context of urban sexuality is developed significantly. Methodologically, following these historians of sexuality, I regard St. Petersburg in the mid-18th century as a stage for a specific social element (urban regularity, the accessibility of the personal, an intimate space for ‘mean’ strata, weaker religious control than anywhere else, and the significant presence of foreigners as well as a significant spreading and borrowing of foreign leisure practices among citizens), which experienced the dynamic influence of ideas and practices of the Enlightenment. With the help of an analysis of ambiguous transgressive practices, including the Kalinkin Commission itself (1750-1759), and the numerous episodes detailed in the investigation documents, I will demonstrate how early modern discourse on sexuality was formed in Russia, and I will also consider the specific manifestations and ways of existence of the urban sexual subculture.

Franck Salain (Paul Valéry University, Montpellier III)

A high point and a process: two approaches to the Enlightenment

The chronological limits of the Enlightenment pose various problems which affect both researchers and the general public. For some the phenomenon in question, in a national or international framework, corresponds to the decades preceding the French Revolution; for others, the Enlightenment is synonymous with the eighteenth century; for still another group it is important to enlarge the period and make a distinction between the early Enlightenment (*Lumières précoces*, *Frühauflklärung*), middle Enlightenment, and late Enlightenment, (*Lumières tardives*, *Spätaufklärung*), in other words, nearly a century and a half. This cacophony could encourage researchers to abandon a concept considered too vague. On the contrary, we can infer that it corresponds to an essential international phenomenon that can be considered as a long-term process, or as

an important moment gathering momentum within this same process. Can these differences be explained by different methodological options? Should we see rather the effects of perspectives marked by national issues, such as the recognition of the Scottish Enlightenment, the Dutch, Greek or Swiss Enlightenments? We will examine these delimitations, their presuppositions and their consequences for the determining of an Enlightenment identity.

Jean-Pierre Schandeler (CNRS, Montpellier)

Condorcet: the universalism of the Enlightenment in question (1979-2008)

The state of the world since the end of the 1980s is just as strong a motive for re-interrogating the Enlightenment, as is the renewal of historiographical practice. The Enlightenment's universalism in societies that are undergoing globalisation (inalienable human rights, democracy, liberty, equality, religious toleration, progress...) clashes with nationalist struggles, isolationism, politico-religious conflicts and the defence of strictly private interests, sometimes in the guise of "reason of State".

Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* was long considered as the "testament" of the Enlightenment. Its many translations during the twentieth and at the beginning of the twenty-first centuries, most of them published at times of severe national or international crises, allow us to assess the sense of appeal to the Enlightenment and the universal values that translators attribute to it or debate. We will examine several prefaces or post-faces of some of the translations published in Spain after the fall of Franco's dictatorship, during the dark years (known as the "leaden" years) in Italy and in Germany, in Croatia at the end of the war, in the Netherlands confronted with xenophobic discourse.

Claus Scharf (Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz)

What followed the Enlightenment? Schlözer and his prominent students in Germany, in the Hungarian kingdom and in the Russian Empire

Amongst the many questions in the research on the Enlightenment in Europe, there are still some important ones with nearly no historiographical tradition or only with simple answers as yet: How did the Enlightenment end as a complex of ideas and as a cultural, social and political movement, and what followed? The most popular assumption is that early liberalism was the result.

In my paper I will present an empirical method to refine this result. After August Ludwig Schlözer's stay in Russia at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in 1769, the historian was appointed to a chair as ordinary professor in the University of Göttingen. He was fast regarded as the best

historian in Germany but at the same time as the most influential publicist and editor of enlightened critical journals in the Old Reich. It is my opinion that Schlözer's students in the forty years of his activity in Göttingen from 1769 to his death in 1809 would be a good sample to explore their later professions, their social networks, their contacts with Schlözer when they had left Göttingen, their scientific, cultural, confessional and political activities, their publications, their ideas. Most of Schlözer's students were from German-speaking countries but the biggest percentages of foreigners were protestants from the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy and citizens of the Russian Empire. So it is also possible to compare these "national" groups. Many of these students were still alive for decades after Schlözer's death, some even in the period of the "Pre-march" and during the Revolution of 1848. I would call my method prosopographical and I have already collected about eighty biographies to find out what happened afterwards to the enlightened content of their education at Göttingen university.

Elena Sharnova

(National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

The Catalog of Alexander Stroganov's Collection and the Tradition of French Auction Catalogs in the Second Half of the 18th Century

In the second half of the 18th century, a certain practice of compiling catalogs of collections was established in France. With few exceptions, the reason for the publication of a catalog was an auction (which means that the collection was intended for sale), where the authors were traders, artists (who were often traders at the same time) or amateurs. The catalog of Stroganov's collection is a rare example, where the author of the catalog was the owner himself. Thus, Stroganov not only formed a collection, but also offered his own interpretation of his collection. The uniqueness of the catalog is certainly linked to Stroganov's personality; he had for some time headed the Academy of Arts and was a great connoisseur of painting, having refined his taste during his stay in Paris in the 1760s-1770s. The first edition of the catalog was published in 1793 in French; as the collection continued to grow, the second edition was published in 1800, and in 1807 there appeared a work with 'masterpieces' from the collection, each of which was accompanied by an engraving.

The catalog, of course, was compiled using the best French designs (for example J.-B. P. Lebrun's catalogs), which gave a description of the painting with its artistic merits and a justification for the attribution and also indicated the origin where possible. According to numerous comments in the catalog, Stroganov was independent in many of his assessments and judgments. So, he clarified the traditional attributes and themes of paintings and often introduced information related to their preservation and restoration. Since the printed

catalogs of collections were rare in 18th century Russia, it in fact performed an enlightening function. In particular, the catalog included discussions on general questions on the history of art. Stroganov was the first in Russia to quote the *Salons* of Diderot in a printed edition, for example using an extensive quotation from the *Salon of 1765* for his description of Claude Joseph Vernet's 'Storm at Sea'.

Elena Smilyanskaya, Viktor Borisov, Ekaterina Chicherina
(National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

**Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great in the European Press:
Database of Translations from Western News Periodicals**

The study of news publications that formed the information space of Europe during the Enlightenment is developing rapidly and primarily combines efforts of researchers in the history of reading and the history of book publishing and journalism. Significant achievements in the last two decades in the creation of widely available electronic copies of the important newspapers and magazines (for example, <http://www.gazettes18e.fr>; <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ilej>) make it possible to include a large volume of multilingual European news periodicals in studies devoted to the formation of 'public opinion' and to the influence of European press readers on the actions of politicians and leaders rather than to political history, and to do it more often than before.

Creating the 'Russia in the West European Press of the 18th Century' database can give a significant impetus to the study of the 'historical world' of the Enlightenment, and above all of the mechanisms involved in constructing the image of Russia in Europe and the tools used in Russia and in the West in various political situations (which Claude Labrosse called 'instrument périodique').

The report will present a project, which launches a large-scale work on the introduction of the multilingual materials issued from the Western European news press into academic circulation (currently, 30 students and undergraduates of the Higher School of Economics are involved in the project, and its materials will be published on the university's website). According to the author, at the first stage of the project it is important to present possible ways of studying sources of information; news chronology patterns (revealed from publications made in different countries) and the nature of the editorial/(semi)official intervention in the selection and submission of news. It is also important to discuss the methodology for identifying, translating, commenting on, and publishing articles about Russia in Western European news publications in the 1760s–1790s.

Yoichi Sumi (Keio University, Tokyo)
**In search of the sources of the great dictionary:
A genetic study of the *Encyclopédie***

Here, in a few words, is an outline of a collective research project I have been directing in Japan for more than ten years. It is a genetic study of the *Encyclopédie*. It is often the case that each contributor to the *Encyclopédie* indicates his bibliographical sources, in the text he is writing. These indications come in several forms: titles that are often shortened or abridged, names of authors that are sometimes incorrect, or quotes that are closer to paraphrase, etc. Our team has fixed itself the task of describing what we call the “bibliographical metadata” detected in the articles of the *Encyclopédie*, following a certain number of precise criteria. One of the principal aspects of this type of genetic study is the help it can bring the researcher, allowing him to get a glimpse of the hidden part of the huge iceberg that the great French dictionary is. We already know that for the creation of the first volume of their dictionary, Diderot, D’Alembert, Mallet or D’Aubenton gladly used the dictionaries of Trévoux, Moréri, Vosgien (Ladvoctat), Savary or James, etc. In order to facilitate this approach of the encyclopedic sources, we are joining forces to establish a database with a view to a new inventory of articles and documents concerning the origins of the French *Encyclopédie*. This way we are suggesting a renewal of our knowledge of the encyclopedic texts in the light of their sources, shifting the critical interrogation from the text to the writing, from the structure to the process, from the work to its origins, from the construction to the actual making itself.

Edoardo Tortarolo (University of Eastern Piedmont, Vercelli)
Enlightenment and censorship: an awkward balancing act

Unqualified and unfettered freedom of expression and of the press has been a key component of the answer to Kant’s crucial question that historians gave during the 19th and 20th centuries. Leo Strauss placed the rejection of all forms of censorship at the core his vision of the Enlightenment in his influential *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (1941 and 1952).

The paper addresses this aspect of the definition of the Enlightenment. It argues that the in-depth analysis of the control of the press in the 18th century shows that major figures of the European Enlightenment indeed strongly objected to the way censorship was practiced in most European states, but believed in the notion that public communication should be disciplined in order to stop superstition and fanaticism from prevailing over civil progress. Theories of total freedom of the press were articulated by Hume and Condorcet and were less representative of the general attitude than usually assumed.

This paper will therefore present the results of some research on the definitions and theories of freedom of the press in the 18th century and on the practice of the royal censors in France and Prussia. Particular attention will be paid to those royal censors who saw themselves as “enlightened”, in that they strove to ensure fair conditions for books and journals to discuss freely topics relevant to the common wellbeing. A final section of this paper will be devoted to an overview of the role played by this specific understanding of the freedom of the press in a redefinition of what “Enlightenment” was about and of the intellectual and institutional background the writers and thinkers of the 18th century referred to.

Antonio Trampus (Ca’ Foscari University of Venice)

**The political language of the Enlightenment and its heritage in liberalism:
new approaches**

During the last ten years, studies on the strategies of circulation and adaptation of certain texts from the late Enlightenment (especially texts produced in the Mediterranean area) have enabled us to understand which elements of Enlightenment Europe lasted through the revolutionary years and the Napoleonic empire to become an integral part of the new nineteenth-century Europe. The history of a text and its circulation, the dynamic of its persistence and its reinterpretation after the death of its author, putting it into the context of the profound changes in the social and cultural setting at the end of the *Ancien Régime* have all become indispensable elements in the understanding of the true meaning of “the long eighteenth century”.

The history of *La Scienza della legislazione* (*The Science of Legislation*) by Gaetano Filangieri, of its different editions, translations and commentaries help us to understand that the modernity of its content is inseparable from the newness of its language, to the extent that the text, thanks to the policy of translations, was able to renew the political language of other countries and other cultures (for example the Germanic states, Russia, Sweden). Through a sort of geometric progression, starting from Naples where Filangieri grew up, *The Science of Legislation* thus contributed, in the years preceding the Revolution, to the spreading and disclosure of values and concepts whose subversive potential as regards the *Ancien Régime* was perfectly well understood by the different translators and publishers and also by the commentators, like Benjamin Constant. This talk, therefore, is based on the confrontation between different points of view and different methodological tools: the history of ideas and the history of culture versus with the history of language and of the strategies of translation and appropriation of the Enlightenment texts.

Elise Kimerling Wirschafter (California State Polytechnic University in
Pomona)

Russian Diplomacy as Enlightenment Project: The Holy Alliance and the Vienna Settlement, 1815-1822

In 1815, the year of Napoleon's final defeat, the Russian Empire needed not restoration, but recuperation. The Petrine-Catherinian "system" had endured more than twenty years of brutal warfare, fragile alliances, and exhausting diplomacy. The accommodation between church and monarchy that characterized Russian Enlightenment, mediated intellectual dissidence, muted social conflict, and promoted Russia's rise to great power status in Eurasia had withstood the onslaught of revolutionary change so often spread by Napoleon's armies. Russia's Enlightenment project — a process of state and empire building, legal-administrative reform in the service of resource mobilization and regular government, cultural Europeanization, the emergence of an educated public, and religious adaptation to new learning and social expectations — stood poised to play its role in a peaceful European society. The influence of Alexander I and his diplomatic agents at the Congress of Vienna is well studied, as is the chess game of diplomacy in subsequent years. Less familiar are conceptions of the Grand Alliance, its relationship to the Holy Alliance, and Russia's ongoing effort to act in concert (*concerter*) with her allies. At a moment when the empire appeared fully integrated into European politics, events on the ground — revolution in Spain, Naples, and Piedmont; the beginning of the Greek independence movement; and the Russo-Ottoman war scare of 1821-1822 — threatened the equilibrium achieved in 1814-18. This paper explores the response of tsarist diplomacy to international crises in post-Napoleonic Europe. Based on diplomatic communications, the paper explores ideas about eternal principles of peace and governance, the significance of allied unity, the rights and duties of nations, the legal (treaty) foundations of European society, the problem of political reform, and the relationship of divine providence to human history. Analysis of what it meant to act in concert illustrates how Enlightenment ideas blended into Russian political and religious traditions. The paper thus builds upon my previous work on Russian Enlightenment, which focuses not on the transmission and translation of European ideas, but on Russian practices of Enlightenment.

Stanisław Witecki (Jagiellonian University, Kraków)

The social spread of the Enlightenment in predominantly illiterate societies. A methodological proposition

The Enlightenment was researched from the perspective of the social history of ideas in the mid-1960s. Nowadays it seems to be obvious that this phenomenon was restricted to a narrow elite. However, these conclusions were exclusively based on western European sources.

This biased perspective was somewhat justified by theoretical assumptions. Historians adopted the history book methodology, believing that only materials indicating personal reading can give an answer to the problem of how ideas are received. Therefore, they investigated only those rural circles which practiced common reading aloud. What is more, unless it is because the concept of Christian enlightenment was not developed, they traced only the circulation of secular content. However, in most of Europe, the illiteracy rate was far higher than in the France, the Netherlands, and England and Enlightenment was non-radical in form and Christian in content. Nevertheless, it existed, and its social spread is traceable. Although peasants and townsmen did not read, they did listen. We cannot draw any conclusions about what they thought, but we can find out what they may have known. To achieve these goals, we should focus our efforts on the classes of the middlemen who were between a popular and an elite culture in terms of social stratification, cultural activity and position in communication channels.

In most countries, these criteria were met by the parochial clergy. There were justified theoretical objections to focusing only on those who were imposing culture on the people. Therefore, it is important to investigate the clergy not only as intermediaries or representatives of an institution, but as an important social class itself. In my paper, I will present the methodological proposition, tested in my own research, which includes the choice of sources, techniques of gathering, selecting and processing data, and ways of interpretation. It will be a proposition combining the tradition of quantitative social history with the achievements of new cultural history.

Richard Wortman (Columbia University, New York)
The Enlightenment in Russian Representation and Rule

In his *Kurs russkoi istorii*, published in 1918, the liberal historian Alexander Kornilov described the governmental system of Nicholas I as “one of the most consistent attempts to realize the idea of enlightened absolutism.” (2:112-13) Nicholas’s reign has generally been viewed as the antithesis of enlightened absolutism, whose rationalist ideas Nicholas was sure to abjure. The concept of enlightened absolutism is generally regarded as one relating to eighteenth century governmental systems, such as Catherine the Great, Frederick II, Joseph II, who sought to apply principles of reason and legality to the practices of rule. It has been treated as a rather flawed forerunner of the ensuing political enlightenment which ushered in ideas, liberty, and most important popular sovereignty. But in Russia it was more than that. It developed into an ideology and mythology of state, drawing on western rationalist thinkers, to elevate and consolidate the power of the absolute state. It was a functioning ideology through the reigns of Nicholas I and even Alexander II.

It did not countenance public participation but rather conjoined the notion of the power of the state with the welfare of the citizens. My paper will deal with three themes:

1. The Integration of western rationalist theories, Grotius, Hobbes, Leibniz, later Montesquieu, with the mythological foundations of the Petrine order, the myths of conquest, and secular transcendence.

2. The development of the symbolism of state to give expression and emotional force to the contract theory upon which the authority of the monarch rested by ceremony and rhetoric of consent.

3. The mechanism of reform to give substance to the ideal of beneficent ruler by transforming the state order, while attempting to maintain the social order of estates.

Nadezhda Zubanova

(The State Museum of Ceramics and the “Kuskovo Estate of the 18th Century”)

‘Enlight While Entertaining’: Educational Ideas in the Semantics of the Russian Noble Estate (Kuskovo)

My paper is devoted to the study of the ‘arrangement’ of the Kuskovo estate under Count P. B. Sheremetev in 1750-1780. It will address the questions of the world of images of the estate environment, and of historical, mythological and allegorical concepts and characters, inseparable from it, in the context of the general situation of the development of educational ideas in the art of the second half of the 18th century. The Russian noble estate of the 18th century was a kind of model of the world, and the artistic and philosophical component of the Kuskovo estate is a vivid example of this.