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Peripheries of Enlightenment

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Peripheries of Enlightenment

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HOW TO STUDY LITERARY CULTURE IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT?

Abstract

It has long been known which books were read most widely throughout enlightened Europe and to which intellectual authorities particular social groups referred. After the long history of research about the 18th century, modernity has also inherited various research habits consisting mainly of constant verification of the recognised hierarchy of authors, publications, and actors of intellectual life.

However, the question remains: how to study this *literary culture* in given continent areas? Speaking of *literary culture*, we mean the prevailing patterns in the reception, evaluation, assimilation and imitation of literature, information and evaluation channels, local conditions that have a decisive influence on choices and opinions.

The author proposes to speak about this matter based on the recently completed work on literary culture in French-speaking Switzerland in the 18th century. Despite its specificity and evident provincialism, this example provides material for a general, theoretical and methodological reflection: is it worth researching production from the second (and further) shelf? If so, how should this material be approached? What does it tell us about the evaluation procedures? The article presents and analyses these issues.

Keywords: literary culture, Switzerland, Europe, canon, plurality.

Researchers usually approach the concept of literary culture from the sociological perspective, analysing mechanisms that solidify — deeply divided at a given moment and within a given context — procedures of internalisation and value judgements of literature. Results of studies in this manner provide information about practices related to literature functioning in a given environment. However, they also let us determine general conclusions about society's reception, circulation, and assessment of works.[1]

[1] One example of such approach is the book written by the prominent researcher of French classicism Alain Viala, titled *La culture littéraire*, Paris, 2009.

In these contemplations, let us think about these issues from a slightly different perspective — in a sense, more empirical and documentary — while building upon the results of original studies on the conditions and realities of the production and reception of literature in a specific and unique environment of French-speaking Switzerland in the times of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[2] Remarks arising from these studies are of a decidedly more methodological nature rather than theoretical.

First, however, below are several essential pieces of information about the properties of this environment at the time. In contrast to the cultural metropolis (Paris), Switzerland is presented in the 18th century as a typical periphery. However, this is not just a geographical periphery (because, in principle, all French provinces located away from Paris are such peripheries) but, speaking more generally, a cultural one: political units like cantons or cities that are autonomous yet connected to the confederation through various agreements (such as Geneva) have old republican traditions that are characterised by, among other things, an almost complete lack of court culture in which positions determine everything, honours, one's image, commands of capricious fashion, dominant patterns in behaviour, taste, and art, and the will of the ruler, which is not always predictable and transparent. Furthermore, economically and politically leading territories are strongly marked by Protestantism (of the Calvinistic or Lutheran variety), with its characteristic promotion of morality and virtue, discretion in expressing affections, modesty in external appearance, reliability in work and other forms of individual commitment, social discipline, and — what is particularly important — spreading alphabetism as far as possible. Since the late 16th century, the dominant faith has contributed to the arrival of many Huguenots who were persecuted in France. Typically, they were educated, brave, resilient and resourceful people, including many intellectuals of the first class. Another peculiar condition of life in these territories is the shape of the landscape, with larger or smaller mountains standing practically all around, limiting the horizon from all sides and thus

[2] Cf. F. Rosset, *L'enclos des Lumières. Essai sur la culture littéraire en Suisse romande au XVIIIe siècle*, Geneva, 2017. Similar studies have been carried out in other cultural areas, e.g., the following publications: R. McLean, R, Young, K. Simpson (eds), *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture*, Lanham, 2016; B. Becker-Cantarino (ed.), *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century. The Enlightenment and Sensibility*, Rochester, 2005; P. Weber, *Literarische und politische Öffentlichkeit. Studien zur Berliner Aufkärung*, Berlin, 2006 ; F. Portinari, *Le regole del gioco : saggi sulla cultura letteraria del Settecento*, Cesario di Lecce, 1999 ; A. Mattone, P. Sanna, *Settecento sardo e cultura europea. Lumi, società, istituzioni nella crisi dell Antico Regime*, Milano, 2007 ; Jerzy Snopek, *Prowincja oświecona. Kultura literacka Ziemi Krakowskiej w dobie Oświecenia: 1750–1815,* Warszawa, 1992.

favouring the sense of separateness within specified boundaries. Thus, for the French-speaking Swiss, Paris is — on the one hand — the capital of language and culture, which determines and imposes norms and models, a centre that fascinates and attracts. On the other hand, however, it is perceived as an emblem of otherness, towards which one feels detachment or even aversion, carefulness, sometimes to the point of fear, a paradoxical complex of moral superiority and cultural inferiority. All this is perfectly reflected in the letters written by Saint-Preux to Julie from Paris in the second volume of the famous *Julie, or the New Heloise* by J. J. Rousseau (1761), an unrivalled best-selling novel of its time in entire Europe.

Let us return now to the idea of *literary culture*, proposing — for these reflections — the simplest possible definition, explaining subsequently in the following monologue each of its parts. Literary culture is then: *a type of literary heritage, domestic or not (in the 18th century, it was typically European), internalised by a given society, which generates practices and imposes writing attitudes.*

What *society* are we discussing?

Naturally, one can only talk about the part of society that uses the written language. In this context, individual societies of Europe are unequal, but we must add that literary culture does not concern only littérateurs. Indeed, it turns out that even very poorly alphabetised people have contact with certain forms of literature, like oral literature, or literature that is read aloud, as well as popular audiences of village fair theatres, or even servants listening in on home theatre plays in elite communities. Nonetheless, the fact remains that today, we cannot find traces of such practices.

We should immediately know that the social group that encounters literature is much broader than the classically listed group of authors and readers of printed works. Let us add here that when we talk about the written word and the practice of writing, we need the studies to include all types of writing, not just what we typically qualify as "literature" and add the adjective "great." Most written documents of this period do not qualify as such "literature". These are notes of all kinds, private or public chronicles, journals, ego-documents in the broadest sense, correspondence, reflections, fragments of books, inventories, minutes of meetings of various associations, speeches, sermons, prescriptions, meteorological diaries, logogriphs and other language games. Indeed, it turns out that each document of this type contains direct or indirect traces of the author's or the supposed recipient's contact with "literature".

Such a society should be, however, differentiated. After all, we are not talking about society as an abstract concept but about a specific social group living in conditions that determine its nature. Geography is the first such condition. We do not think similarly, do not evoke the same images and figures, do not tell the same fairy tales if we live surrounded by natural barriers or permanently situated in front of a wide-open landscape, an almost infinite horizon, like in eastern Poland, or by the sea or ocean, on an island, or in the heart of a great continent, up or down, in a small, isolated community, or a big city. In each situation, the eye is accustomed to slightly different dimensions and forms, and the imagination is fed different images and associations, the sense of identity and discourse that expresses it are based on different parameters. The physical context of human life is also associated with a climate that sets the rhythm of our daily lives, imposes customs and shapes mentality, and directly impacts human activities, methods of survival or development, or the economy. Folk art and its elite varieties are born in such conditions. Naturally, we can refer to idealistic definitions of beauty that assume a universal dimension, but we actually see that art takes a definite form in countless varieties rooted in separate contexts. Literary culture is always between consciously or unconsciously adopted truths and universal patterns and their varieties. It is a space of dialogue between opposing and complementary dimensions, often difficult and turbulent, completely unconscious or even silent.

Another significant issue determining the properties of a given community is language. Polish researchers of the Enlightenment know this very well, standing in front of multilingual domestic documentation dominated by French, not quite rare remnants of Latin, and Polish, which had not yet been stabilised uniformly, not to mention Yiddish or regional subdialects, or non-Polish supradialects practised domestically in various communities in the Republic of Poland. We know that the choice of a given idiom in literature is not just a matter of language but depends primarily on various conditions of the statement. The choice of French is a status determinant for Polish aristocrats, while, e.g. for Doctor Samuel Tissot, it is, inversely, a way to popularise medical knowledge outside the chosen population of readers of scientific literature, still predominantly written in Latin.[3] Language is also the background of disputes of

[3] Cf. forewords to numerous papers by Tissot where the question of purpose of a given text is always analysed against the background of the language used. E.g., *Avis au peuple sur sa santé* (1761; translated into Polish as *Rada dla pospólstwa względem zdrowia jego*, 1785), as the first treatise of social medicine in modern history, had to be written in a language available to the supposed recipient. On the other hand, the medical and moral work *L'onanisme* (1760) is a French translation prepared by the author

a political and philosophical nature (in a sense given by Rousseau for these two fields taken together) in an era when the so-called "national consciousnesses" are being born, which is evidenced by, e.g. sharp critiques of Bodmer and Breitinger, ardent defenders of German culture, against succumbing to the dominant French models. Many documents, not only scientific, provide evidence that the attitude toward the practised language seems to be a ubiquitous topic when the writer asks themselves the most straightforward questions about the very fact of writing. Novels in letters are often a kind of practice dealing with these topics, when authors attempt to give each character an appropriate style, or even variety of language, according to the determined personality and origin of a given character. Of course, the more a given culture is marked with centralism and strong normativity, the more often this topic materialises as a manifestation of peripheral communities, frustrated by the lack of recognition of their separateness.

The specified collective of writers should be analysed compared to the political system where it lives. We treat writing under a strong monarchy with an effective control and censorship apparatus, with clearly defined aesthetic expectations of the ruler, differently than writing in a small republic where everyone knows the governing representatives of the people almost personally, or in small states (e.g., German or Italian) where the regulation of literature depends mainly on the will and whim of the currently ruling prince. In monarchies, the figure of the king is continuously presented in works of literature in this or other forms as a personification of a good-natured patriarchal ruler or as a ruthless tyrant, like a protofigure generating potentially infinite varieties of a metaphorical nature. However, when reaching for a pen, citizens of a republic will practically always consider their position and responsibility for state order and the correct behaviour of other citizens. They will write about this directly or not, but it will always be the imposed starting point when writing.

The weight of faith was already mentioned with the example of Switzerland. Indeed, there were few areas in 18th-century Europe with unified faith. Even Catholicism differs significantly in its impact on the production and reception of "literature" if we observe its influence on the communal consciousness and the production and reception of literature in Spain, Austria, France, and Poland. It is just as challenging to use the single concept of Protestantism to merge English Puritanism and Pietism of the Moravian Church or Calvin's confessional state and independent

himself after the publication of the original titled *Tentamen de morbis ex manustupratione* (1758); in the foreword, Tissot acknowledges that he had encountered difficulties when translating words and sentences that could sound completely obscene in the vernacular language and have completely different effects in the reader than intended.

Lutheran communities. Nevertheless, inevitably, the cultural reality of the time remains strictly tied to the varieties of faith and cult, which is often forgotten when one treats the Enlightenment as one great field of battle between Catholic obscurantism and radical materialism. Studying grassroots phenomena of literary culture provides an entirely different image of reality: faith and religion remain ubiquitous as the basis of worldviews, either to defend its authority or question it, regain the right to a faith different from the dominant ones, comment on relationships between dogmas and the political order, conduct anthropological contemplations concerning the developing subjectivism. In essence, regardless of the attitudes of individual authors toward religion, it should be treated as one of the most critical determinants of a given society in general, particularly in practices recorded in it concerning literature.

The type of regular activity of writers and readers also contributes to defining the nature of a given community. Outside big cities, where acts of an economic nature are very varied, most inhabited areas in Europe live by the rhythm of agricultural activities. This rhythm is not identical in regions with vineyards, grain-producing areas, or places dominated by pastures and cattle raising. Everywhere, however, life encompasses periods of activities and seasons of rest, when one can think about entertainment, including writing or reading; festivals are organised where harvest ends, or cows return from summer mountain pastures; activity everywhere, including thinking and flights of imagination, maintains strict ties with the type of economic activity, regardless of whether one is a lord of his lands or an ordinary peasant. Cities also generate their imagery, professional and social types, specific narrative threads and mythology, reflecting the conditions and realities of the economic parameter of life. What do people do in a community? This question also must be answered in order to define the studied community.

Finally, one should pay particular attention to images and narratives concerning a given studied community. Extending the ancient poetry of the "nature of nations", statements about the nature of individual nations and societies flourished in the 18th century. Reports by people travelling throughout Europe and the world multiply profusely; descriptions in encyclopaedias, other compendia, and novels and theatre increasingly often base the characterisation of presented figures on social and national origins. Descriptions, definitions, clichés and stereotypes, and occasionally even elaborate legends are about each nation and culturally unified community. They are being made simultaneously on the outside and inside a given community. Looking from a distance, ideologically, axiologically and poetically coherent discourses about foreigners arise under the influence of true or supposedly true self-interest. At the same

time, the foreigner himself, looking for a coherent narrative to define his own identity, develops a series of narrative sequences (motives, images, characters), as well as full stories about himself, which ultimately make up his own specific mythology. Literary culture is, naturally, strongly marked by these materials with dual origins (external and internal) and dual nature, like an image and a mirror. Clearly, not every text refers to this national iconology and not every text enriches it, but every writer and reader is — willingly or not — touched and included by the discourses that shape this iconology and circulate it in a broader or narrower space. Moreover, the researcher finds the most legible parts in these discourses that enable them to determine their chosen subject.

What is *literary heritage*?

The simplest answer to this quest could be as follows: literary heritage is that which is read, i.e., that which successfully passes the test of arriving from production to reception. It is, however, difficult to document in a truly plausible manner. There are indeed newspapers and magazines containing detailed reviews in every region of Enlightenment Europe. We can also determine the success of each publication by listing the number of subsequent issues within a specified period, which is already not entirely plausible because of the common practice of unofficial or even illegal issues, which is difficult to calculate. Catalogues of public and private libraries and various reading rooms also provide essential data on the existence of different publications. It is all, nonetheless, insufficient because we still cannot touch the entire issue of actual practices related to reading: Who reads it? What do they make of it? How do they rate what they read or heard? What traces of reading remain within the reader? We should search for answers to such a question in other sources, i.e., writing of a private nature that was typically never published. Admittedly, we know many published memoirs in each country; however, the most significant part of ego-documents remains in better or poorer preserved manuscripts. Moreover, it primarily concerns letters and diaries of regular (not prominent) people whose testimony is most interesting when the goal is to cast light on the literary consciousness, not of elites but the collective, in a complete form as possible.

Nonetheless, the most important thing is not to know what is read, but its utility and what remains of reading, what is recreated in this way or another, and the dominant trends. To be able to prove it, we need to list many sources which, in effect, tell us: What are the preferred genres (in this context, it is also interesting to study the repertoire of home theatres or look in the registries of public reading rooms, where information

about the number of lent books was preserved)? In what proportion are domestic and foreign works read and, if foreign, are they translated or not? Furthermore, what is a given society's approach toward the prevailing debates and disputes on literature (like the continuous, subsequent episodes of *querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*)? On which general axiological principles do they base their choices, opinions, and judgements?

The last question is crucial because it illuminates the issue of literary culture from a slightly broader perspective, demonstrating that it is not limited to the aesthetic dimensions of literature but also refers to political, social, moral and worldview models and values.

Once more, we can invoke the example of Switzerland to provide these general observations with a more concrete outline. The studied material demonstrates a solid foundation of faith and belief that it is necessary to maintain moral principles in individuals and collectives. Consequently, each piece of literature that questions these principles or vividly presents immoral actions and violence is accepted cautiously. Aversion is also felt toward innovation that knocks down the established genre order, e.g., the *drame bourgeois*, and forms that primarily express the desire to shine in a company, like domestic and commemorative poetry. In general, all phenomena that place style over substance are viewed as inadequate or even harmful. These were, for instance, the convictions of Marie Huber, a Genevan author of numerous theological and moral works who published a book with a slightly different profile in 1753 titled *Réduction du Spectateur anglais à ce qu'il renferme de meilleur, de plus utile et de plus agréable. Avec nombre d'insertions dans le texte, des additions considérables et quantité de notes*. As the title suggests, it is the selection and translation of the most appropriate (according to M. Huber) parts of the famous *Spectator* by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. What is this appropriateness? According to the author of the Genevan publication, the English writer's body of work contains many valuable texts, but they need to be purged, leaving only that which is worthy of morally educating the reader:

> Le bon [y est] enchâssé et comme noyé dans une infinité de bagatelles, de contes surannés, d'intrigues amoureuses, de détails insipides, de coteries imaginaires, et ce qu'il y a de pis, de peintures séduisantes, des expressions libres et tout à fait grossières, dignes du langage des halles. [...] Quelle conclusion tirer du mélange étonnant ou de la bigarrure qui règne dans cet ouvrage? Une conclusion toute naturelle, c'est qu'on rendrait un vrai service au public, et surtout à la jeunesse, de faire une *séparation*, ou pour mieux dire un *retranchement* de tout ce qui désassortit au but de l'auteur.[4]

[4] Joseph Addison, *Réduction du Spectateur anglais à ce qu'il renferme de meilleur, de plus utile et de plus agréable. Avec nombre d'insertions dans le texte, des additions*

Similar statements can be found in numerous different texts, like in forewords to (quite frequently produced) novels, in newspapers and magazines, correspondence, philosophical and moral treatises and sermons, as well as in the Protestant encyclopaedia titled *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon*, among other places, in articles devoted to literary topics.[5]

What is the *internalisation* of literary heritage?

The example of Marie Huber's reduction of *Spectator* demonstrates rather clearly what types of operation can be done on foreign texts in order to adapt them to the new context of reception while expressing the conviction that they are better that way. Translating activity is very enlightening in this respect. We know that there was very significant freedom for the principles governing the work of translators in the 18th century. They were almost always executing not translations but adaptations for the targeted reader; occasionally, they even took advantage of their position to produce texts different from the original. In-depth analysis of translations is always a source of valuable information on the particularism of a given community. Even more persuasive in this context are selections of fragments or summaries printed in various periodicals.

However, the internalisation processes are not limited to the question of language. They also occur in the stratified social space, where we can observe how works, models, and value judgment patterns seep from the level of elites to the "grassroots" communities. As an example of these phenomena, we can present the memoirs of a simple person from the Swiss Jura who was born a peasant, received a very cursory education, and subsequently became: a pedlar, a rural teacher that could hardly

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considérables et quantité de notes. Par l'auteur des XIV lettres, Amsterdam, 1753, p. v and viii: "The good things that are there are, in a way, melded with uncountable bagatelles, stories from another time, love intrigues, uninteresting details, imagined coteries and — what's worse — deceiving images, dissolute and wholly crude expressions, worthy of a marketplace. [...] What conclusion do we take from the strange mixture this piece overflows with? A completely natural conclusion is that we would do a good deed for the public, and particularly for the youth, by *separating* or, strictly speaking, *removing* everything that does not fit with the author's own intentions".

[5] This encyclopedia — published in Yverdon in 1771–1777 under the direction of Fortunato Bartolomeo de Felice, a former Franciscan friar from Naples, converted to Protestantism in Bern — is an adaptation of the Parisian encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert, with many articles corrected, completed or written from scratch in order to correct statements that were not divided in the community of pastors and the vast majority of Swiss intellectuals. This undertaking is the most complete example of differences in worldview that differentiate the Enlightenment promoted in Switzerland from views spread by Parisian Philosophers.

write, a lackey at a wealthy house in Paris, a notary after returning to his village, and finally a trader. His memoirs have been preserved in the form of a manuscript prepared with the utmost diligence to make its collected pages look like an actual book, including the title page, meticulously imitating the patterns of printed volumes. The text opens with a statement to the reader written in verse, although its author, Jean-Henry Jaquerez, admits in it that he is no author and cannot write at all; he continuously has serious issues with orthography, punctuation and other conventions of the written language: "Avis au lecteur: Considère cher amy lecteur / Que je ne suis point un auteur / Que jay écrit pour mamusér, / Mes malheur mes prosperité. / Je ny ai point mis lhorthographe / Car je ne connait point cet art / Chevront bisse accent virgule / Les points finale non je le jure / Ne sont point dans mon écriture."[6] In his memoirs, Jaquerez often alludes to various literary characters (like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza), specific pieces (like Fables of Aesop and La Fontaine), or individual authors (like Pibrac or Boileau). However, most interesting are his statements of a meta-writing nature in which the author comments on his disorderly manner of writing compared to the established models of diary discourse.

Another example illuminates the relationship between the practices of private writing and the learned models recorded in literature. It concerns the correspondence of a particular lady from the region of Valais (i.e., the valley of Rhône), Julie Odet, who wrote touching love letters to her husband, who spent most of his time in French garrisons as a hired officer. Julie misses her husband but does not hide certain anxiety resulting from her awareness of her inferiority in the skill of writing letters and, primarily, the ability to behave in company. She imagines her husband surrounded by dangerously swanky women. She writes about her feelings and worries, invoking Mmes de Sévigné and de Beaumont, the highest authorities in the field of the epistolary form. "Mais! non jamais je n'exprimerois le sentiment comme je le sent et je né vois dans les sévigné et les beaumont que la peinture du sentiment qui est dans mon cœur … tu abite un pay [la France] ou elle [les femmes] son douée d'un génie bien plus vif que celles de ce pays, aussi toute doivent savoir communiquer à leurs écrit ce feu dont leur esprit et plaint … je suis bien

[6] Jean-Henry Jaquerez, *Les mémoires du petit henry qui contiennent touts ce qui s'est passé depuis sa naissance jusqu'a son second voÿage de paris et les differentes avantures qu'il luy sont arivez*, tomes 1 et 2, 1742, Archive of the former bishopric of Basel in Porrentruy, Ref. No. 87 J. I see no point in translating this fragment whose meaning (briefly mentioned above the quote) demonstrates its paradoxical nature only when combined with its form, which is easily noticeable to anyone who has come into contact with norms of written French.

sure qu'elle[!] ont plus d'avantage que moi et dumoins si elle n'aime pas mieu, elle savent mieu le dire."[7] This example demonstrates that when developing the concept of *Julie, or the New Heloise*, Rousseau wanted to approach his compatriots' actual language and other practices as closely as possible. Which is where the annotation comes from, appearing in the very beginning of the famous novel in letters: "il [le lecteur] doit se dire d'avance que ceux qui les [les lettres] écrivent ne sont pas des Français, des beaux-esprits, des académiciens, des philosophes ; mais des provinciaux, des étrangers, des solitaires."[8] A space opens between the true Julie Odet and the fictional Julie d'Etange (protagonist of *Julie, or the New Heloise*), where the determinants of literary culture can be most clearly seen, from the experience of reality to the projection into the world of imagination and language.

What *literary practices* do we have in mind?

The answer to this question results directly from what has been demonstrated so far. Thus, we only must briefly list the most basic forms of writing that can exhibit the nature of literary culture in each area.

- Private writing crystallises in all forms of ego-documents: diaries and journals, memoirs, notebooks, summaries and compendia of books, travelogues, invoices and other texts of an economic nature, moral exercises in the form of confessions, loose reflections and dreams. Not just direct references to pieces of literature and authors are worthy of attention there — also the very method of writing that demonstrates rhetorical and linguistic proficiency, as well as the stock of repeated sentences and formulas.
- Official chronicles that can be kept in families or written by officials as a summary of public life in a town or state. They typically contain very interesting information about events of a cultural, popular (like

[7] Julie Odet's letter of 9 November 1773, Canton Archive of Valais, Ref. No. Odet 2 P 363/16. Here, the greatest value of the document also lies in its form; the meaning can be translated as follows, without recreating its peculiar and substantial orthographic and syntactic flaws: "No, I would never express my feelings as I feel them and as demonstrated by the likes of Sévigné or Beaumont; I'm only able to give shape to the feelings that lie inside my heart. [...] you live in a country [France] where they [women] possess a much livelier genius than here, therefore it's likely that all of them can endow their letters with this flame that fills them [...] I am certain that they have more gifts that I do; at least, even if they do not love better, they can express it better.".

[8] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. II, Paris, 1964, p. 6: "The reader must say to himself in advance that those who wrote these letters are not French, not sophisticates, not academicians nor philosophers but rather provincials, foreigners, recluses." [not checked in English version].

street and village fair shows) or elitist (concerts, visits of important figures) nature which require a permit or special police supervision.

- Home theatre. It is potentially an immensely important phenomenon where people not only actualise works of diverse nature in a specific context: antique classics, but primarily modern ones, theatre that is contemporarily written and played in large capitals, domestic productions, occasionally purely commemorative ones, sometimes exhibiting true artistic ambitions. Performances facilitate an arbitrary treatment of this rich material; unfortunately, it is challenging to find good documents that would serve as evidence. Typically, we only know the titles of staged plays, which is still not without significance. We can draw some quite interesting conclusions from this, e.g., about the attitudes of amateur actors (admittedly, almost always belonging to the elites of a given society) to the repertoire, i.e., also to the canon imposed by the capital.
- Magazines. In times of a spectacular multiplication and expansion of newspapers and magazines, there is practically no region in Europe where numerous, often ephemeral, yet occasionally persistent publications of this type were created. They printed texts by people of varied social and economic statuses; however, they usually did not sign their contributions, whether opinion-forming articles, reviews, translations, summaries, local news, poetry, stories, puzzles. The materials we have emit a kind of a voice of a well-harmonised choir that ultimately represents the environment in which and for which it performs. Magazines are also engaging for the functioning of literature in the economic space. They are risky enterprises where people invest either completely *pro bono publico* or hope to reap profits. Their example can teach us much about the status of literature in the context of the burgeoning modern capitalism and the effects of its dependence on the principles of the market.
- Printing activity. Often related to the publication and popularisation of magazines, the activity of printers was impressive in most European regions. Naturally, regions and countries are not equal because supervision over this profession tends to be harsh in strongly centralised states. At the same time, republics, free cities and small principalities offer printer-publishers privileged terms and their activity, even though the bulk of production is intended for other countries, does not remain without influence on the local intellectual and literary life.
- Minutes of association meetings. The Enlightenment is also the time of enormous growth of diverse social and civil organisations throughout the continent, including economic associations (popularising

modern management methods and using them usually as a narrative to describe political and philosophical issues), charity organisations (often not only interventionist but also expressing educational ambitions in the spirit of morality) and scientific societies (bringing news, discoveries, inventions, debates and controversies for the provinces). They also include literary associations, where "literature" is treated in the most general sense, and belles-lettres typically does not hold the central spot in this extensive field. Some of these organisations functioned strictly, under the authority of adopted rules, each meeting subject to a detailed summary. These documents are a true blessing for a researcher who can thus easily travel in time, almost participating in discussions that are nearly 300 years old, in which literature is never the only topic of interest, but co-constitutes the background of each speech and each debate.

- Translations. We have already discussed the importance of translations. We should only add that various people, usually anonymous, did translations. A significant role in this activity was played by women, who often transitioned from such a service to foreign texts to independent writing in a whole light. There are also essential conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of the selection of translated texts, knowing that the translator — even if hiding behind anonymity — always has the ambition to publish their work in print, while the printer-publisher or director of a periodical wants to earn money. Thus, both parties count on success while considering the supposed expectations of reader-customers; therefore, their choices can be seen as a reliable indicator of tastes prevailing in their community.
- Belles-lettres. Even if we ended up relativising the position of *belles-lettres* in comparison to the entire writing field, the fullest expression of the prevailing literary culture could be naturally found in literary pieces, short stories, novels, theatrical plays, and poetry. However, we must forget textbook messages about the canon or set hierarchies and pay equal attention to each text, even the naivest. We know that the dominant tone of the period in each context is not reflected the best in masterpieces but second-class and lower products. These pieces often present a reliable picture of contemporary times in this same context. They can occasionally conduct an unequal but honest dialogue with an exceptional piece. The author's genius infuses the typical components of the narrative and emotions with a universal dimension. That is what happened to *Julie, or the New Heloise*, in contrast to dozens of local novels written at the time in the region where the village of Clarens near Lake Léman became, under the authority of Rousseau, the capital of sentimental and philosophical

expectations of Europe. Nonetheless, the case of this work is not isolated. Indeed, in every country, in each culturally cohesive community, we can find similar examples that allow us to understand what produced the masterpiece. Examples that, like the masterpiece, carry signs of cultural conditions and the expression of the most general human ups and downs, tensions, misfortunes, and hopes.

What *writing attitudes*?

Reading and writing are shaped according to the specific conditions of each context and the writing attitude, i.e., the way the author assumes their role in society and internalises the image assigned to the one assuming this role. Being a writer in a country where institutions such as academies establish hierarchy and distribute awards and distinctions, and in a country where the ruler distributes gratuities according to his whims or political calculations or severely punishes the unruly and where the social structure does not provide any procedures for achieving fame, are different things. In such countries, the writer's position can oscillate between the light and the underworld, and the writer, even if respected, is no more respected than a judge, manager, or trader. Nevertheless, we can find traces of writers' self-reflections everywhere, wondering what models they copy, what are their goals in writing, and generally, who they are when they write. It is communicated in forewords and other paratexts, but also to an equal extent in texts produced by amateurs, often not intended for publication. Therefore, the writer's self-representation is ubiquitous, whether it is a discourse requirement or genre, whether it appears spontaneously under the pen, perhaps even not consciously.

Also, strategies of taking on the writer's role can be conscious, but the range of attitudes is quite broad, from parading publicly as an author whose voice and opinions count in society, e.g., Voltaire, to hiding behind the veil of anonymity. There are servile authors under the protection of the powerful, and others who bravely fight for their ideas, competitors in the rivalry for honours and awards, dilettantes who barely admit that they write. Different models dominate in various communities, but occasional or amateur writers who do not pretend to have the status of an author are the most numerous everywhere. However, they always ask themselves questions about their position in writing, and they provide the clearest and the most confident demonstration of the shape taken by literary culture in each context.

Foundations of the methodology

It is difficult to determine a strict methodological protocol to investigate such a deep topic. The work must take on — as mentioned before — an empirical nature, even more so because we are indeed aware of the fact that we operate based on materials that have been preserved, not knowing which documents, of what nature, and in what numbers have been destroyed or not yet revealed. Therefore, let this set of recommended actions and attitudes serve as a summary of these contemplations:

- Determine the scope and area of the studied literary culture.
- Test parameters and definitions of this area: what constitutes its separateness and nature?
- Collect as many manuscripts (ego-documents) and printed works (paratexts, magazines) as possible.
- Ignore all set genres, aesthetics, and institutional hierarchies.
- Study educational programmes, textbooks, sets of common knowledge.
- Juxtapose data on literature reception and production: the relationship between what is read and what is written.
- Identify dominant threads in the selection of the discussed literature and its assessment and pursue their crystallisation in *loci communes*.
- Juxtapose these literary threads with broader circumstances (geography, political system, faith, education status, economy, inside-outside interaction), try to understand how the attitude toward literature fits in the cultural consciousness in the broader meaning, also becoming a determinant of identity.

Final remarks and questions

The result of this type of study is a more complete, more diverse and comprehensive picture of literature as an area of social practices. They provide a significantly expanded knowledge about actors (and predominantly female actors) of these practices. They also illuminate new mechanisms of creation, circulation, and recording of language elements where social perceptions find a permanent expression in a society in the general sense, especially when connected to the construction and consolidation of awareness of communal identity.

However, a question remains: can such studies concern only relatively small, more easily described societies, or are they possible or even relevant for a larger and more complex subject, like a big and culturally diverse country or even the entire European continent? It is difficult

to answer this question unequivocally, but in the second case, we can postulate that we should collect and juxtapose the results of individual inquiries with similar assumptions. That would undoubtedly reinforce the increasingly common belief that speaking about the Enlightenment in Europe in the plural would be better. Interestingly, in dominant European languages, we use the following words in the singular to denote the 18th century from the ideational perspective: *Enlightenment*, *Aufklärung*, *Illuminismo*, *Ilustracion*. Only the French term *Les Lumières* appears in the plural, which seems somewhat paradoxical, considering the tradition of studies on *Les Lumières* in France, where the trend to treat the Enlightenment as a cohesive and homogeneous ideational programme spread from Paris by the community of Philosophers has been the dominant one for at least half a century.

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HOW TO STUDY THE ENLIGHTENMENT: A CULTURAL AND LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

Abstract

Polish research on the Enlightenment developed in the first half of the 20th century but gained new momentum in the period after the Second World War. At that time, efforts were made to outline a picture of the phenomenon with a strong ideological character, but also a program of recognising important and hitherto not widely studied areas, above all of the literary cultures, was developed. A systematic exploration of sources was also started, and preparations for scientific editions of literary works were undertaken. These activities meet two permanently up-to-date requirements: an interdisciplinary, comparative, historical and ideological approach, as well as the necessary and constant contact with the source material.

The research examined the source, sociological-cultural, structuralist and historical-ideological perspectives but focused on the Enlightenment itself. In this situation, the works should be primarily contextual. Based on the previous and new critical studies, it is necessary to undertake systematic research on the position and role of the Enlightenment in the development of Polish culture — in the context of old Polish culture and Romanticism and the phenomenon of modernity. A good reference to this issue is the already introduced concept of change, which allows to dynamise the image and situate the phenomenon of the Enlightenment in the broader time perspective.

The second — related to the previous — problem that requires theoretical reflection and reflection on the source material is the anthropological perspective of viewing literature and culture. Such issues as ways of constructing the speaking "I" in different literary genres, ways of expressing the identity of the "I" and shaping the collective identity may shed new light on the epoch, require research consideration and reference to the main tendencies of the so-called new humanities. Such approaches will make it possible to introduce research on the Enlightenment into the dialogue with the latest tendencies of this humanities, test the usefulness of its proposals for historical works, and check the usefulness of new approaches.

Keywords: modernity, universality, multifaceted research, anthropological projects, literary culture.

We can answer the question of how to study the Enlightenment in two ways. We can treat it as a question of a methodological nature, generally concerning methods of studying eras, trends, cultural periods and similarly structured wholes, but with the assumption that the Enlightenment, as a historically defined time in the linear process of history, is a phenomenon identical to other such wholes separated following similar principles (criteria). It seems, however, that the titular question contains a supposition of another understanding of the Enlightenment, viewing it as a phenomenon of a particular nature and thus requiring specific special approaches and research methods.

If we adopt this way of thinking, another question comes to mind: what is different between the Enlightenment and other cultural and literary phenomena of the same type? In other words — what is the Enlightenment? Such reflection — already initiated by thinkers who attempted to grasp the essence of their own time from the internal perspective, so to speak — is also undertaken in the present in various communities. Its effects are published, for example, in "Dix-huitième Siècle", "Wiek Oświecenia", the selection of works devoted to Professor Zdzisław Libera, "Czym jest dla mnie Oświecenie" (What the Enlightenment is for me), as well as in original books, primarily those of Maciej Parkitny.[1] The primary ascertainment concerning this separateness of the Enlightenment amounts to the perception of this phenomenon as a time of particular dynamism when fundamental changes occur, resulting from a new formation being shaped in the womb of the classicistic formation: modernity.[2] Metaphors of a threshold,[3] boundary sphere, passage, liminality, used to describe this process, accurately — it seems — reflect this particular situation of the Enlightenment in the process of history. The assumption of movement, activity, conscious pursuit of transformations *throughout* the human world, immanently contained in this process, designates — in this case — methods of research based on obligatory, *holistic*, so to

[1] *Dix-Huitième Siècle*: *Qu-est-ce les Lumières,* 1973, nr 5; *La recherche aujourd'hui,* 1998, nr 30. *Wiek Oświecenia* 2001, t. 17: *Co to jest oświecenie?* 2001. T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Co to jest oświecenie? Wprowadzenie do dyskusji, Wiek Oświecenia*: *Co to jest oświecenie,* t. 17, Warsaw 2001. M. Parkitny, *Nowoczesność oświecenia,* Poznań 2019. Por. *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions,* ed. J. Schmidt, Berkley-London 1996 (the footnotes list, for example, the most important publications concerning the matters discussed in the argument).

[2] I refer here to the concept of cultural formations contained in the work of Jerzy Ziomek: *Epoki i formacje w dziejach literatury polskiej, Pamiętnik Literacki* 1986, z. 4, s. 23–54.

[3] Cf. T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Oświecenie — próg naszej współczesności,* Warszawa 1994; D. Ratajczakowa, *Pierwsze trzydziestolecie XIX wieku jako rezultat przemian sztuki w liminalnym obszarze procesu kulturowego. Z doświadczeń i rozmyślań historyka dramatu i teatru, Wiek Oświecenia* nr 17: *Co to jest oświecenie,* Warsaw 2001.

speak, view of the phenomena co-constituting the Enlightenment, tracking their connections and dependencies. Thus, contextuality, situating a selected area or phenomenon of culture within a broader perspective of coexisting phenomena, becomes a requirement. The time of changes and passages necessitates including in the view of a chosen phenomenon a holistic, interdisciplinary, comparative perspective, assuming — on the one hand — the identification of the context of historical and general cultural events and historical and ideational trends of the studied period, and — on the other hand — a systematic exploration of sources, texts of culture, analysed in their artistic uniqueness and aesthetic values. Such actions were not always respected.

Polish studies on the Enlightenment, beginning at the turn of the 19th century,[4] developed successfully in the first half of the 20th century but gained new momentum in the post-Second World War period. First, in the new political system, there were attempts to paint the picture of the period primarily within a strongly ideologically infused context, perverting the image of cultural processes taking place therein.[5] In parallel, however, we managed to develop a programme of exploring important areas that had not yet been investigated closely, primarily meaning the literary life and culture, its institutions and their functioning.[6] Thus, the research covered previously unknown — but developing in the 18th-century — channels of distribution and circulation of products of culture and the new ways of cultural and literary communication that were taking shape.[7] A continuation of these interests were the studies on the functioning of cultural institutions like — on the one hand — the court, salon, private patronage, and — on the other hand — public theatre,[8] printing, bookshops, the press, literary critique,[9] literary cabinets, cafés, literary critique, literary audience.[10] These phenomena were listed

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[4] W. Smoleński, *Przewrót umysłowy w Polsce wieku XVIII: studia historyczne,* Kraków 1891.

[5] J. Kott, *O nową syntezę polskiego oświecenia,* „Pamiętnik Literacki" 1950, z. 3/4.

[6] T. Mikulski, *Stan badań i potrzeby nauki o literaturze wieku Oświecenia, Pamiętnik Literacki* XLI, 1950, z. 3/4.

[7] S. Grzeszczuk, D. Hombek, *Książka polska w ogłoszeniach prasowych XVIII wieku,* t. 1- , Kraków 1989- ; J. Szczepaniec, *Drukarnia Wolna Jana Potockiego w Warszawie 1788–1792,* Wrocław 1998.

[8] L. Bernacki, *Teatr, dramat i muzyka za Stanisława Augusta,* Lwów 1925. *Teatr Narodowy 1765–1794,* oprac. J. Jackl, ed. J. Kotta, Warsaw 1967. M. Klimowicz, *Początki teatry stanisławowskiego 1765–1773,* Warsaw 1965.

[9] T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Krytyka literacka polskiego oświecenia,* w: E. Sarnowska-Temeriusz, T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Krytyka literacka w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku oraz w epoce oświecenia,* Wrocław 1990.

[10] K. Dmitruk, *Oświecenie — archipelagi wspólnot,* w: *Problemy kultury literackiej polskiego oświecenia: studia,* pod red. T. Kostkiewiczowej, Wrocław 1987, s. 13–30.

in both temporal and spatial perspectives, tackling issues from areas identified as literary geography.[11] The city, as a centre of public and cultural life as well as a sociocultural organism of sorts, also became an important subject of interest, where processes essential to the shaping of a new type of institutions and interpersonal relationships take place,[12] as well as to the reinterpretation of the previous opposition of city-village, which often takes on the form of the opposition between nature and culture. The results of these studies became a significant factor in the construction of a new image of the period.[13]

The 1950s and 1960s were also a period of a systematic exploration of sources, particularly of scattered texts of period writers and preparing scientific editions of their works. It was accompanied by a textological reflection devoted to preparing methods for publishing 18th-century works,[14] which required an interdisciplinary approach involving knowledge of the period's language and its variability,[15] of the noticeable sociolects and idiolects of edited writers that had been shaped concerning them.[16] The development of the studies on the period was influenced mainly by the creation of the Enlightenment volumes of the fundamental *Bibliografia literatury polskiej "Nowy Korbut"* (Bibliography of Polish Literature "New Korbut").[17] The literary terminology that formed in the Enlightenment was an important research area.[18] Documentary works encompassing the life and works of the most important writer of this

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[11] E. Aleksandrowska, *Geografia środowiska pisarskiego,* w: *Problemy literatury polskiej okresu oświecenia,* Seria druga. Praca zbiorowa pod red. Z. Golińskiego, Wrocław 1977, s. 217–334. *Wiek Oświecenia* 1998, t. 14: *Problemy geografii literackiej,* Warsaw 1998; J. Snopek, *Prowincja oświecona: kultura literacka Ziemi Krakowskiej w dobie oświecenia 1750–1815,* Warszawa 1992. A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Gdańsk oświecony. Szkice o kulturze literackiej Gdańska w dobie oświecenia. Die Aufklärung in Danzig. Skizzen über die Danziger Literaturpflage in Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* Warszawa 1998.

[12] T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Wizje miasta w literaturze oświecenia,* „Prace Historyczno-literackie" 16: *Oświecenie. Studia i szkice,* Gdańsk 1993. See also: A. Norkowska, *Miasto w piśmiennictwie polskiego oświecenia*, Bydgoszcz 2019.

[13] B. Baczko, *Rousseau: samotność i wspólnota,* Warsaw 1964.

[14] Z. Goliński, *Edytorstwo — tekstologia: przekroje,* Wrocław 1969.

[15] *Ludzie oświecenia o języku i stylu* [People of the Enlightenment on Language and Style], t.1–3, oprac. Z. Florczak i L. Pszczołowska, Warszawa 1958.

[16] T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Horyzonty wyobraźni. O języku poezji czasów oświecenia,* Warsaw 1984. W. Lubaś, *osobliwości językowe poezji Ignacego Krasickiego,* Kraków 1992.

[17] *Bibliografia literatury polskiej "Nowy Korbut"*, t. 4–6 — cz. 1–2*: Oświecenie,* Warsaw 1966–1972

[18] M. Rutkowska, *Terminologia literacka w wypowiedziach o powieści w XVIII wieku,* Wrocław 1975; eadem, *Terminologia dramatu i teatru w polskim oświeceniu,* Poznań 2007.

period, Ignacy Krasicki, were undertaken but finalised and published after the death of their author.[19]

Contextual and interdisciplinary analysis of the Enlightenment could also be seen in the approaches to written sources, i.e. in treating the period's entire body of writings and its varieties as a subject of research on the shape of statements, in the interest in various types of discourses: from those inspired by the structuralism and the construction of poetic discourse[20] to researching the narrative,[21] political discourse,[22] travel discourse,[23] epistolary discourse,[24] and finally — the personal document discourse (memoirs, journals, intimist literature).[25] The result of these research interests was the spectacular development of studies (conducted by both researchers of literature and historians) and editions of epistolography, memoirs, and travel diaries, in particular,[26] treated as a source to be asked a multitude of research questions. Studies on the history of the main ideas of the period, e.g., freedom, flourished,[27] as well as studies on the ideological and worldview faces of the Enlightenment.[28]

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[19] See Z. Goliński, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Ignacego Krasickiego* [Calendar of Life and Works of Ignacy Krasicki], edited and with a foreword by M. Górska, Poznań, 2011.

[20] T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Kniaźnin jako poeta liryczny*, Wrocław 1971. Eadem, *Klasycyzm, sentymentalizm, rokoko. Szkice o prądach literackich polskiego oświecenia,* Warsaw 1975.

[21] Z. Sinko, *Powieść zachodnioeuropejska w kulturze literackiej polskiego oświecenia,* Wrocław 1968, as well as other publications by this author on the narrative prose of the Polish Enlightenment. G. Zając, *Fabuła powieści polskiego oświecenia,* Kraków 2002. R. Magryś, *Bohater literacki powieści stanisławowskiej: poszukiwanie współczesnej interpretacji artystycznego fenotypu*, Rzeszów 2014.

[22] A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *O formę rządu czy o rząd dusz? Publicystyka polityczna Sejmu Czteroletniego,* Warszawa 2000. Eadem, *Dyskurs polityczny Rzeczypospolitej obojga Narodów: pojęcia i idee,* Toruń 2018.

[23] J. Ryba, *Motywy podróżnicze w twórczości Jana Potockiego,* Wrocław1993. *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początku XIX wieku,* red. A. Roćko, Warszawa 2014.

[24] Major editions: *Korespondencja Adama Naruszewicza 1762–1769,* wyd. J. Platt, Wrocław 1959; *Korespondencja Ignacego Krasickiego 1743–1801,* z papierów L. Bernackiego wydali Z. Goliński, M. Klimowicz, R. Wołoszyński, t. 1–2, Wrocław 1958.

[25] Cf. among other things: A. Roćko, *Pamiętniki zesłańców syberyjskich w XVIII wieku,* Olsztyn 2001. E. Wichrowska, *Twoja śmierć. Początki dziennika intymnego w Polsce na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku,* Warsaw 2012.

[26] Cf. *Staropolskie podróżowanie* [Old-Polish Travelling], red. B. Rok, F. Wolański, Kraków-Wrocław, 2016; zob. też seria wydawnicza relacji z podróży *Peregrinationes Sarmatorum,* Kraków –Wrocław.

[27] J. Maciejewski, *Dylematy wolności. Zmierzch sarmatyzmu i początki oświecenia w Polsce,* Warsaw 1994. A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Regina Libertas: wolność w polskiej myśli politycznej,* Gdańsk 2006.

[28] J. Snopek, *Objawienie i Oświecenie: z dziejów libertynizmu,* Wrocław 1986. S. Janeczek, *Oświecenie chrześcijańskie. Z dziejów polskiej kultury filozoficznej*, Lublin 1994. *Motywy religijne w twórczości pisarzy polskiego oświecenia,* red. T. Kostkie-

At the same time, researchers of the 18th century did not remain indifferent to the methodological frenzy of the humanities in the 1960s and 70s, attempting to utilise its inspirations to explore literary works. The impact of the structuralist methodology found its expression in the interest in the interpretation of single works, their substantive motifs, structure, the sender-recipient system,[29] and linguistic shape. An example of such an approach rooted in the structuralist methodology were, among other things, "readings" of the pre-eminent writers of the 18th century taking place in recent years.[30] At the same time, a belief manifested in such an approach that the starting point for learning the literary whole is a thorough contemplation of its constituent singular parts, beliefs that micro-research of work is an inalienable condition and a starting point for generalisations and building a holistic vision of the period.

The humanities research in Poland has been developing in contact with international science and did not remain indifferent to the appearance of a multitude of "turns" to the continuous search for new areas of exploration, primarily related to the nature of research methods. Thus, scientists began reading literary works and other documents of the period not just as sources of knowledge about the daily and private lives of various communities and social strata but also as a representation of dailiness, using characteristic means of building images of human activities in all spheres of human existence.[31] Rituals used in public life situations were also studied, as were requirements for the participants in official activities, meetings, and celebrations.[32] New research interests included — on the one hand — e.g. the world of things,[33] the kitchen,[34] fashion, upbringing of children, family relations,[35] the position of

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wiczowa, Lublin 1995. *Wiek XVIII — między tradycją a oświeceniową współczesnością: hermeneutyka wartości religijnych,* red. B. Kuczera-Chachulska, T. Chachulski, współpraca J. Snopek, Warsaw 2017.

[29] P. Matuszewska, *Gry z adresatem. Studia o poezji i epistolografii wieku oświecenia,* Wrocław 1999.

[30] Cf. the series *Czytanie poetów oświecenia* [Reading the Poets of the Enlightenment] (Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin, Ignacy Krasicki, Stanisław Trembecki, Franciszek Karpiński).

[31] *Publiczne, prywatne, intymne w kulturze XVIII wieku* [Public, Private, Intimate in the 18th-Century Culture], ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, Warsaw, 2004.

[32] J. Ryba, *Uwodzicielskie oblicza oświecenia. Szkice obyczajowe,* I-II, Katowice 1994, 2002. Idem, *Oświeceniowe „tutti frutti". Maskarady — konwersacja — literatura,* Katowice 2009.

[33] J. Dumanowski, *Świat rzeczy szlachty wielkopolskiej w XVIII wieku,* Toruń 2006.

[34] S. Czerniecki, *Compendium ferculorum albo zebranie potraw,* wydali i opracowali J. Dumanowski i M. Spycha, Warszawa 2009.

[35] P. Kaczyński, *Rodzina w literaturze stanisławowskiej: motywy — konwencje — poglądy,* Wrocław 2009.

women,[36] methods of passing the time, entertainment and pleasures,[37] and — on the other hand — the dailiness of the parliament, tribunal, temple, and court.[38] In all these phenomena, not just their literal dimension was shown, but also semantic properties of an axiological nature. As a result, typical behaviours become signs of attitudes and views of an ideational nature, such as clothes, the appearance of a household, and the preferred mode of living[39]. It was accompanied by investigations of the cultural use of symbols, e.g., emblematic referring to the national community, among other things[40].

Research conducted in the final decades of the 20th century considered the source perspective, the sociology of culture perspective, the structuralist perspective, and the history of ideas perspective. The beginning of the 21st century marked itself by researchers' attempts to establish contact with the directions of the so-called "new humanities" to test their usefulness in studies of the old culture. Among all the "turns" that arose in this field, it turned out that the most attractive one which matched the nature of the period was the perspective of cultural anthropology. At the centre of such research was a human person as an entity that manifests itself more and more clearly, voicing their opinions in a literary modal framework, pursuing self-knowledge and expression of their identity. Such a person, manifesting itself in the texts of culture, became the subject of multidirectional observation also of their somatic, emotional and rational nature, their place in the world, methods of their knowing and experiencing the social and natural reality, as well as forms of their activity and interactions with the environment. Such questions as the methods of structuring the "I" speaking in different literary genres, manifesting its subjectivity as well as an understanding of human nature and existence, appeared in studies indirectly or were formulated by the programme as research goals and postulates, both in relation to

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[36] *Pisarki polskie epok dawnych* [Female Polish Writers of Old Eras], ed. K. Stasiewicz, Olsztyn 1998. *Kobieta epok dawnych w literaturze, kulturze i społeczeństwie,* pod red. I. Maciejewskiej i K. Stasiewicz, Olsztyn 2008. *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku,* red. A. Roćko, Warszawa 2017.

[37] *Przyjemność w kulturze epoki rozumu*, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, Warsaw 2011.

[38] *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku*, pod red. T. Kostkiewiczowej i A. Roćko, Warsaw 2005.

[39] A. Roćko, *Kontusz i frak: o symbolice stroju w XVIII-wiecznej literaturze polskiej,* Warszawa 2015; J. Płuciennik, Nowożytny *indywidualizm a literatura: wokół hipotez o kreacyjności Edwarda Younga,* Kraków 2006. T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Problem podmiotowości w liryce Kniaźnina. „Do Piotra Borzęckiego",* w: *Czytanie Kniaźnina,* pod red. B. Mazurkowej i T. Chachulskiego, Warszawa 2010, s. 131–142.

[40] T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Mnemozyne i córki. Pamięć w literaturze polskiej drugiej połowy XVIII wieku,* Toruń 2019; M. Górska, *Polonia — Respublica — Patria: personifikacje Polski w sztuce XVI-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 2005.

-individual works and to the holistically viewed body of work of writers, their features and place in the cultural space of the period. Issues of collective subjectivity and its role in transformations of consciousness and worldview were tackled similarly and issues inspired by memory studies of the representation of memory and its significance to the shaping of the individual and collective identities.

Such conceptualisations enable us to introduce the Enlightenment studies to a dialogue with the most recent trends of these humanities, test the usefulness of its propositions for historical works, and determine epistemic benefits for the knowledge about the period. They also enable us to build bridges between various research disciplines. Thus, for instance, the research on the history of ideas and daily life correspond to strictly historical knowledge and complement the studies on material culture and domestic affairs. Investigations of the participation of writing in the socio-political life of the period, committed to the current acts of commemorative creation, are located at the boundaries of event history and the history of writing.[41] Required from the point of view of ideational and aesthetic programmes of the period, studies on the quality of education correspond to the interests of the history of science,[42] while studies on aesthetic and literary ideas, including transformations of the category of grandeur,[43] fit the field researched by historians of art[44] and philosophers. Learning about the institutions of production, distribution, and circulation of writing and other texts of culture contributes to the knowledge about interpersonal relationships of society as part

[41] *Poezja okolicznościowa* [Commemorative Poetry] *w polskiej literaturze 1730–1830,* t. 1–2, pod red. M. Nalepy, G. Trościńskiego, R. Magrysia, Rzeszów 2014.

[42] M. Chamcówna, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej,* t. 1–2, Wrocław 1957–1959. S. Janeczek, *Edukacja oświeceniowa a szkoła tradycyjna: z dziejów kultury intelektualnej i filozoficznej,* Lublin 2008. Puchowski, *Collegium Nobilium Societatis Jezu w Warszawie: z dziejów edukacji historycznej,* Gdańsk 1995. Idem, *Edukacja historyczna w jezuickich kolegiach Rzeczypospolitej 1656–1771,* Gdańsk 1999; Idem, *Jezuickie kolegia szlacheckie w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów: studia z dziejów edukacji elit,* Gdańsk 2007; idem, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Studia i szkice z dziejów polskiej kultury intelektualnej,* Lublin 2018.

[43] J. Płuciennik, *Retoryka wzniosłości w dziele literackim,* Kraków 2000. K. Wawrzonkowski, *Wyobraźnia i wzniosłość teoriopoznawcze podstawy wybranych brytyjskich koncepcji estetycznych XVIII wieku,* Toruń 2010.

[44] S. Pietraszko, *Doktryna literacka polskiego klasycyzmu,* Wrocław 1966. P. Żbikowski, *Klasycyzm postanisławowski: zarys doktryny,* Warsaw 1999. Z. Rejman, *Świadomość literacka oświecenia: wybrane problemy,* Warsaw 2002. Zob. też: *Oświeceni o literaturze: wypowiedzi pisarzy polskich 1740–1810,* opr. T. Kostkiewiczowa i Z. Goliński, t. 1–3, Warszawa 1993–1995. *Europejskie źródła myśli estetyczno-literackiej polskiego oświecenia: antologia wypowiedzi pisarzy francuskich, niemieckojęzycznych i angielskich 1674–1810,* oprac. T. Kostkiewiczowa i Z. Goliński, Warsaw 1997.

of sociology. At the same time, works concerning literary subjectivity constitute a bridge between the history of literature and cultural anthropology. On the other hand, works inspired by structuralism that analyse artistic forms of literature, immanently connected with epistemological attitudes, correspond to the interests of history of philosophy and can serve as an introduction to the studies on the concept of understanding and learning about the world, philosophy of the subject, the historicity of humans. The issue of the Enlightenment's reason and rationality also fits in the areas of both literary and philosophical research.[45]

In research directions and methodologies outlined here, the focus is primarily placed on the observation of trends characteristic of the age of lights from the internal perspective, so to speak, on the nature of transformation processes in various fields of cultural activity and oral creativity, perceived, so to speak, "from within" this whole. Nonetheless, the realisation of the postulate of contextual and comparative vision of the era requires more comprehensive approaches, placing the studied phenomena against external cultural processes. Therefore, studies on the antique tradition in the age of lights were undertaken.[46] It is necessary to continuously conduct systematic research — based on previously gained knowledge — on the situation and role of the Enlightenment in the developmental trend of Polish culture; on the one hand, against Old Polish culture[47] and Romanticism[48]; on the other hand, against the phenomenon of modernity.[49] Such explorations of a comparative nature in domestic culture enable us to determine the place of the period in its developmental process and its role in transformations leading to the shaping of a new cultural paradigm. It is a perspective of a *change* taking place in all spheres of culture and infusing the entire phenomenon with a processual nature, demonstrating the generating mechanisms of the process of changes and making the image of the period more dynamic.[50] Complementary to these explorations are external compar-

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[45] M. Parkitny, *Świadomość religijna Ignacego Krasickiego w kręgu fideizmu i oświeceniowego sceptycyzmu,* w: *Wiek XVIII — między tradycją a oświeceniową współczesnością,* s. 234 -280.

[46] *Antyk oświeconych* [Antiquity of the Enlightened]. *Studia i rozprawy o miejscu starożytności w kulturze polskiej XVIII wieku,* pod red. T Chachulskiego, Warsaw 2012.

[47] T. Chachulski, *Opóźnione pokolenie: studia o recepcji „głębokiej" Jana Kochanowskiego w poezji polskiej XVIII wiek*u, Warsaw 2006.

[48] P. Żbikowski, *W pierwszych latach narodowej niewoli. Schyłek polskiego oświecenia i zwiastuny romantyzmu,* Wrocław 2007.

[49] M. Parkitny, *Nowoczesność oświecenia* [Modernity of the Enlightenment], passim.

[50] The 3rd Congress of Researchers of the Eighteenth Century was devoted to the issue of change in the Enlightenment ("Wiek osiemnasty jako zmiana: Rzeczpospolita i oświecenie", Poznań 2016). See also M. Parkitny, *Nowoczesność oświecenia,* passim.

ative approaches which place the Polish reality in the context of European trends and signify similarities and differences within the cultural whole of the continent.[51] It is a very significant yet still not fully exploited research area that requires particular competencies and knowledge; conducting such research is, however, necessary to better understand the situation and nature of the Polish Enlightenment. Summarising contemporary research, projects of a synthetic nature appeared in the 70s; attempts to summarise current knowledge about the Enlightenment. They took on two forms: Mieczysław Klimowicz's academic textbook "Oświecenie" ("The Enlightenment", Warsaw, 1977, and subsequent issues) and "Słownik literatury Polskiego Oświecenia" (Dictionary of the Polish Enlightenment Literature, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, Wrocław, 1977, and subsequent issues), containing problem-related articles about the period's basic phenomena of writing and culture.

Contemplations initiated in the middle of the 20th century, mainly by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, and later by Jürgen Habermas and Zygmunt Bauman,[52] on the heritage of the Enlightenment and its — negative, according to these researchers — role in the development of the continent have evoked debates and discussions, which did not lead to unequivocal conclusions, to pointing out its significance for modern European transformations. However, they did draw one's attention to certain strictly Enlightenment-based phenomena that were important from the point of view of certain fields of culture, such as sources and the nature of the modern mass culture.[53] However, it would seem that

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[51] M. Cieński, *Formacja oświeceniowa w literaturze Polski i Niemiec,* Wrocław 1992. M. Klimowicz, *Polsko-niemieckie pogranicza literackie w XVIII wieku. Problemy uczestnictwa w dwu kulturach,* Wrocław 1998. M. Cieński, *Literatura polskiego oświecenia wobec tradycji i Europy,* Wrocław 2013. T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Polski wiek świateł. Obszary swoistości,* Wrocław 2002. One should also remember about the contribution of foreign researchers to the knowledge of the Polish Enlightenment, see A. Jobert, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej w Polsce (1773–1794). Jej dzieło wychowania obywatelskiego,* przeł. M. Chamcówna, Warszawa 1979). J. Fabre, *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et l'Europe des Lumières,* Paris 1952. See also J. Fabre's scattered publications collected in the volume *Od oświecenia do romantyzmu: studia i szkice z literatury polskiej,* Warszawa 1995. Jan IJ. van der Meer, *Literary activities and attitudes in the Stanislavian age in Poland (1764–1795). A social system,* Amsterdam-New York, 2002.

[52] M. Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, *Dialektyka oświecenia. Fragmenty filozoficzne*, przeł. M. Łukasiewicz, Warszawa 1994. Z. Bauman, *Wieloznaczność nowoczesna. Nowoczesność wieloznaczna,* Warszawa 1995. J. Habermas, *Splot mitu i oświecenia: Horkheimer i Adorno,* w: idem, *Filozoficzny dyskurs nowoczesności.* Przekład M. Łukasiewicz, Kraków 2000, s. 127–153. *Oświecenie dzisiaj. Rozmowy w Castel Gandolfo*, przyg. i przedmową opatrzył K. Michalski, Kraków 1999.

[53] M. Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, *Przemysł kulturalny. Oświecenie jako masowe oszczerstwo,* w: idem, *Dialektyka oświecenia,* s. 138–188.

other possibilities are taking shape for studies on the heritage of the Enlightenment in areas that are narrower but significant for the formation of the European culture. Certain cultural, aesthetic, and literary concepts shaped or implemented during the Enlightenment exhibit surprising durability, such as sentimentalism and classicism that were flourishing within the Polish culture.[54] Suppose we treat these phenomena in a broader sense, not just as literary trends, programming specific patterns of writing and understanding of literary works, but as holistic anthropological projects encompassing the human manner of understanding, human attitude toward reality, and relations (epistemic, social, personal) with others. In that case, their persistence in modern culture will reveal itself as an important phenomenon that inspires the reflection on our contemporary times. We touch here on the issue of timelessness and universality of ideas developed by the Enlightenment, encompassing — seemingly — not just freedom, progress, and tolerance, but also ideas of interpersonal relationships derived from Rousseau's thought, based on empathy and sensitivity to the plight of another person, as well as ideas about the permanence of human nature, constituting the foundation for understanding humankind and circumstances of its existence.[55] Reflection on these issues is important for understanding the Enlightenment and determining its relation to contemporary times.

The outlined exploratory approach to the Enlightenment is based on the choice and coexistence of different methods of exploration of as abundant source material of this period as possible. Research viewed in this manner is characterised by openness and constant contact with methodological propositions of contemporary humanities, used with the awareness of limitations and incompleteness of each of them. Indeed, we cannot study the Enlightenment from a single point of view, be it literary, historical, or sociological. Only a multifaceted approach to this phenomenon in the history of culture can allow us to discover its complex nature and meaning and place during transformations of the human reality. After all, we must remember that — regardless of the chosen research process — the starting point is always as in-depth analysis of sources as possible, both textual and cultural, which constitutes an inalienable requirement of a responsible humanistic understanding.

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[54] *Klasycyzm. Estetyka — doktryna literacka — antropologia.* [Classicism. Aesthetics — Literary Doctrine — Anthropology] ed. K. Meller, Warsaw 2009. See: T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Klasycyzm — dzieje koncepcji i badań w polskiej nauce o literaturze,* s. 54–55.

[55] Such propositions were formulated in: T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Sentymentalizm — sielanka — długie trwanie. O nawiązaniach do sentymentalnych podstaw gatunku w poezji XX wieku, Rocznik Komparatystyczny* 9/ 2018, s. 205–220.

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IS THE ENLIGHTENMENT WORKS' EDITORSHIP STILL NEEDED?

Abstract

The paper asks whether editing of 18th-century texts is still needed. By answering this question, she tracks the changes in editing on the example of Polish research on the Enlightenment. On the one hand, it shows how vital classical editing of the 20th century was: publishing volumes of collected works, correspondence, poetry, anthologies - types of editions whose development peaked in Poland in the communist era when cultural policy financially supported scientific editions in order to use them for ideological goals. On the other hand, the author points out how much the demand for critical editions has changed in modern times, especially in the field of humanistic themes and turns, i.e., gender studies and women's journals, in which the author of the paper specialises (intimate women's journals of the 18th and 19th centuries). The paper also deals with the digitisation of sources and scientific editions. The author recognises the advantages of this digitisation challenge and points to its rarely discussed limitations. The conclusion emphasises the importance of scientific anthologies and the editorship itself, which enables direct contact with the text and its more profound understanding, especially in order to understand tradition and the present day.

Keywords: Enlightenment, scientific editing, anthologies, women's literature, diary.

The first question concerns the relationship between editorial works and the directions of studies on the period. Does editorial labour — i.e., the complete set of research activities of an editor, beginning with source inquiries and searching for messages, through their collection, selecting the basis for an issue, adding argumentative and philological comments, and finally sharing it in the form of a publication — act as a research stimulator? Must edition be treated as an added value to "serious" reflections and studies? A supplement? A required starting point, a trampoline to delve into intellectual contemplations virtually in isolation from the source. We should also ask how much impact non-scientific mechanisms have on what we publish (what we are looking for and what we want to find): the cultural policy of institutions managing culture and

science (preferring specific topics or epochs), or — returning to scientific issues - the popularity of particular methodologies, research approaches, such as turns in research, e.g. the Annales school, a research trend that redefines the subject of a historian's interest, again related to the need to use specific analytical methods borrowed from social sciences, or genetic criticism redefining the perception of the essence of a text, and thus carried out on its research, and finally its publication.[1]

Is the primary goal of the editorial staff to correctly develop, add a specialized critical apparatus, commentary and publish texts representative of the epoch, known and confirming well-researched phenomena, and thus recording and popularizing a specific canon working for one of the traditions, or rather, a reminder of forgotten, rare sources, preserved as manuscripts, sometimes as ephemeral prints? All sources? That would be absurd; so, what is the pattern according to which one should make their selection? It is worth stopping to talk about a few critical anthologies of the Polish Enlightenment poetry created in the second half of the 20th century because they illuminate the problem mentioned above, i.e., establishing a canon.

Polish People's Republic: PPR and the Enlightenment. Anthologies and the vision of the Enlightenment

Polityka historyczna realizowana przez władze PRL po II wojnie światowej (Historical Policy Implemented by PPR Authorities After the Second World War) "promoting a certain defined vision of history" gave the green light to studies on the Enlightenment, which was — I have to emphasise this immediately — brilliantly and scientifically usefully utilised. Within 30 years, not only essential compilations but also editions of sources, selections and collected works of specific authors, imprints and anthologies of poetry (and political writing) presenting important things, various models of depicting phenomena of the Enlightenment, had been published.

Kott's anthology, first published in 1954, is a model of choice with a thesis. In the introduction, the author presents his view on the place and role of a researcher embroiled in and stimulated by contemporary times and historical policies implemented by the state. Jan Kott states:

> One of the roles of writers and historians of literature is to revive dead chapters of great traditions [...] Contemporary times dictate the choice of tradition [...]

[1] Pierre-Marc *de Bias, Genetyka tekstów*, przeł. F. Kwiatek, M. Prussak, Warszawa 2011; Zofia Mitosek, *Krytyka genetyczna*, w: Eadem, *Teorie badań literackich*, Warszawa 1995 i in.

> Tradition is chosen in the same ideational battle in which contemporary literature is born. And this choice must be made with the same political, moral and epistemic passion, with the same affection and vigilance. [...] In the heritage we receive, we have to find emotions whose lyrical capacity encompasses our emotions, find conflicts that are similar to our conflicts; dig out this stream of history that gave birth to our contemporary times. [...] The Enlightenment poetry is constantly separated from the reader by a double wall: a wall of aesthetic superstition, false, misleading choices and versions, and a wall that is completely real — that of libraries and archives. The third real tradition of Polish poetry [after the tradition of the Renaissance and Romanticism — EW] is broken and lost. Until recently, it was a great unknown and its entire chapters, in fact, the most tumultuous ones, were only available to a small group of specialists.[2]

Kott's anthology is, firstly, a kind of subjective anthology; secondly, it is an anthology which also selects unknown sources, handwritten codes, rare ephemeral prints and brochures[3]; and thirdly, this anthology is an attempt to show diversity in terms of aesthetics, genre and ideology, thanks to values such as secularism, Jacobinism, revolution and freedom. No wonder then that texts of pre-eminent poets of the Polish Enlightenment are accompanied by anonymous poems such as *Pieśń Murzynki nad kolebką swego syna, który został wolnym tak jak ona, przez wyrok Konwencji Narodowej*; *Gilotyna; Ca ira,* or by works written by authors who are poorly recognized or not at all, e.g. a poem by one of the inventor-artisans of the Enlightenment, Antoni Melchior Lewandowski, titled *Wiersz do najjaśniejszego Pana przy oddaniu maszyny hydraulicznej*; or students of Franciszek Bohomolec,[4] absent from other collections, whose body of work serves as good evidence of the thesis on the modernity and democratism of the Enlightenment. There is also no shortage of poems exhibiting the intellectual anarchy of anonymous domestic poetry. In Jan Kott's opinion from the 1950s, the purpose of a researcher, and an editor as well, was not only to create a base of materials, correctly compiled for researchers or a wider audience, but also to propose its specific vision, inject into national tradition the lay,

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[2] *Poezja polskiego oświecenia. Antologia*, oprac. Jan Kott, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1956, s. 5–7.

[3] "Of many [poets — EW] only a single poem remains, but this poem equals the most acclaimed ones and has its place in tradition. To find these poems, one needs to dig and search for them in miscellanea and manuscript codices, in collections of ephemeral prints and in forgotten brochures pressed by provincial presses." Ibid., p. 9.

[4] Students of the Jesuit college where Franciszek Bohomolec taught; he had ties with the royal camp and was a writer, publisher, political writer, Jesuit; editor of *Monitor*, author of numerous satirical and didactic comedies in the spirit of the Enlightenment: Jan Tarnowski (*Piękność znikoma*); Nikodem Czeczel (*O Rzymie teraźniejszym*); Jan Głębocki (*Żal nad utrapieniem pewnego, który, gdy mu kwinta na skrzypcach pękła, w nieutulonej zostawał żałości*).

revolutionary, democratic, libertine, anti-Sarmatist one. This first post-war anthology rigidly encapsulated Enlightenment poetry in the 18th century. We must add that many littérateurs printed in it remained active even in the 1830s, 40s, 50s., and even later; they often lived through the Romantic generation. Kott, as well as the authors of many other works, did not account for this biological as well as intellectual persistence of the Polish Enlightenment.

The 80s bring two subsequent anthologies, much more different in their presentation model of Polish Enlightenment poetry. The first one, 1981's *Świat poprawiać — Zuchwałe rzemiosło* (Improve the World — Audacious Craft, a part of the series) by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Zbigniew Goliński, represents a model of anthology representative of the period's body of work; it constitutes an attempt to "depict the diversity of varieties and multidirectionality of developmental trends in the Enlightenment poetry".[5] The authors wanted to present specific creative figures and document the "diversity of [thematic and aesthetic] poetic searches" of the Polish Enlightenment from Saxon times to the first decades of the 19th century.[6] Zdzisław Libera's two-volume anthology from 1983–84 brings an entirely different perspective of Polish Enlightenment poetry. Like Kott's anthology, it is also based on a clear thesis, but its emphasis is different; it is a thesis that points out and exposes reformist and didactic values, a critique of defects of the Polish Enlightenment. According to the author, without any ambition to create a novel perception of 18th-century poetry, without the need to unveil unknown works, forgotten texts, or recall second-class authors.[7] The second volume of the selection is a straightforward proposition presenting the literature of the first 30 years of the 19th century as a cultural space integral to the Enlightenment, yet separate, where the first Romantics appear parallel to the Enlightenment writers.[8]

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[5] *Świat poprawiać — zuchwałe rzemiosło: antologia poezji polskiego Oświecenia*, oprac. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa PIW, s. 20.

[6] Ibidem.

[7] "The 18th century, in fact, like every century — writes Libera — does not constitute a separate period, be it ideologically or artistically, in the history of culture. [...] Comparing selected works from the Saxon period with works from the time of Stanislaw II Augustus enables us to better see the difference in artistic levels, but most of all it illuminates the transformations that had taken place within several dozen years in poetry [...]. The selection of poets is based on their representative qualities. Therefore, there are not many second- or third-class poets [...]," Zdzisław Libera, *Poezja polska XVIII wieku* [Polish Poetry of the 18th Century], Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1983, s. 63.

[8] In the same year, 1984, the first attempt to describe the aesthetics of this period is published, Piotr Żbikowski's *Klasycyzm postanisławowski* [Classicism After the Time of Stanislaw II August].

After editorial attempts to present the Enlightenment poetry, also through numerous individual issues of poetry and prose, problem-based anthologies had begun to appear since the 70s, depicting phenomena which were often less exposed in the anthologies mentioned above, as well as in studies, but which will become another component of historical policy. One such selection is Janusz Maciejewski's *Poezja barska* (Poetry of Bar) from 1976, collecting literary texts related to the final manifestation of the Sarmatian culture and ideology in the public space (this editorial project was taken up once more, this time in a multi-volume issue in the 21st century); another one is the anthology *Między rozpaczą i nadzieją: antologia poezji porozbiorowej lat 1793–1806* (Between Despair and Hope: Anthology of Post-Partition Poetry of 1793–1806) from 2006[9]. It is a collection of texts in which the names of unknown poets and works not found in other anthologies are present, in addition to well-known outstanding poets. More importantly, this editorial proposition constitutes a fragment of a larger project by these authors, depicting Polish faces of modern patriotism. Author-editors reveal texts in which we can search for answers to questions about the origin of patriotism in poetry, a new historical and political experience for Poles, a loss of a nation, an attempt to fight for it and experiences of loss. [10]

Here we need to recollect another selection, and a fantastic one at that, the earliest, from the 1930s, and reissued (and improved) in 1954 in London, encompassing the period from the 16th to the 20th century; I am thinking here about the anthology of Polish lyric poetry: *Od Kochanowskiego do Staffa* [From Kochanowski to Staff] by Wacław Borowy.[11] The author of the selection decided to "collect from a certain area of Polish poetry (given in the title) samples of living things that could directly affect the souls of modern readers." According to Borowy, "the Anthology does not have the ambition to provide the so-called images of lyric poets in their selected works. It does, however, have the ambition to provide their representation in their best works (to be precise: in works from the group of the best ones)." Elsewhere, he adds: "Thus, historical and literary criteria were not accounted for in this selection. The role played by a given author or piece of work in the history of poetry; the 'primality' within the scope of this or that component of artistic technique, sensi-

[9] See: *Między rozpaczą i nadzieją. Antologia poezji porozbiorowej lat 1793–1806*, wstęp P. Żbikowski, zebrał i oprac. M. Nalepa, Kraków 2006.

[10] First Partition of Poland (1772: Austria, Prussia, Russia), Second Partition (1793: Russia, Prussia), Third Partition (1795: Austria, Prussia, Russia).

[11] Wacław Borowy, *Od Kochanowskiego do Staffa: Antologia liryki polskiej,* Londyn: nakł. Katolickiego Ośrodka Wydawniczego „Veritas" 1954, kolejne wydanie: Warszawa, PIW, 1958.

tivity, or ideology; any and every precursory and propagandistic merits: everything was ignored."[12] This anthology will open a new method of reading and treating selected poets as contemporary ones, of using them to search for what is relevant. As Anna Nasiłowska recalls, this path, charted out in Poland by Borowy, was followed by Jan Kott.[13] Naturally, this was not when he called for realism and fought mythologies, and not when he worked on the anthology of the Polish Enlightenment, but in a book written much later, in *Szekspir współczesny* (Contemporary Shakespeare), which brought him true fame and in which he dared to give Shakespeare's texts a contemporary reading. In Borowy's anthology, "everyone is contemporary, even Kochanowski and Konstancja Benisławska, because their works are being read as a poetic and lyrical one."[14] NB. For Benisławska, author of the book of religious lyric poetry *Pieśni sobie śpiewane*, there was no place in Kott's anthology.

Editions and studies on the Enlightenment

Returning to the question about the impact of editorship on the explorations of historians of literature — finished, compiled sources should constitute, and often do, a basis for a history of literature-based reflection, which often again excites editorial action. Editions of Nalepa and Żbikowski; for instance, Jan Potocki's editions (and research) of *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa* by François Rosset and Dominique Triaire, serve as the best example of this. The multi-volume editions of the latter, including the reconstruction of two editions of *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa*, are a case of the utter helplessness of a "classic" editor trying to reconstruct the author's intention. On the other hand, the editors' attempts in reconstructing the author's creative process in line with genetic criticism indicate that such research stimulates historical and literary reflection on Potocki. Of course, as is often the case, the authors create some compilations (usually the most important ones). Indeed, this is an example of solid ties between editorial activities and analytical, historical and history-of-literature reflection. Another case is of a second-class writer, Stanisław Doliwa Starzyński (1784–1851), protagonist of Danuta Kowalewska's book *Poeta wśród "zdarzeń prawdziwych": puścizna prozatorska Stanisława Doliwy Starzyńskiego* (A Poet Among "True Events": Prosaic Legacy of Stanisław Doliwa Starzyński,

[12] Ibid.

[13] Anna Nasiłowska, *Wacław Borowy i New Criticism*, „Teksty Drugie" 2000, 5, s. 155.

[14] Ibid.

2001). It is an essential compilation because of the exceedingly exciting biography of Starzyński, a late-Enlightenment libertine, irreconcilable anticlerical, and anti-Semite, also because of his cultural and political contacts, but primarily because of his body of work, spanning multiple genres, autobiographical forms, and themes (8 manuscript volumes), constituting an excellent source of knowledge about the period.[15] However, the monograph was not accompanied by a publication project, and Starzyński's fascinating late-Enlightenment work remains mainly outside scientific circulation. Furthermore, we need to add that this is the case for many other writers of this period.

The Polish Enlightenment did not produce prominent litterateurs or philosophers such as Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Locke, or even Pope, names very well-known in Europe. It did, however, produce prominent intellectuals who initiated most modernisation processes with which — notably — a person, a Pole, a European of the 20th and 21st centuries can identify; moreover, sometimes without being aware of the Enlightenment source. Signs of modernisation include institutions such as schools,[16] theatres,[17] libraries, societies, the salon. Most of these modernization projects have been well described, as exemplified by the multi-volume series published at the turn of the 1960s, edited by Jan Kott, presenting the theatrical achievements of the Polish Enlightenment, intended to "show everything that belongs to the national tradition of the Enlightenment theater or is of particular importance for the history of literature. and theater development", as described in the series' plan.[18] We should note the publications of Polish Enlightenment political writings[19] and correspondence of the pre-eminent Polish litterateurs.[20] It was continued

[15] Danuta Kowalewska, *Poeta wśród „zdarzeń prawdziwych". Puścizna prozatorska Stanisława Doliwy Starzyńskiego,* Toruń, 2001.

[16] The School of Chivalry, the first Polish lay state school founded in 1765 in Warsaw by the king Stanisław II August, financed by the state treasury; The Commission of National Education: a central educational authority, accountable to the king alone, established in 1773 upon his and the Sejm's request.

[17] National Theatre, i.e., the public national stage, founded in 1765 by the king Stanislaw II August.

[18] As cited in: Zbigniew Goliński, *„Teatr polskiego Oświecenia", pod redakcją Jana Kotta. Polska Akademia Nauk — Instytut Badań Literackich. „Komedie", Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, opracowała Zofia Zahrajówna...*: [recenzja] „Pamiętnik Literacki" 1/1957, s. 175.

[19] *Abyśmy o ojczyźnie naszej radzili. Antologia publicystyki doby stanisławowskiej*, oprac. Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa 1984. Też wydania pism np.: Stanisława Konarskiego (1700–1773) z lat 50.; Stanisława Staszica (1750–1826) z lat 40.-50.; Hugo Kołłątaja (1750–1812) z lat 50., Franciszka Salezego Jezierskiego (1740–1791) z lat 50.

[20] Among other things: z lat 50. Ignacego Krasickiego (1734–1801) i Stanisława Trembeckiego (1739–1812).

in the 1980s by an exciting editorial project[21] *Zapomniani poeci Oświecenia* (Forgotten Poets of the Enlightenment), which spanned only three volumes. Importantly these editions were accompanied by numerous analytical and synthetic works.

A turn towards the woman

On the other hand, Enlightenment topics that require further studies include the reconstruction of the history of women, and women in the history of the Republic of Poland during the second half of the 18th century, i.e., during the time of Stanislaw II August, identified with the first modernising turn in the country (education, institutions of culture, publishing houses), also in the early 19th century (the so-called Late Enlightenment).

Nowy Korbut, one of the most important bibliographies of the broadly defined literature of the Polish Enlightenment, known perfectly well to Polish researchers, old (published in 1966–72),[22] full of gaps, but still irreplaceable, encompassing nearly 500 names of authors, littérateurs, political writers, diarists, philosophers, of which only 15 are women. It is a tiny number, especially since the activity of most of these women took place in the 19th century (Late Enlightenment). Do these numbers mean that women did not participate in the modernising turn? How to understand this absence of cultural activity?

An apparent turn towards the woman in Polish research took place at the turn of the 90s, which resulted in a significant surge in publications, especially at the turn and during the first years of the 21st century. Nevertheless, its impact on the Polish Enlightenment has been negligible. The attention of Polish historians in this regard has focused

[21] Second-class [minorum gentium] poets were brought up earlier in the 50s by Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki in his article *Blaski i nędze Poezji polskiego Oświecenia* [Brilliances and Miseries of the Polish Enlightenment Poetry]. "Przegląd Humanistyczny," 1957, issue 1. *Zapomniani poeci Oświecenia* was thus a series that involved editorial consumption of source studies (including attributive investigations), widely conducted during the postwar period, and a recollection of often interesting bodies of work of unknown poets, existing almost exclusively as unique ephemeral prints or manuscripts, which revealed poorly known literary phenomena (e.g., decadent domestic poetry or patriotic poetry of 1773–1775).

[22] *Bibliografia literatury polskiej „Nowy Korbut"*, oprac. Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, t. 4–6 *, Warszawa PIW 1966–72 uzupełniona po latach przez *Dawni pisarze Polscy: od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski: przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny*, koordynacja całości Roman Loth, t. 1–5, Warszawa, 2000–2004.

on later periods, beginning with the second half of the 19th century.[23] Many questions about the place and role of women in the Enlightenment remain unanswered, like the ones about women's strategies for entering the public stage (often forced by the political situation, taking specific — e.g. economic or even political — actions as a consequence of a lack of men due to wars, insurrections, and political repressions like forced displacement), or about types of activities women engaged in (private and public space). The final and the most critical question concerns sources they left, such as literary works, personal documents, ego-documents (i.e., letters, diaries, sketchbooks), or economic writings.

The description of the woman's situation as a co-creator of culture, constructed using sources, must account for several factors: poor urban infrastructure[24] and marginal bourgeois (and thus bourgeois culture) representation in Poland. Geographical ties of women to the province ("extraurbanism"), being limited to nobility (aristocracy), and late literary start compared to Western Europe.[25] As a side note, these socio-political circumstances of female intellectuals in Poland can perhaps explain the lack of radical programmes similar to those proposed in France by Jodin and Gouges or in England by Wollstonecraft, to name better-known ones.

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[23] One example is the multi-volume series *Kobieta i…* (The Woman and…), edited by Andrzej Szwarc and Anna Żarnowska and devoted to various aspect of female functioning (politics, education, marriage, etc.), the first volume of which (*Kobieta i świat polityki* [The Woman and the World of Politics], parts 1–2, Warsaw, 1994–1996), has played a stimulating role for studies on women in Poland. This series practically does not cover the 18th century. The Women's Archive (operating since 2013) at the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences has made significant strides with respect to these studies; however, so far, inquiries and studies conducted by the Archive have focused on the 19th and 20th centuries. We must also take note of works by, among others, Krystyna Stasiewicz, Bożena Popiołek, Iwona Maciejewska; particularly valuable are editorial projects undertaken by female researchers about, among others, Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirska (correspondence), Magdalena Radziwiłłowa née Czapska.

[24] A separate issue is that of a very marginal urban infrastructure and a small number of cities; the largest city in Poland, i.e., Warsaw, had nearly 40,000 residents in 1700 and slightly over 60,000 in 1800. During the period of the Great Sejm (1788–1792), there was the largest increase to 120,000 residents, after which — after the Third Partition — their number dropped again. The weak position of people living in cities, quantitatively and politically, was also related to the negligible significance of the bourgeois culture in Poland.

[25] Female authors of literary works were also present in the previous period. It was primarily Anna Stanisławska and her *Transakcja albo opisanie całego życia jednej sieroty przez żałosne treny od tejże samej pisane roku 1685*, but we have to tie the phenomenon of women writing literature to the second half of the 18th and the early 19th century.

Studies on the activity or activities of women in the 18th century and early 19th century require, today, on the one hand, synthetic approaches. On the other hand, we still lack inquiry-based source research, which, as a sum of experiences, not a set of individual cases (and many advances have been made in this field), can help us construct a synthesis, marking varieties for the studied period (middle, late century), origins (aristocrat-noble), or even region (Lithuania, the Crown). My experience with one "second-class" female figure, an outsider to the historical, scientific discourse, indicates the necessity of leaving the group of pre-eminent figures. Born in the 1790s, connected with Warsaw, married three times, Marianna Severo, Dembińska, finally, Schell Viettinghoff née Żeglińska, a somewhat crazy revolutionist, an active participant in the Polish November Uprising, and later an emigrant in France and England, did not fit in any way to the classical model of a woman that was in force at the time. She left behind the unique correspondence, perhaps even literary texts which we have not yet managed to find but which she mentions in her letter. Her activity, fully encompassing the public space, demonstrates that sometimes it is beneficial to leave the group of well-known names. Her letters (other preserved sources) cast much light on the "other history" of women and Polish emigrants after the November Uprising and the issue of the 19th-century anti-Semitism and participation of women in the emigration life. Were there more such women, also in the 18th century?[26] How many messages did they leave behind, such as letters, literary texts, diaries, or journals? Only far-reaching projects intended to find, register, describe, and analyse such sources, and finally to publish them whole or in selections, with appropriate commentaries, will enable us to answer this and many other questions concerning the woman's place, her activity, dailiness, emotions, needs, aspirations, and awareness (or a lack thereof) of the need to "call for women's rights".

Journals

The journal is a particular autobiographical text, a documentary of mentality, daily life, an irreplaceable tool for the researcher to learn about a given period, which has been very attractive to historians, including editors, for a long time. However, we still do not know much about the number of preserved journals, especially those kept by

[26] A separate problem is the functioning of Jewish women in Poland with ties to the city, active in the economic field, often holding exposed positions in the world of finance, in the second half of the 18th and early 19th century.

women. Singular journals are being published, but we are still far from a synthetic approach to this phenomenon and outline accounting for the types of diaries, their functions, thematic scope, keeping strategies. Thus, the appearance of the intimate diary in the Polish practice tended to be tied to the second half of the 19th century or even the turn of the 20th century. Meanwhile, Antoni Ostrowski's journals he kept in 1813, just after the death of his wife, and found in archives, meet all criteria of an intimate diary; furthermore, the author was aware of many functions described over 150 years later by the historian and theoretician of this literary form Philippe Lejeune, and in Poland by Paweł Rodak,[27] from memory, through identity, to self-therapy. Ostrowski's journals are not, as it turns out, the only example of such diarism, which means that the appearance of the intimate diary in the Polish space should be linked (at the latest) with the turn of the 19th century, which brings the Polish diaristic reality closer to the West European standards and chronology.[28] We know very little about 18th-century journals kept by women, about their number, language, type, functions. They are typically linked to travel journals. Emilia Kolinko lists over a hundred 19th-century women's diaries she encountered during archival searches in her doctoral dissertation[29]. Approximately 40 had been written before 1830, the majority being journals preserved as manuscripts, which is undoubtedly just a fragment of what remains to be found. Even these studies complement and change our perception of the size of this phenomenon; and it is not just about numbers, one or two more journals, but about the fact that these unearthed materials are very telling of their diversity in the sense of applied strategies for keeping diaries and their functions. How many 18th or early 19th century journals have survived? What journal type do they represent? Even a cursory inquiry around collections of several families, e.g., the Radziwiłłs, the Łubieńskis, the Ostrowskis, re-

[27] Philippe Lejeune, *"Drogi zeszycie...", "drogi ekranie...": o dziennikach osobistych* ["Dear Diary—," "Dear Screen—": On Personal Journals], translated by Agnieszka Karpowicz, Magda and Paweł Rodak; selection, introduction and editing by Paweł Rodak, Warszawa, WUW, 2010; Paweł Rodak, *Między zapisem a literaturą: dziennik polskiego pisarza w XX wieku (Żeromski, Nałkowska, Dąbrowska, Gombrowicz, Herling-Grudziński)* [Between Text and Literature: Journal of a Polish Writer in the 20th Century], Warszawa, WUW, 2011.

[28] For the origins of the intimate journal, see Elżbieta Wichrowska, *Twoja śmierć. Początki dziennika intymnego w Polsce* [Your Death. Origins of the Intimate Journal in Poland], along with the edition of two journals by Antoni Ostrowski, Warszawa, 2012.

[29] Emilia Kolinko, doctoral dissertation written under my supervision, *Dzienniki generałowej Heleny z Wolskich Krukowieckiej w perspektywie diarystyki kobiecej* [Journals of Helena Krukowiecka née Wolska, a General's Wife, from the Perspective of Women's Diary Studies], defended in 2019. Book is published, the address.

veals a range of such autobiographical documents, journals written in various forms: a travelogue, health diary, in the form of letters. Diaries were kept by entire families, fathers, brothers, sons, mothers, and sisters. Moreover, if we know the diaries of men of a given family, we should keep searching because it is very probable that we will also find diaries of women — their mothers or sisters. There are many signs that the observed features of 19th-century journals should be treated as a perpetuation of changes initiated in the 18th century; one might find here the increasingly articulated emergence of privacy, intimacy, a sense of the essence of personal expression, and functions — including therapeutic ones — of its application.

Returning to the project of editing sources evidencing various women's activities, especially of editing journals, correspondence, as well as diaries, sketchbooks (those with features of an autobiographical document): such a project would — on the one hand — enable us to explore better not just the place of the woman in the 18th-century Poland, but also their daily lives, thoughts, attitudes. These sources should be placed in the European context of comparable French, German, and English "documents" to extract their universal features that follow the spirit of the Enlightenment and their features that result from the socio-political context of a given region.

Digitisation — not just benefits

Nowadays, editors spend more and more time, not in the archives but in front of a computer, surfing the internet and digitised libraries and archival collections encompassing both published materials and manuscripts, growing almost every day. We do not need to mention the benefits of extensive digitisation campaigns — they are apparent. However, digitisation is not just excellent facilitation but also a threat; yielding to the temptation of shortcuts, editorial works prepared solely based on online scans, with erroneous "quick" reading, often the automatic conversion of scanned text to word without confronting the original. The raw source text without appropriate editorial commentary will often be understandable only to the professional researcher and not the average reader, even if well prepared. Therefore, digitisation will not replace classical editions with a critical apparatus and appropriate commentary.

Perhaps we should ask a question here: what should a modern editor publish? Should they dig out everything in the archives? Let us recall the voice of Zbigniew Goliński from the review of the Polish Theatre series mentioned a moment ago, who asked while praising the editorial idea itself whether we should place every item proposed for publication in the

series? Would it not be better to propose only those that remain valid, still "legible", and touch the reader aesthetically and problematically? Furthermore, the internet and digitisation can help us solve this issue, the need to record and share all sources we find, in contrast to their compilation and publication.

Nevertheless, it is also time for an attempt to create databases; there is a project in conjunction with sources concerning the Countess Helena Radziwiłłowa, Arkadia, and Nieborów, which would collect and arrange sources, and which would be intended only for specialists. Sources devoid of historical and editorial commentary are illegible to non-professionals. Some texts, literary, political, philosophical ones, personal documents and other texts, should be compiled, editorially and historically, and published (in the paper or electronic form), and the editor-historian should select them. Such texts should contain sources testifying to what is called here the project of the modernization of the Enlightenment, defined very broadly, including in the sphere of politics (including both the idea of political freedom and the nation-state), religion (the idea of religious freedom and tolerance), education (the idea of universality), science and culture, but also customs, emotions, changes, interpersonal relations, both in private and public spheres. Everything that contained an element of fascination, reflection on the idea of progress and modernity, and the cult of reason. Everything that meant a significant change. Today, we can compare (albeit with certain reservations) these 18th-century boundaries of modernisation, thresholds, or even fortifications of modernity founded on rationalism, the idea of progress, and accompanying slogans to the Maginot Line, the greatest fortification in history whose attributes have not been, as is well known, utilised in 1940.

There are two problems here: one concerns the remarkable transformation that took place from within, inside the sociocultural structures (in Poland, schematically shown as a conflict between the Enlightenment (the new) and Sarmatism (the old), which was successful in the sense that it permanently implanted new ideas, principles, styles, and models of organisation, for example, the most well-known ones, identified with the Enlightenment, like the idea of the separation of powers). It should be remembered, however, that the 18th century, the Enlightenment, the starting point, or — according to Teresa Kostkiewiczowa — the threshold of our modernity,[30] are not only statements made by Kollontai or Staszic referring to the Polish reality of the Stanislaw August era, not only the glorious idea of the Knight School in Warsaw or establishing the National Theatre (1765) but also, for example, the approval of witch

[30] Teresa Kostkiewiczowa. *Oświecenie próg Nowoczesności* [The Enlightenment: The Threshold of Modernity] Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe "Semper", 1994.

burning. In France, the last such judgment was executed in 1745,[31] in Germany, in 1775; in Switzerland, Anna Göldi was burned in 1782; and in Poland, the last witch was burned in 1793,[32] which is perhaps the last witch burned in the world.[33] In Italy, the Inquisition continued to use torture. In the 18th century, slavery and the slave trade still existed in European port cities such as Nantes, la Havre and Bordeaux (the latter had a prominent position in this trade). This situation continued as if nothing changed throughout the 18th century and even, despite the prohibitions, until the mid-nineteenth century.[34] Finally, the 18th century is also a complete abandonment of women's rights (in both public and private spaces), including total subordination to the husband's authority, lack of legal protection against violence, the husband's aggression, if one could not count on the support of one's father or brother. We know many such cases. It is the case of Marta Radziwiłłowa née Trębicka, Lithuanian wife of *structor mensae* held with her children in inhumane conditions by her mentally ill husband Marcin Radziwiłł, a cruel man famous for his abhorrent excesses. He was taken into the custody of his family when his actions began threatening their financial condition. It is also the case of Cecylia Zofia Sapieha and Michał Tyzenhauz, and of many others.

Let us return here to the question about tasks of the Enlightenment editorship, treated not just as a tool for sharing individual sources — great texts of the period have their good or excellent editions — but also as a stimulator of activities that generate studies on the Enlightenment. It is not about discovering or publishing another source but revealing sources that particularly enable us to see new or better understand old conflicts of the 18th century, move chronological boundaries of certain phenomena (like in the described case of the intimate journal), or notice them. It often results from expanding research with the new types of sources (what has been the point of the Annales school). It has been going on for many years with journals and various types of economic

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[31] Louis XIV issued the edict forbidding these activities in 1682.

[32] Despite the campaign (in the literature, press, e.g., in *Monitor*) of figures of the Enlightenment and enactment of a separate constitution at the Sejm of 1776 upon the request of Wojciech Kruszewski, Castellan of Biecz, which prohibited investigations of witchcraft using tortures and death penalty. A commemorative medal was also struck.

[33] Cf. Jesús Callejo, *Historia Czarów i Czarownic* [Brief History of Witchcraft], Warszawa, Bellona, 2011, s. 194.

[34] About this topic: Michel Figeac, *Destins de la noblesse bordelaise*, (1770–1830), Paris, 2016, Éditions Mimésis, vol. 1–2. Jacques-Alexandre Laffon de Ladebat, son of a banker and Bordeaux slave trader, presented his *Discours sur la nécessité et les moyens de détruire l'esclavage dans les colonie* (published in Bordeaux, 1788) at the Bordeaux Academy in 1788.

texts, last wills and others, allowing the identification of social groups, professions or individuals, which in other sources may be difficult to capture (e.g., wives, sisters, maids). We need large editorial projects that would enable us to direct searches, compilations, and finally publications of the most "legible" and important ones. Moreover, this should include anti-Enlightenment trends (many strides have been made here, for example, for studies on the Bar Confederation (1768–1772),[35] the last "total" manifestation of the Sarmatian culture and ideology with its chief idea of noble freedom, prophetism, types of protagonists and patterns of behaviour). Projects directed genealogically and problematically, e.g. toward the female journal, which has been mentioned here, or of the sketchbook as not just a tool of a painter's labour, but as an autobiographical document, which can constitute a new source for studying the turn toward privacy, which took place, with the participation of women, at the turn of the 19th century.[36] Moreover, such studies should be conducted from the European perspective because only then will they enable us to perceive and describe the dynamism of changes. The time has also come for publishing such figures as Doliwa Starzyński; it would be perfect for publishing his entire work, but reason tells us that a selection would be a better choice for sources amounting to thousands of pages.

Finally, is it not the time for a new anthology of the Polish Enlightenment's poetry (and prose)? Perhaps even several ones? Covering various sources, prepared in parallel with works on extensive and programmatic digitisation of materials. We should remember that selections and anthologies shape the period's popular — and perhaps not just popular — consciousness, names, topics, and aesthetics. They determine the canon of literature of a given period, and we must remember that the Enlightenment is currently absent from Polish school curricula. It is about the anthology created for its users, students, pupils.

Furthermore, the anthology intended to stimulate further research on the period. Moreover, notably, an attractive one, presenting the Enlightenment as a project of modernity in the perspective of long duration up to our times, but also in a broader sense, the 18th century as a period of confrontation, formation of various attitudes — political, cultural, and ideational — from the ultra-Catholic Bar confederate to lay Starzyński, a world of a male culture where women want to have a larger and larger say; a world of projects intending to reform Jews and

[35] Military association of nobles in Poland, formed in Bar in Podolia on 29 February 1768 to protect Catholic faith and independence of the Republic of Poland against the supervision of the Russian Empire, and against the king Stanisław II August.

[36] Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, *Oświecenie. Próg naszej współczesności.* Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe "Semper", 1994.

anti-Semitic speeches. Anthologies, perhaps, an effect of collaboration of Polish, French, British, German researchers, depicting texts, authors, phenomena in a broader context, indeed the European one. Anthologies mentioned before, written by Borowy, Kott, Kostkiewiczowa, Goliński, Libera, Żbikowski and Nalepa, have played their role, stimulated further research, and presented various strategies for choosing a tradition. It is time for a new attempt to create an anthology in the 21st century, in a new situation. Once more, we only must quote Kott: "Contemporary times dictate the choice of tradition. [...] Tradition is chosen in the same ideational battle in which contemporary literature is born. And this choice must be made with the same political, moral and epistemic passion, with the same affection and vigilance." Vigilance mandated by the challenges of times, the need to make choices, which Poland, Europe and the world must make.

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A HUNDRED YEARS OF RESEARCH ON THE 18TH-CENTURY THEATRE IN POLAND AND FRANCE

Abstract

Among the modern researchers conducting studies on the 18th century, there is a widespread belief that research on Polish theatre of that era did not develop until the turn of the 1950s and 1960s. It is only part of the truth. The apogee of theatrical research coincided with those years, resulting from the 200th anniversary of the National Theatre, which was widely promoted by the authorities. However, the first diagnoses of Polish theatre scientists dealing with the 18th century are much earlier. Suffice it to recall Ludwik Bernacki's monumental work, "Theatre, Drama and Music under Stanislaw August", which the researcher published in Lviv in 1925. Bernacki's research was closely related to the work of French theatre scientists, who conducted research on the scene and drama of the 18th century before the First World War. This article analyses and chronologically presents the last century of theatrical research and its methodological changes on the example of Polish and French history of 18th-century theatre.

Keywords: theater, 18th century, theater research, Poland, France.

Historians studying the 18th century hold a relatively common opinion that the research on the Polish theatre of this period began only in the first half of the 20th century. That is not wholly true. The peak of theatre studies on the Enlightenment took place in the 1950s and 60s, which was related to the wide-ranging 200th anniversary of the National Theatre in Warsaw (founded in 1765), widely popularised by the authorities of the time. However, the first explorations by Polish theatrologists dealing with the 18th century are much earlier. We only must recall the extensive work titled "Dzieje nowożytnej tragedii polskiej" (History of Modern Polish Tragedy) by Marian Szyjkowski and the monumental work "Teatr, dramat i muzyka za Stanisława Augusta" (Theatre, Drama and Music in Times of Stanislaw II August) by Ludwik Bernacki which the researcher published in Lviv in 1925 and which is still being used

today. These studies, especially Bernacki's scientific explorations, remained strictly tied to the works of French theatrologists whose pre-First World War research on the 18th-century stage and drama was much more substantial than in Poland.

There are several reasons to begin this work by emphasising the early scientific ties between France and Poland in the area of 18th-century theatre. The most important one — and obvious — is the historical, literary heritage, i.e., the influences of French playwrights in Poland beginning in the second half of the 17th century with Corneille, Racine and Molière, and later in the 18th century with Marivaux, Destouches, Voltaire, and numerous other authors, now forgotten, whose plays constituted the cornerstone of repertoires of school, court and public theatres throughout the 18th century. The artistic and organisational functioning of private and public Polish theatres of the time was also based on the French model. This area, analysed by Ludwik Bernacki in his theatre history investigations of the interwar period, had been previously completely untouched in Poland.

Beginning in the 1920s, the functioning of the 18th-century theatre in France was the subject of research conducted by the founder of the "Société d'Histoire du Théâtre", Max Fuchs (1876–1949), considered the father of modern French theatre studies because he determined the general modes of functioning of old theatrical institutions, and above all because — and this is of crucial importance to people studying the 18th century — he convincingly explained that a fundamental change had taken place in the 18th-century theatre, the consequences of which we have continued to experience to this day. As briefly as possible, according to Fuchs: the 18th-century theatre in Europe is not a simple continuation of previous theatrical achievements because of an economic factor permeating it to a large degree, whose previous relevance was negligible.

Only in the 18th century a theatre operating in a public building becomes a trading company, an enterprise managed by an entrepreneur. The appearance of this profession in the early 18th century and the word "entrepreneur" referring to theatre managers clearly show that things have changed. [1] Events that have transformed the stage play into a product dependent on the demand of the audience paying for the theatre ticket, which is a type of a bilateral miniature Purchase and Sale Agreement. An agreement whose value can be questioned even during its execution by an audience member using whistling and mockery, should the theatrical play be unappealing. The economic factor studied by the French scientist is convincing, especially since he took numerous

[1] Cf. M. Fuchs, *La vie théâtrale en province au XVIIIème siècle*, Paris, 1933 Librairie Droz, p. 7.

provincial enterprises in Nancy, Bordeaux, and Lyon into consideration. Fuchs worked with Ludwik Bernacki and even mentioned "Teatr, dramat i muzyka za Stanisława Augusta" from 1925 in the bibliography of works he consulted in the 1930s while writing his most famous book, "La vie théâtrale en province au XVIIIe siècle" (Paris, 1933). Fuchs also defined "theatrical life" (*la vie théâtrale*), a significant concept in theatre studies, in its modern sense and scope used to refer to a wide variety of social, economic and artistic phenomena connected with the functioning of theatre.

Perhaps the first use of the concept of "theatrical life" in a manner like that of Fuchs can be found in the title of Karyna Wierzbicka Michalska's 1949 work, "Życie teatralne Warszawy za Stanisława Augusta" (Theatrical Life of Warsaw in the Times of Stanislaw II August).[2]

Studies on theatrical staging in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were another pioneering achievement of French theatrologists before the Second World War. The first such work, titled "La mise en scène en France dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle" written by Marie A. Allévy-Viala and published in 1938, was a novel theatrical book due to its subject of research, but mostly because of the method that consistently avoided dramatical literature and focused solely on the visual side of play execution. After the war, it attracted the attention of Polish theatre historians. It was published in 1958, translated by Wojciech Natanson as "Inscenizacja romantyczna we Francji" with a fascinating foreword written by Zbigniew Raszewski.

As mentioned before, the 200th anniversary of the National Theatre in 1965 unleashed great scientific energy fuelled not only by substantive reasons. The Polish People's Republic government, searching for intellectual tradition in remote eras, focused its ideological tools on the Enlightenment. The "Age of Lights" was presented as the "beginning of this red thread that runs throughout the 19th century up to our times".[3] That is why, from today's perspective, knowing well the propagandistic references of the time, we can say that the permanent scientific value of these studies on the Enlightenment theatre is also proven by the ability to discern the difference between the authentic role of politics in the Polish 18th-century culture and the tendency to politicise the Enlightenment by the People's Government unilaterally.

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[2] In her book, *Teatr w Polsce w XVIII wieku* [Polish Theatre of the 18th Century] (Warsaw, 1977), K. Wierzbicka Michalska extensively uses the methodology devised as early as in 1949.

[3] T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Oświecenia w pracach Instytutu Badań Literackich,* in: "Wiek Oświecenia", No. 12, 1996, p. 135.

A persuasive example of understanding this subtlety can be seen in the 1950s and 60s in the two monographical editions of "Pamiętnik Teatralny" (Theatre Journal) about the Polish 18th-century stage, as well as in numerous publications authored by such renowned theatre historians as Karyna Wierzbicka, Barbara Król, Zbigniew Raszewski, and Jacek Lipiński, next to the older generation of such researchers as Bohdan Korzeniewski, Tadeusz Mikulski, Eugeniusz Szwankowski, and Stanisław Dąbrowski. This team of theatrologists set the later tone of the entire discipline of Enlightenment studies.

Around the anniversary, Polish theatre studies also received a second set — after Ludwik Bernacki's monumental work — of the most important documents about theatrical life in the 18th century: *Teatr Narodowy 1765–1794* (National Theatre 1765–1794), edited by Jan Kott,[4] and *Początki teatru stanisławowskiego* (Origins of the Stanislaw II August Theatre) by Mieczysław Klimowicz.[5] Let us emphasise that most documents collected and discussed in both publications were originally written in French.

The breadth of these works was summarised at the scientific session organised in November 1965 by the Department of History and Theory of Theatre at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. When recapitulating the theses and conclusions of the three key speeches given by J. Kott, M. Klimowicz and Z. Raszewski, T. Sivert emphasised that they have essentially determined the role of politics in the Stanislaw II August-era theatre, especially on the stage of the National Theatre, and the key role of the king, Stanisław II Augustus.[6]

Research from the late 60s and early 70s, among which two works should be mentioned: "Bogusławski", a biography by Z. Raszewski,[7] and Jerzy Got's "Na wyspie Guaxary" (On the Island of Guaxara)[8], confirms the generalising findings of the preceding years. Indeed, Got's book about Bogusławski's Lviv Theatre introduces an entirely new element to the research, which could be called, using a currently fashionable term, the regionalisation of culture, i.e., its distinctness in comparison with the dominant culture of the capital.

Also, later publications on the Enlightenment theatre, even those that do not fully subscribe to individual "political" hypotheses, do not question the basic findings of the 1950s and 60s. In the most important

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[4] J. Kott, introduction and editing, Warsaw, 1967.

[5] M. Klimowicz, Warsaw, 1965.

[6] *Teatr Narodowy w dobie Oświecenia* [National Theatre in the Enlightenment], ed. E. Heise, K. Wierzbicka-Michalska, Warsaw, 1967

[7] Warsaw, 1972.

[8] Kraków, 1971.

work to date on this topic, "Teatr w Polsce w XVIII wieku" (1977), its author, Karyna Wierzbicka-Michalska, states in her conclusion: "The permanent existence of a public theatre in Warsaw [...] produced affection toward theatrical entertainment among a wide variety of the capital's residents and visiting nobility. It provided the national stage with great possibilities of propagandistic impact."[9]

Studies on the dramatic literature of the Stanislaw II August period developed — quite understandably — in a strict relationship with the progress of works on the institution of theatre. Let us return here to the research on the 18th-century drama in France and recall a pioneering work in this area, the 600-page book written by Félix Gaiffe in 1910 and titled "Le drame en France au XVIII ème siècle". Although Gaiffe's starting point was the presentation of texts now classified as bourgeois tragedy, which — per his words — "was created in opposition to the classic genres of tragedy and comedy,"[10] the author takes the position of a modern theatrologist more than a traditional literary critic because he begins his studies — let me quote again — "by discussing literary and social sources of the genre, determining its basic properties and boundaries, only to move to the environment in which it was created and where it evolved."[11] Thus, Gaiffe is interested in those spheres of the theatre that involve politics, sociology and economy. Let us add here that his book remains one of the most valuable sources in the study of 18th-century French playwriting.

Studies on the Polish Enlightenment drama do carry traces of Félix Gaiffe's methodology, particularly in the aspect concerning stage texts remaining in opposition to the classic court genres of tragedy and comedy. We should draw attention here to the role of Jan Kott as the initiator and editor of the multi-volume edition "Teatr polskiego oświecenia" (Polish Enlightenment Theatre). Thanks to this series, for nearly 20 years, readers have been receiving perfect issues of comedies by, among others, Bohomolec (ed. J. Kott), Krasicki (ed. M. Klimowicz), collection "Komedia obyczajowa warszawska" (Warsaw Comedy of Manners, ed. Z. Wołoszyńska), "Utwory dramatyczne Jana Baudoin" (Dramas of Jan Baudouin, ed. Z. Raszewski), collection "Drama mieszczańska" (Bourgeois Drama, ed. J. Pawłowiczowa). Among other later issues of theatre plays that were important in the Enlightenment, we should mention "Polska tragedia neoklasyczna" (Polish Neoclassical Tragedy) by D. Ratajczakowa and a kind of conclusion to the works about the best playwrights of the Enlighten-

[9] K. Wierzbicka-Michalska, op. cit., pp. 298–299.
[10] F. Gaiffe, *Le drame...* "avant-propos", p. 1.
[11] Ibid., p. 1.

ment, i.e., the five-volume "Teatr Franciszka Zabłockiego" (Theatre of Franciszek Zabłocki) by J. Pawłowiczowa.

Let me indulge here in an important reflection on the question the organisers from the Faculty of Polish Studies at the University of Warsaw used to name our conference: "How to study the Enlightenment?" Regarding theatre studies, the question of how to study the 18th-century (or the Enlightenment) theatre has been the source of disputes in our community for many years. The cultivation of various specialities caused these disputes — topics passed from masters to their student-heirs — methods and research tools that needed naming and which have owed their permanence on the scientific market to many factors. In 1999, the Jagiellonian University centre for theatre studies in Kraków organised the national conference titled "Teatr — teatrologia w Polsce u schyłku XX wieku" (Theatre: theatrology in Poland in the late 20th century), during which, briefly speaking, we primarily tackled the past tense of Polish theatre studies. Technical and methodological issues were rarely raised, typically in lobby discussions and not in the conference room. After the publication of the conference materials and discussions in the theatrological circle, we could sense something that one would like to call, in some instances, a desire to search for a more modern research technique and goal, while in other cases, it could be called an uncertainty with respect to these matters. From the perspective of a dozen or so years, this anxiety could be sensed primarily by reading two articles: "Dawne i nowe" (Old and New) by Dobrochna Ratajczakowa and "O możliwościach zastosowania w nauce o teatrze pewnych nowych metod badawczych (Perspektywy i ograniczenia)" (On the possibilities of using specific new research methods in theatre studies: Perspectives and limitations) by Sławomir Świątek,[12] because their authors — researchers of theatre commanding great authority in our community — critiqued traditional methods of classical historiography, used by Polish theatrologists due to inertia, proposing better and more modern ones instead. Despite several reservations, the arguments made by Ratajczakowa and Świątek got to the heart of the concerns of numerous theatre historians and, in some ways, called for an in-depth methodological reflection.

Going further, in the Autumn of 2002, a methodological conference was organized entitled "Jak badać teatr" (How to study theatre?). Its structure was atypical. It was a panel discussion of around a dozen specialists who, before participating in the debate on methods used in theatre studies, learned about the positions of their colleagues by reading

[12] Both articles were published in the post-conference volume *Teatr — teatrologia w Polsce u schyłku XX wieku*, Kraków, 2001.

the texts written by everyone.[13] The central axis of the dispute between historians and theoreticians was the persistence of the cardinal rule of the "classical" method of theatre history research and historical research in general: respect for facts, i.e. that which can be expressed in units of theatre inauguration dates, show titles and dates, names of actors, salary amounts. For several decades, beginning in the 1950s, Polish research centres produced documentary works to collect such facts precisely as possible. We are still using these materials, and we know that there will not be any new ones soon. Who and when began to suspect that this methodologically indisputable respect for facts in our research sometimes leads to an impasse? Naturally, it is not possible to point at someone directly. It occurred along with the time necessary to understand that bare facts by themselves do not contain the truth about theatre. When referring to, for example, the works of Polish theatrologists collected by the Wrocław scientist Janusz Degler in his multi-volume publication titled "Wprowadzenie do nauki o teatrze" (Introduction to Theatre Studies), we can notice that in the 1970s, an increasingly large group of theatre researchers disavowed segregation and periodisation of documents. At the same time, in drama studies, they rejected philological analysis and entered the areas reserved by sociology, art history, philosophy, literary criticism, and linguistics. Although this did not lead to creating a new methodology, it did prepare the field for creating original and scientifically fertile concepts integrating various elements constituting our discipline. I think here of semiological propositions (e.g., T. Kowzan's sign in the theatre), particularly of the utilisation of the category of space, used in humanities, which is a convenient tool of analysis concerning the stage and dramatic text in both historical and theoretical aspects. The second proposition was — as we may recall — very popular from the 80s until recent years[14].

Zbigniew Raszewski, a distinguished theatre researcher, died in the early 90s. I present this fact[15] because the influence of Raszewski, who had every feature of a master, was great in our community. Several generations of theatre historians, primarily researchers of the 18th century, shaped their theatrological techniques to what he did and how he did it. Raszewski's methodology was, in the most general terms, a method

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[13] *Jak badać teatr? Materiały z konferencji metodologicznej poświęconej badaniom historycznoteatralnym* [How to Study Theatre? Materials from the Methodological Conference Devoted to Theatre History Research], ed. M. Dębowski, Kraków, 2003.

[14] See D. Ratajczakowa, *Przestrzeń w dramacie i dramat w przestrzeni teatru* [Space in Drama and Drama in Theatre Space], Poznań, 1985

[15] I quote the following sentences from my speech at the 2002 conference, found in the book *Jak badać teatr?* p. 51.

of classical historiography, in the best sense of this term. There was, however, a very significant exception. In his books, Raszewski combined the respect for facts with a personal narration, which is a thing rejected by traditional historians. That is because personal narration rules out impartiality.

On the other hand, Raszewski wrote the history of the Polish theatre like a scientist fervently asked by someone who knows much less: "Professor, please tell me the story of Bogusławski." And he answered their questions. This aspect of writing resulted in the fact that we still perceive His studies as modern, even in the light of the newest narrative theories utilised by non-classical historiography. A researcher's personal telling of history (which is a bit like the narrative in *roman-fleuves*), in my opinion, works best in biographies of great figures of the theatre.

Professor Raszewski tended to be mistrustful of applying "theory" in theatre history research. He believed in the subordination of observation and experience to an ahistorical system — a kind of "super science" — as more detrimental than beneficial to the theatre. He passed on this attitude to many students, even though he was not free from interpretation in the name of a "higher idea." I think here primarily of his belief that theatre history should be made — please forgive my simplification — "for strengthening of hearts," that in a given political situation in communist Poland, a theatre historian should follow the thought of J. J. Rousseau: "You cannot possibly keep them from swallowing you, but they shall not be able to digest you"[16], which is a thought that Professor Raszewski implemented in his works and his talks with students.

Returning to the French methodologies of the last decades of the 20th century and the early 21st century, we should emphasise that since the 1950s, the research and teaching in the area of theatre have been led by the Sorbonne's Institut d'Etudes Théâtrales, founded by Jaques Scherer, a researcher of classical dramatic literature, well known by all Romanists. Scherer purchased for the Sorbonne a magnificent library of the distinguished director Gaston Baty, who died in 1952 and was one of the founders of the so-called "Group of Four," an informal and very influential pre-Second World War association of four Parisian theatre directors.

As Jaques Scherer's student, professor Martine de Rougemont, told me, it was the Gaston Baty's library where the later team of theatrologists gathered and set the tone of French theatre studies to this day. Scientists with a sociological bent have played a significant role since the beginning. We only need to list the theatrical critic Jean Duvignaud,

[16] As cited in Z. Raszewski, *Teatr Narodowy w latach 1779–1789* [National Theatre in 1779–1789] in: "Teatr Narodowy w dobie oświecenia," op. cit., p. 79

author of, among other things, "Sociologie du théâtre" (Sociology of Theatre), Paris, PUF, 1965, translated into many languages, or Bernard Dort, founder of the magazine "Travail théâtral", and most of all, since 1967, Martine de Rougemont, who contributed more to the 18th-century theatre research than anyone else. Briefly speaking, this group decided in the early 60s that, despite prior multidirectional studies, the basic material to create a solid history of the French theatre had not yet been collected. Thus they first needed to study the actual conditions of the theatre at the time. They began with the collection of facts. This respect for facts, like in Poland, became a persistent research trend for at least three decades, which — although it may seem slightly anachronistic today — led to a change in the outlook on certain important phenomena. We should recall one of the most impressive achievements of the group of researchers of the 18th century who conducted studies under the direction of Martine de Rougemont in the 70s. It concerned the situation of tragedy — the highest genre in the classical French literary hierarchy — and specifically, the French's adoration of the tragedy repertoire in the 18th century. It was a research topic that has always bothered, to a greater or lesser degree, historians of ideas, sociologists of culture, and theatrologists. That is because, at a glance, particularly in combination with irregular genres such as domestic drama or opera buffa, it seemed paradoxical. Like hardly any other period, the Enlightenment, at least until the Revolution in 1789, makes the impression that it is oblivious to tragedy, fate, transcendence, suffering, and death. The best and still played works of the Enlightenment theatre entertain, sometimes teach, but primarily constitute leisure time. They make us laugh, potentially think and reflect, like Marivaux's works, or give us courage and energy, like the works of Beaumarchais. They are refreshing and, most of all, positive. In essence, the 18th-century theatre is overflowing with the instinct of life, both in playwriting and in the accompanying visual arts and music. Despite occasional notes of melancholy here and there, it is entirely anti-tragic. That is wholly confirmed by the research of Félix Gaiffe, mentioned in the beginning.

However, if we investigate the details of the current activity of great French stages, including the most important, the Comédie-Française, we will notice that tragedy has been the most played genre. Meticulous statistical studies conducted by theatrologists from the Institut d'Etudes Théâtrales demonstrate that throughout the 18th century, audiences buying tragedy tickets were much bigger than those buying comedy tickets. For example: in 1715–1750, the average number of people attending comedies was 319, while 545 people saw tragedies on average. In the 60s and 70s, the average figures were 485 for comedies and 754 for

tragedies, and the popularity of tragedies was maintained until the important year 1789. Digits do not lie. The audience indeed had been buying tragedy tickets, and accusations directed at theatre directors that they played something people had not liked — because of conservative tastes or a desire to pay tribute to the great tragedies of Corneille and Racine — have no basis in reality.[17] Why? Here we are assisted by the careful studies about the 18th-century audience and acting. As it turns out, the audience had been attending tragedies because it was fascinated by roles played by great female actors such as Dumesnil or Clairon, and by great male tragedy actors such as Lekain (Voltaire's favourite actor) or Larive, and slightly later, by the idol of the crowds, Talma. These acting stars with exceptional declamation skills overshadowed the 18th-century comedy acting that existed in the Italian theatre since 1762 with the opera buffo and turned into acting techniques that combined singing with declamation, sophisticated stage movements and dance (this theatre, moreover, dominated the entertainment arts for the following two centuries).

The pinnacle of the 18th-century theatre research with a sociological bent was the 1988 French publication of the book titled "La vie théâtrale en France au XVIIIe siècle". Its author, who died prematurely in 2015, Sorbonne Professor and director of the Institut d'Etudes Théâtrales, Martine de Rougemont, on the one hand, adopted certain methodological aspects of Max Fuchs[18] but, on the other hand, enriched them considerably with new propositions. The point of view adopted by the scientist in the 1980s is not surprising considering still expanding research specialities, to which we have added semiotics, comparative literature, drama studies, and theatrical iconology. In the 90s, we can see a certain decline in studies on the sociology of theatre and a clear move in emphasis toward its aesthetics. Remaining with Martine de Rougemont, we can see that her interests in the 2000s were increasingly often focused on the visual aspects of theatrical plays. The study from 2005 titled "Situation de l'iconographie théâtrale" is clear proof of this change. The switch of emphasis from sociology to aesthetics in studies on the 18th-century theatre in France concerns, at the turn of the 21st century, a much larger group of theatrologists, from which I will only list one name: Pierre Franz, author of the book "L'esthétique du tableau dans le théâtre du XVIIIe siècle", published in 1999.

Issues of the aesthetics of play in the Polish 18th-century theatre remain at the periphery of the primary trend of researchers' interests. At the earliest, separate studies on this topic covered Enlightenment

[17] M. de Rougemont, *La vie théâtrale en France au XVIII ème siècle*, Paris, 1988, p.33.

[18] M. de Rougemont writes about this in "note limitaire," ibid., p. 9

acting and, to be exact, views on acting. Here, we must yield the palm to Bohdan Korzeniewski. The interest in 18th-century acting can also be found in many post-war publications. Still, we should recall that we somewhat owe more concrete studies on the Enlightenment acting to a lucky accident. It is about discovering one of the parts of Wojciech Bogusławski's "Dramaturgia" (Dramaturgy), which had been lost during the war. This part, titled "Mimika" (Facial Expression), was edited by Jacek Lipiński. Lipiński continued his works on old Polish acting, which resulted in — in addition to several articles — 1974's "Sztuka aktorska w Polsce 1500–1633" (The Art of Acting in Poland, 1500–1633), which its author envisaged as the first volume of a work devoted to the history of aesthetics of the Polish stage play. Unfortunately, this intent has not yet been carried out. Still, thanks to the studies undertaken by a team of employees of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, portraits of four actors of the turn of the 19th century have been written and published in a popular series titled "Monografie czołowych artystów sceny polskiej" (Monographs of the Leading Artists of the Polish Stage).

The Enlightenment acting needed around a dozen years to find a new researcher, which is also, in a sense, thanks to the accidental discovery of the 1810 manuscript "Des acteurs et du jeu théatral" by Emanuel Murray.[19] My printed publication of this first manual for actors in Poland, strictly tied to the National Theatre, enabled us to continue the studies initiated by Lipiński and make hypotheses on acting style. Although we will have to wait for an in-depth exploration of this topic, we can now say that the model of French acting, otherwise applicable on most European stages, had been transformed on the Warsaw stage rather quickly. We can already identify national features in our pre-eminent dramatic artists' acting in the first years of the 19th century.

At the same time, we should note the studies of B. Król, St. Mrozińska and I. Turska, which, in the 1950s and 60s, were already devoted to stage aesthetics, completely leaving aside the sociologising and political directives applicable at the time. The research subject, ballet, decorations, painting, and theatrical costumes facilitated this epistemic disinterestedness; however, it is also true that later studies on these essential parts of a show have not developed sufficiently. On the other hand, the knowledge of theatrical aesthetics, which was not as in-depth as it should be, solidified the conviction about the simple copying of French and West European models.

[19] Published from the manuscript in French and in Polish (*O aktorach i grze teatralnej* [On Actors and Theatrical Acting]), translated and edited by M. Dębowski, Kraków, 1992.

Ballet is a constant and vital phenomenon in the Polish Enlightenment theatre. Bogusławski writes about it multiple times in "Dzieje Teatru Narodowego" (History of the National Theatre).[20] It is not the place for longer contemplations on this topic. Still, we can conclude Bogusławski's remarks on the art of ballet that, for him, it was the perfect school for organising theatrical space and the visual side of stage movement. We certainly cannot speak about the Warsaw stage ballet of the time in categories of imitation or dependence on the West European stage. For example, Noverre's most famous ballet, *Medea and Jason*, staged in Warsaw by Vestris in 1767, had its Parisian première only in 1770, a cut-down version.

When moving to works on scenography and costume studies, we should primarily emphasise that we owe most of them to the diligence of a single person, Barbara Król Kaczorowska (who died in 2011). Her studies on the two leading decorators of the Enlightenment, Jan Bogumił Plersch and Antoni Smuglewicz, remain irreplaceable. Thanks to them, we can determine whether our decorations had to be seen as old-fashioned and provincial compared to the decorative fashions of Paris or London. We can formulate a similar opinion about costumes, which already had some realistic features by the end of the 18th century, particularly plays, even historical ones. We can see this in meagre iconographic documents and works on this topic, which unfortunately number in single digits.

Is research on the eighteenth-century Polish theatre continued today, in the twenty-first century's second decade? Yes. The foundations on which the new scientific structures can be built are solid. Among the specialised researchers, we can already notice a kind of "changing of the guard". The younger generation of Polish theatre researchers uses the new methods to conduct a scientific reconnaissance, which often leads them to interesting synthetic research results. This new and — I do not hesitate — modern generation will soon raise the question of how much is still ahead of us.

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ROMANTIC NATIONALIST PARADIGM OVERCOME: THE STUDY OF THE EARLY MODERN CZECH LANGUAGE AND BOHEMIAN LITERATURE

Abstract

The paper presents the latest trends in studying the eighteenth-century written culture of the Czech lands and covers research on the history of the Czech language and Bohemian literature, its modern challenges, and prospects.

The history of written culture in the eighteenth-century Czech lands is divided into two main periods. The first period dated to the beginning of the century and lasted until the early 1770s; during this time, the leading cultural institutions, especially schools and publishing houses, were owned or sponsored by Catholic orders, most notably the Jesuits. The second period commences in the mid-1770s, when, after the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the Habsburg state established its cultural hegemony. Many nineteenth- and twentieth-century philologists stigmatised the earlier period as an era of „downfall" unworthy of interest but praised the last quarter of the eighteenth century as the formative years of the Czech National Revival. However, the latest research in this area proves this point of view to be distorted and, in some ways, mistaken.

The paper gives a brief overview of the older approach to studying the eighteenth-century Bohemian written culture and points out its disadvantages. The central part of the paper introduces concepts developed by contemporary scholars that might also be applied to linguistic and literary studies in other Central European countries.

Keywords: Early Modern Czech language, Early Modern Czech literature, Early Modern manuscripts, Czech national revival, The Society of Jesus, Maria Theresa, Joseph II.

Nationalism is inevitable for a nation willing to prove its individuality, establish its own culture, and, eventually, sovereignty. However, as many examples show, periods of nationalism are often characterised by the poor quality of artistic production and, surprisingly, quite unceremonious, if not disrespectful, approach to history.

This paper presents a brief overview of how Romantic nationalism has influenced the history of written culture, literature and language

of the 18th century in the Czech lands and how the scholars of the 21st century are trying to correct the narrative based on ideology rather than facts, that was created two hundred years ago.

Romantic Nationalism and the Concept of the Degenerate Era of Literature

> The empty plain — this is what the Czech literature was in the previous century. The deadly tomb prepared for our language! [...] A prayer book, [...] a catechism, a Book of Psalms, a hymnal, a fragmented Church history; at best, some grammar (actually non-grammar) basics that didn't even deserve to be called 'grammar' [...] a textbook or a workbook written in clumsy, if not to say disgusting language using the spelling with no rhyme or reason, now and then some inconsistent mix of words and ugly phrases forming a monstrous construct which one could barely name 'vocabulary'.[1]

These words belong to one of the most prominent Czech intellectuals of the late 19th century, Ferdinand Čenský. Čenský was in no way a marginal underground author — he was a professor of the Czech language at the prestigious academy of Wiener Neustadt, well-known not only as a brilliant journalist but also as a translator and an author of several schoolbooks, including grammar books and dictionaries. Besides that, he was the private teacher of His Imperial and Royal Highness Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria.[2] He was one of the influencers who defined the mindset of the time. So, why would he dislike Early Modern Bohemical written culture to such an extent?

This question would not have been so important if it was just Čenský's opinion. Nevertheless, the presumption that the Czech language and Bohemian literature in the 18th century were so decadent that they were not worth any attention is commonplace among the academy from the early 19th century until the end of the 20th century.

The concept of the century and a half long "decline" of written culture in the Czech lands, which covered approximately 1620–1770, was articulated by Franz Martin Pelcl, an aristocratic teacher and a librarian, in a theatre play review published in 1771.[3] His image of the Czech

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[1] Čenský, Ferdinand: K dějinám řeči a literatury české v XVIII. století. *Osvěta*, vol. 6, №1, 1876, p. 81.

[2] Havel, Petr: C. a k. voják Ferdinand Čenský. *Historie a vojenství*, vol. 43, №5, 1994, p. 98–102; Mádrová, Kamila: *Pedagogové ve službách trůnu: Privátní učitelé následníků trůnu Rakousko-Uherska*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2015, p. 104–116.

[3] Pelcl, Franz Martin: Prag 1771. *Prager gelehrte Nachrichten*. Prague: Wolfgang Gerle, 1771, p. 362–364. The "decline" of the Czech language was probably for the

language and literature being saved from extinction by the Enlightened patriots was so powerful that by the beginning of the 19th century, it was referred to by Václav Matěj Kramérius,[4] Jan Rulík,[5] Josef Rautenkranc[6], František Jan Tomsa[7] and the other famous Bohemian enthusiasts.[8] In his monumental History of Czech Literature, Josef Jungmann offered the most compatible version of this discourse. According to Jungmann, his contemporaries have "resurrected" Czech written culture after its "fall" and raised it to the level of the "so-called Golden Age", which he dates to the late 16th and the early 17th centuries.[9] Jungmann's story hit the bull's eye and became philological mainstream for a significant period. Late Early Modern literary works from that moment on were being stigmatised as "stagnating"[10], "illiterate",[11] "degenerate",[12] "rotting"[13] products of the

first time explicitly mentioned in the conclusion of the review: "Daß aber ſeit faſt anderthalb hundert Jahren, dieſe ſlaviſche Mundart in eine Unthätigkeit verfallen, davon hat der gelehrte Schlötzer, in ſeiner Geſchichte der Slaven ſchon die Urſache zum Theil angegeben. Es ſcheinet aber doch, daß es noch patriotiſche Männer giebt, welche dem gänzlichen Verfalle unſerer Mutterſprache [...] vorzubeugen ſuchen."

[4] Kramerius, Matěj Václav: Slawný Národe Slowanſký! In Kramerius, Matěj Václav (ed.). *Letopiſowé Trojanſſtj. To geſt: Wypſánj deſýtileté wálky Řeků s Králem Pryamem; též obleženj y zrádného dobytj, a wywrácenj přeſlawného w ſwětě měſta Trojanſkého pro Králownu Helenu.* Prague: Česká expedice, 1790, f. 2r.

[5] Rulík, Jan: *Sláwa a Wýbornoſt Gazyka Čeſkého.* Prague: Česká expedice, 1792, p. 35–36, 43–45.

[6] Rautenkranc, Josef: Pročby ſe mělo w hlawnjch ſſkolách králowſtwj Čeſkého včiti také čeſky a čeſſtině. *Hlaſatel Čeſký. Spis čtwrtletnj k proſpěchu a potěſſenj wſſech wlaſtenců wydaný od Jana Negedlého, cýſ. král. Raddy, Doktora Práw, a cýſ. král. řádného weřegného Profesſora Literatury Čeſké na wyſokých ſſkolách Pražſkých. Djl prwnj. Čtwrtý ročnj běh.* Prague: František Jeřábek, 1818, p. 89.

[7] Tomsa, František Jan: *Über die Veränderungen der čechiſchen Sprache, nebſt einer čechiſchen Chreſtomathie ſeit dem dreizehnten Jahrhuderte bis jetzt.* Prague: František Jan Tomsa, 1805, p. 5–8.

[8] Timofeev, Dmitriy: *Jazyk českých knih historiografických zápisků "dlouhého" 18. století.* Unpublished dissertation. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 2018, p. 11–19. Available at <https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/detail/101622/> [cited on August 30, 2021].

[9] Jungmann, Josef: *Historie literatury české aneb Saustawný přehled spisů českých s krátkau historij národu, oswicenj a gazyka.* Prague: Antonin Straširypka, 1825, p. 492.

[10] Bezděková, Zdeňka: *Stará literatura česká.* Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1957, p. 113.

[11] Vondrák, Václav: *Vývoj současného spisovného českého jazyka.* Brno: Filosofická fakulta, 1926, p. 36.

[12] Šembera, Alois Vojtěch: *Dějiny řeči a literatury české.* Wien: Alois Vojtěch Šembera, 1869, p. 74, 79–81.

[13] Vlček, Jaroslav: *Dějiny české literatury I.* Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1960, p. 463.

"dark age"[14] full of "inferior folk elements".[15] Hence, the whole cultural era was almost entirely excluded from the nation's collective memory. Furthermore, the gravest cause for this exclusion seems to be the victory of the House of Habsburg in its political war against the Roman Catholic Church over intellectual dominance in the Hereditary lands.

It would not be an exaggeration to declare that the Roman Church took control over cultural and educational institutions in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia after the Thirty Years War. The most potent Catholic congregation was the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits ran Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague[16] and nearly half of the gymnasia.[17] They also owned the publishing facility of the university, which was the biggest printing house in Bohemia.[18] The Order of Piarists administrated the majority of the primary schools and a dozen of gymnasia.[19] The role of some other congregations, for example, the Dominican Order or the Premonstrate Order, also was not insignificant.[20] Data concerning publishing activity in the Czech lands show that up to the 1770s, Catholic

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[14] Cuřín, František: *Vývoj českého jazyka a dialektologie*. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1964, p. 117.

[15] Bečka, Josef Václav: Barokní čeština. *Časopis pro moderní filologii*, vol. 29, №1, 1946, p. 82–84.

[16] Čornejová, Ivana: Správní a institucionální vývoj pražské univerzity. (Vztah univerzity k panovníkovi, státním a zemským orgánům). In Čornejová, Ivana (ed.). *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy. Díl 2. 1622–1802*. Prague: Karolinum, 1996, p. 27–45.

[17] Bartůšek, Václav: Školy a jejich knihovny v 17. a 18. století v českých zemích. In Adamitis, Zuzana; Paličková, Tereza (eds.). *Manu propria… Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu PhDr. Aleny Richterové, CSc.* Prague: Národní knihovna České republiky, 2012, p. 122–124; Kadner, Otakár: *Vývoj a dnešní soustava školství. Díl 1*. Prague: Sfinx - Bohumil Janda, 1929, p. 58–59; Šafránek, Jan: *Školy české. Obraz jejich vývoje a osudů. I. svazek, r. 862–1848*. Prague: Matice česká; František Řivnáč, 1913, p. 109–110.

[18] Koldová, Monika: Jezuitská tiskárna v Praze (1635–1773) a porovnání jejího fungování s jezuitskými tiskárnami v okolních zemích. In Krušinský, Rostislav (ed.). *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska: Sborník z 16. odborné konference Olomouc, 13.–14. listopadu 2006*. Brno: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, 2008, p. 246–252.

[19] Bartůšek, Václav: Školy a jejich knihovny v 17. a 18. století v českých zemích, p. 122–124; Garkischová, Kamila: Působení piaristů v Berouně. In Čornejová, Ivana (ed.). *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci. Sborník příspěvků z pracovního semináře konaného ve Vranově u Brna ve dnech 4.–5. 6. 2003*. Prague: Scriptorium, 2003, p. 96–97; Kolejka, Josef: Organizace a učební programy řádových škol 1566–1773. Z dějin gymnaziálního vzdělávání na Moravě a ve Slezsku II. *Časopis Matice moravské*, vol. 115, №1, 1996, p. 99; Šafránek, Jan: *Školy české*, p. 110–115.

[20] Bartůšek, Václav: Školy a jejich knihovny v 17. a 18. století v českých zemích, p. 122–124; Černušák, Tomáš: Dominikánské řádové školství na Moravě v 17. a 18. století ve světle pramenů z Moravského zemského archivu v Brně. *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*, vol. 58, №1, 2006, p. 42–44; Kuchařová, Hedvika: *Premonstrátská kolej*

institutions were the main clients of the publishers.[21] At the time mentioned, 60 to 70 % of Bohemian prints in private libraries were religious content.[22] The Catholic Church representatives also wrote many manuscripts that emerged before 1765.[23]

This situation occurred due to the ongoing financial turmoil in the Monarchy that has left the Crown without resources sufficient to compete with the Church. Czech cities were struggling to strike back from the losses of the Thirty Years War, and the Habsburgs were constantly drowning in the military and hereditary conflicts.[24] Thus, the Catholic Church became the cultural monopolist in the Czech lands without a fierce rival for most of the 18th century.

Nevertheless, the Habsburgs tried to use every opportunity to gain power over the intellectual life of their subjects. Already in 1740, right after her ascension, Maria Theresa undertook several measures to restrain the influence of the Jesuits at the Prague university.[25] The reform of pre-university education has started in the 1760s and was finished after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Since then, all the schools had to follow the curriculum provided by Maria Theresa and became directly subjected to newly established state officers.[26] The former

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Norbertinum v Praze. Alternativy univerzitního vzdělání v 17. a 18. století. Prague: Casablanca, 2011; Šafránek, Jan: *Školy české*, p. 109.

[21] Maňas, Vladimír: Tištěná produkce náboženských bratrstev. In Maňas, Vladimír; Orlita, Zdeněk; Potůčková, Martina (eds.). *Zbožných duší úl. Náboženská bratrstva v kultuře raněnovověké Moravy*. Olomouc: Muzeum umění Olomouc, 2010, p. 44–46; Pokorný, Jiří; Wögerbauer, Michael: Barockenbuchkultur in den Böhmischen Ländern. In Gastgeber, Christian; Klecker, Elisabeth (eds.). *Barock*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2015, p. 388.

[22] Pokorný, Jiří: Die Literaturproduktion in Böhmen im 18. Jahrhundert und die Stellung der tschechischen Literatur in den Bibliotheken Prager Bürger. In Frimmel, Johannes; Wogerbauer, Michael (eds.). *Kommunikation und Information im 18. Jahrhundert. Das Beispiel der Habsburgermonarchie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowirz Verlag, 2009, p. 132.

[23] Timofejev, Dmitrij: Původci a čtenáři rukopisné produkce z Čech. Příspěvek k dějinám vzdělanosti v "dlouhém" 18. století. *Cornova: Revue České společnosti pro výzkum 18. století*, vol. 7, №1, 2017, p. 82–94.

[24] Grulich, Josef: *Populační vývoj a životní cyklus venkovského obyvatelstva na jihu Čech v 16. až 18. století*. České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2008, p. 118–146; Maur, Eduard: Obyvatelstvo českých zemí v raném novověku. Třicetiletá válka. In Fialová, Ludmila; Horská, Pavla; Kučera, Milan; Maur, Eduard; Musil, Jiří; Stloukal, Milan. *Dějiny obyvatelstva českých zemí*. Prague: Mladá fronta, 1998, p. 75–132; Placht, Otto: *Lidnatost a společenská skladba českého státu v 16.–18. století*. Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1957, p. 122, 159–179.

[25] Čornejová, Ivana: Správní a institucionální vývoj pražské univerzity, p. 45–50.

[26] Bělina, Pavel: Mezi reformou a revolucí. In Bělina, Pavel; Kaše, Jiří; Kučera, Jan Pavel. *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české X. 1740–1792*. Prague; Litomyšl: Paseka,

Jesuit printing facility was turned into the main printery of Bohemian schoolbooks.[27] The Crown became the most reliable customer of the publishing houses.[28] By 1790, the number of religious works had dropped almost 50 %, and this tendency continued into the 19th century.[29]

One crucial yet never officially admitted political instrument of the Habsburgs in their struggle with the Church was the so-called vernacularisation project (sometimes referred to as "delatinization").[30] When Catholic orders had the main cultural facilities in their hands, the most common language of Bohemian and Moravian written production was Latin.[31] On the contrary, cultural reforms provided by Maria Theresa and especially Joseph II were, among other things, focused on reducing the role of Latin in public life and on replacing it with German or Czech.[32]

2001, p. 259–263; Grimm, Gerald: *Die Schulreform Maria Theresias 1747–1775. Das österreichische Gymnasium zwischen Standesschule und allgemeinbildender Lehranstalt im Spannungsfeld von Ordensschulwesen, theresianischem Reformabsolutismus und Aufklärungspädagogik*. Frankfurt am Main; Bern; New York; Paris: Peter Lang, 1987, p. 366–367; Hanzal, Josef: Příspěvek k dějinám školství a jeho správy v Čechách v letech 1775–1848. *Sborník archivních prací*, vol. 24, №2, 1976, p. 225; van Horn Melton, James: *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*. Cambridge; New York; New Rochelle; Melbourne; Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 214–224.

[27] Polák, Karel: *Třemi stoletími. Stručné dějiny Státního pedagogického nakladatelství*. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1968, p. 11–13.

[28] Wögerbauer, Michael: Četbou k občanské společnosti. Knižní kultura a četba v Praze 1780–1800. In Svatošová, Hana (ed.). *Praha Mozartova. Kulturní a společenský život v Praze 1780–1800. Publikace k výstavě. Clam-Gallasův Palác, 21. listopadu 2006 — 28. ledna 2007*. Prague: Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 2006, p. 85–86.

[29] Pokorný, Jiří: Die Literaturproduktion in Böhmen im 18. Jahrhundert, p. 132; Wögerbauer, Michael: "Jeho prozatímním zaměstnáním je psát romány". Zrod a zkáza profesionálního spisovatelství v Čechách kolem roku 1800. In Bren, Tomáš; Janáček, Pavel (eds.). *"O slušnou odměnu bude pečováno..." Ekonomické souvislosti spisovatelské profese v české kultuře 19. a 20. století*. Prague: Ústav pro českou literaturu Akademie věd České republiky, v. v. i., 2009, p. 22.

[30] Petrbok, Václav; Wögerbauer, Michael: Literatura duplex. Koncept české a německé literatury v Praze v poslední čtvrtině 18. století. In SVatošová, Hana (ed.). *Praha Mozartova*, p. 71–73; Wögerbauer, Michael: Vernakularizace - alternativa ke konceptu národního obrození? *Česká literatura. Časopis pro literární vědu*, vol. 56, №4, 2008, p. 461–482.

[31] Jiří Pokorný, Michael Wögerbauer: Barockenbuchkultur in den Böhmischen Ländern, p. 388; Voit, Petr: *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století. Papír, písmo a písmolijectví, knihtisk a jiné grafické techniky, tiskaři, nakladatelé, knihkupci, ilustrátoři a kartografové, literární typologie, textové a výtvarné prvky knihy, knižní vazba, knižní obchod*. Prague: Libri, 2006, p. 184.

[32] Timofejev, Dmitrij: "...čeština ve většině okresů země je stále ještě nezbytná..." Existoval jazykový program v nařízeních Josefa II. pro země Koruny české? *Cornova: Revue České společnosti pro výzkum 18. století*, vol. 3, №1, 2013, p. 69–81; Wögerbauer, Michael: 1749–1801. V zájmu rozumu a spásy duše. Literární cenzura mezi proti-

It is not an overstatement to say that Czech-writing Romantic nationalists, who later became to be known as "National Revivalists", were to a large extent, explicitly or implicitly, contributing to this Theresian and Josephine vernacularisation program.[33] Moreover, their judgments concerning written production of the late 17th century and most of the 18th century (which was, as already mentioned, mostly Catholic) shall be interpreted not as academic criticism but as political statements that emerged in the cultural war.

As an example of such a statement, it is worth quoting Václav Thám, a high-profile Revivalist poet. In his manifest introduction to a representative compilation of Czech Humanist and Enlightened poems and translations published in 1785, Thám, among other things, claims: "The Jesuits have changed [...] our Czech language into their Jesuit language, hideous and full of freaky words."[34] Nevertheless, the reader is given neither closer details of what "the Jesuit language" is nor its illustration. One could suggest that Thám means rhetorical rules taught at the Jesuit gymnasia.[35] However, these stylistic means and patterns were deeply rooted in Humanist poetics,[36] and Thám praises Humanist authors on

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reformací a osvícenstvím. In Wögerbauer, Michael; Píša, Petr; Šamál, Petr; Janáček, Pavel (eds.). *V obecném zájmu. Cenzura a sociální regulace literatury v moderní české kultuře. 1749–2014. Svazek I. 1749–1938*. Prague: Academia; Ústav pro českou literaturu Akademie věd České republiky, v. v. i., 2015, p. 72; Kadner, Otakár: *Vývoj a dnešní soustava školství*, p. 65–67; Mrzena, Jan; Štverák, Vladimír (eds.): *Felbiger a Kindermann. Reformátoři lidového školství*. Prague; Jihlava: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1986, p. 79; Novotný, Miroslav: Děti státu. Školství v českých zemích mezi reformou a tradicí. In Lorman, Jaroslav; Tinková, Daniela (eds.). *Post tenebras spero lucem. Duchovní tvář českého a moravského osvícenství*. Prague: Casablanca, 2008, p. 150; van Horn Melton, James: *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling*, p. 224–229.

[33] Wögerbauer, Michael: Vlastenecká literatura a její dva proudy. Tři sondy ke vzniku novějších literatur v Praze v letech 1760–1820. In Karlová, Štěpánka; Lišková, Veronika; Stočes, Jiří (eds.). *Historická dílna I: sborník příspěvků přednesených v roce 2006*. Plzeň: Západočeská univerzita, 2006, p. 109–118; Wögerbauer, Michael: Vernakularizace - alternativa ke konceptu národního obrození?, p. 473–477.

[34] Thám, Václav: Předmłuwa. In Thám, Václav (ed.). *Báſně w řeči wázané*. Prague: U Rosenmüllerských dědiců, 1785, f. A3rv.

[35] Bobková-Valentová, Kateřina: *Každodenní život učitele a žáka jezuitského gymnázia*. Prague: Karolinum, 2006, p. 77–86; Svatoš, Martin: "Ars rhetorica" a "ars combinatoria" v podání jezuitského kazatele Caspara Knittela. In Chroust, Václav; Buršíková, Zdeňka; Viták, Karel (eds.). *Milovníkům slova Božího k potěšení a užitečnému pobavení. Barokní jezuitské Klatovy 2016 - Sborník příspěvků*. Klatovy: Město Klatovy, 2016, p. 135–139.

[36] Compare, for example, Melanchton, Philipp: *Philippi Melanchtonis de rhetorica libri tres*. Basel: Johannes Frobenius, 1519, p. 120–131 and SUÁREZ, Cyprian: *DE ARTE RHETORICA LIBRI TRES EX Ariſtotele, Cicerone & Quintiliano praecipue deprompti*. Seville: Ex oficina Alphonsi Escriuani, 1569, f. 42r–60r.

the same page, where he attacks the Jesuits.[37] So, the only "open accusation" Thám has against the written culture of the Early Modern era is that the Society of Jesus dominated it. Indeed, if Thám had had any other argument proving the antecedent literary production worthless, he did not find it necessary enough to be included in his progressive Revivalist text. Furthermore, that enables us to view Thám's manifesto not as an aesthetic essay but as a political pamphlet of a Czech nationalist aimed against the long-gone cultural hegemony of Catholic institutions.

The same characteristics may be applied to Čenský's laments about the "empty plain" of the 18th century Czech literature recalled at the beginning of my paper. Čenský starts with listing the most published types of books ("a prayer book, [...] a catechism, a Book of Psalms, a hymnal, a fragmented Church history, [...] some grammar [...] basics, [...] a textbook or a workbook") and ends with scoffing over their "clumsy [...] language", "spelling with no rhyme or reason", as well as "a monstrous construct which one could barely call vocabulary", though ostentatiously does not bother to prove his own words with at least one sample of the "inconsistent mix of words and ugly phrases" he assaults.[38] Moreover, by no coincidence, all genres named by Čenský are widely elaborated by Catholic authors.

Although the Romantic nationalist discourse of the "degenerate era" of the 18th century written culture had no sufficient grounds, it fell on the fertile soil of the Late Modern Czech society and was received exceptionally positively and almost absolutely non-critically by contemporary intellectuals and their successors down to our days.[39] The impact of the post-Jungmann narrative is so strong that even a public linguist and the Institute of the Czech National Corpus deputy head, in an interview held as recently as January 2019 has claimed, that the Early Modern Czech by the mid-19th century was no less than a dead language.[40]

The fascinating story of how the Revivalists have reframed the evolution of the Czech language and Bohemian literature in the 17th and 18th centuries by execrating the works of their cultural enemies as artistically inferior is still not adequately studied and deserves more profound anal-

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[37] Thám, Václav: Předmłuwa, f. A2v–A3r.

[38] Čenský, Ferdinand: K dějinám řeči a literatury české, p. 81.

[39] Timofeev, Dmitriy: *Jazyk českých knih historiografických zápisků "dlouhého" 18. století*, p. 19–27.

[40] Cvrček, Václav: Na začátku spisovné češtiny byl dvě stě let mrtvý jazyk, říká lingvista, který jde proti proudu. Nová Pravidla už možná nebudou. Rozhovor s Lenkou Vrtiškovou Nejezchlebovou. *Deník N*, January 22, 2019. Available at <https://denikn.cz/53753/na-zacatku-spisovne-cestiny-byl-dve-ste-let-mrtvy-jazyk-rika-lingvista-ktery-jde-proti-proudu-nova-pravidla-uz-mozna-nebudou/> [cited on August 12, 2019].

ysis.[41] Nevertheless, this Romantic nationalist version of the past is also an obstacle for those who deal with the 18th century Bohemian written culture: We do not have many classical academic works to base upon, and in a certain way, we have to build up the history anew in reliance on the materials and databases at hands. The following chapters of the paper present several latest contributions and approaches focused not merely on reviewing the Revivalist paradigms but especially on establishing the new ones, namely in diachronic linguistics, literary criticism and manuscript studies.

Early Modern Czech and its Metalinguistic Background

The main target for criticism of the Early Modern Czech used to be the alleged large-scale melange of codified written and loose colloquial language. The complete register of the "signs of decline" was offered by Bohuslav Havránek in his essential work "The Development of the Written Czech Language". Havránek named the wide usage of the "colloquial" diphthong /ej/ replacing the "written" vowel /ý/, the narrow "spoken" vowel /í/instead of the "codified" /é/, nonsystematic diphthongisation of the "bookish" vowel /ú/ to /ou/, the predominance of the "vulgar" prothetic consonant /v/ in words with the initial /o/, unmatched participles, abundant common words, loans and dialectisms, as well as several minor morphological features.[42]

Despite the main disadvantage of Havránek's paper, which resides in the lack of any quantitative data proving author's statements, the core point of his argument is notionally correct: Many texts published throughout the late 17th century and most of the 18th century contain elements that were qualified as colloquial, vulgar or for whatever reason inappropriate in the written language by the academics of the 19th and 20th centuries. However, what is missing, is the explanation of what exactly entitles us to apply the criteria of the Late Modern era to the Early Modern production. The seemingly obvious question of whether these elements were perceived as inferior by the contemporary "language managers" was clearly articulated for the first time only in the 1990s by Alex-

[41] The main points concerning this topic are specified in Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena: Barokní čeština v prvních třech čtvrtinách 18. století. In Dittmann, Robert; Uličný, Oldřich (eds.). *Studie k moderní mluvnici češtiny 3. Čeština a dějiny*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2013, p. 111–112.

[42] Havránek, Bohuslav: Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého. In Hujer, Oldřich (ed.). *Československá vlastivěda. Řada II. Spisovný jazyk český a slovenský*. Prague: Sfinx - Bohumil Janda, 1936, p. 64–72; Havránek, Bohuslav: *Vývoj českého spisovného jazyka*. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1980, p. 71–77.

ander Stich,[43] and the eloquent way to answer it was shown by Ondřej Koupil more than ten years later. Koupil has accomplished an excellent task in gaining and analysing comprehensive information about the Early Modern theoretical works and handbooks dealing with Czech[44] but has also initiated an open-source library of the Czech language-related literature from the 15th century till the year 1900.[45] This internet database supported by annotations and comments allows researchers to follow the development of cultural perception of any given graphical or language unit by the intellectuals for centuries.

The mentioned online library was for the first time fully applied in a dissertation by the Brno academist Marta Šimečková holding the title Czech Phonology: 16th to 18th Centuries. Šimečková is focused on four phonological features of the Early Modern Czech stressed by Havránek, namely diphthongization /ý/ > /ej/ and /ú/ > /ou/, transformation /é/ > /í/, as well as prothesis /v/ + /o/. She followed their occurrence in the corpus of 103 old prints and, among other things, confronted her results with the contemporary views on the issue. Her research shows that the linguistic authorities of the 17th and 18th centuries have often accepted an extent of phonological variability that was not seen as a sign of colloquiality. These tolerated features included lexicalized phonological versions of the chosen word roots, as well as some endings (e. g. mlejn, pejcha, milostnej; oučastný, oud, ouroda; vorati, votep; tý sylný klysný, lahodný dobrý kousky).[46] Thus, Šimečková's conclusions, alongside her quantitative analysis of texts, proved the older statements condemning "spoken" phonological elements in the Early Modern production to be ahistorical.

The paragraphs of the old grammar books concerning morphology are explored in the dissertation "Language of Czech Books of Historio-

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[43] Stich, Alexandr: O počátcích moderní spisovné češtiny. *Naše řeč*, vol. 74, №2, 1991, p. 57–62; Stich, Alexandr: Česká spisovnost a nespisovnost - kořeny a přítomnost. (Naše postoje k češtině 17. a 18. století). In Jančáková, Jana; Komárek, Miroslav; Uličný, Oldřich (eds.). *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura 1993. Sborník z olomoucké konference 23.–27. 8. 1993.* Prague: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 1995, p. 49–56.

[44] Koupil, Ondřej: *Grammatykáři. Gramatografická a kulturní reflexe češtiny 1533–1672.* Prague: Karolinum, 2007; Koupil, Ondřej: *Grammatyka czeska. Mluvnice češtiny v 16. až 19. století (katalog výstavy).* Prague: Akropolis, 2015.

[45] Koupil, Ondřej (ed.): *Modul digitalizovaných mluvnic - charakteristiky 84 mluvnic.* Prague: Ústav pro jazyk český Akademie věd České republiky, v. v. i., oddělení vývoje jazyka, 2015–2019. Available at <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz/moduly/mluvnice/digitalni-kopie> [cited on August 12, 2019].

[46] Šimečková, Marta: *Hláskosloví v češtině 16.–18. století.* Unpublished dissertation. Brno: Filozofická fakulta Masarykovy univerzity, 2016, p. 59–70, 75–81, 103–111, 116–122, 156–170, 175–180, 215–227.

graphic Notes from the 'Long' 18th Century", dedicated to original Bohemian manuscripts. It demonstrates that from the late 16th century till at least the 1770s, the theorists of Czech tended to recommend the users of the written language to take advantage of an abundance of means it provides. This recommendation was employed, for example, for synonymous endings of several nouns classes, e. g. nominative masculine plural (angely, angelé, angelové), genitive masculine plural (Polákův, Poláků; přátelův, přátel), dative neuter plural (slovům, slovám), locative masculine plural (zemaních, zemanech), locative neuter plural (slovích, slovech) etc.[47] Hence, the variety of "common" and "formal" morphemes widely applied in almost all kinds of texts of the time (excluding the Bible and liturgical writings) might be viewed as a direct or indirect implementation of contemporary stylistic standards, and not the result of the authors' inconsistency or ignorance. Furthermore, therefore, this paper openly suggests dismissing the Romantic nationalist hypothesis claiming that the "degenerate" items later penetrated the "codified written" Czech. Instead, it asserts, based on the linguistic reflections of the 17th and 18th centuries, that deliberate variability of different language elements has been the foundational feature of the Early Modern Czech. This system, however, was too sophisticated for the state-driven vernacularisation era attempting to democratise the cultural sphere; consequently, it was streamlined by the Revivalists and replaced by a new system labelled as "the language of the Golden Age".

Examining contemporary linguistic discourse allows us to describe the development of the written form of language more profoundly than our predecessors did. Still, a more metalinguistic background should be considered while discussing language history. One issue often underappreciated by philologists is legal and legal-related context, which can be substantial even for studying the evolution of spelling.

Czech phonemes /č/ and /ř/ since the Middle Ages have been transcribed as digrams "cz", "cž", "rz", "rž", more rarely as "čž" and "řž". Since the growth of printing started in the Czech lands around the mid-16th century, the typesetters have eventually replaced the digraphs with letters with diacritical marks "č" and "ř".[48] However, the majority of the scribes was stuck to the digrammic spelling of "cz", "rz", or similar combinations up to the early 19th century, and this tendency used to be seen by the academy as "conservative traditionalist" or, contrarily, "customary

[47] Timofeev, Dmitriy: *Jazyk českých knih historiografických zápisků "dlouhého" 18. století*, p. 143–155.

[48] Porák, Jaroslav: *Humanistická čeština. Hláskosloví a pravopis*. Prague: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 1983, p. 21–27.

individual".[49] In the 1820s and especially in the 1830s, a massive shift has occurred to the usage of "č" and "ř" letters in the manuscripts, which Josef Jungmann interpreted as a result of the Revivalist printing activities and educational endeavour.[50] Notwithstanding, actual reasoning for the unification of the orthography of handwritten and printed books seems to be more likely the already mentioned Theresian and Josephine school reforms, namely the project of publishing unified wordbooks.[51] The Enlightened primary school calligraphy concept was, among other things, aimed at simplifying the shape of writing,[52] and diminishing the digraphs was just a matter of time. If a spelling book published in 1781, not long after the reforms have started, still contains the digrams (Czeska, Rzjmska Rzjsse),[53] in an almost identical abecedary from 1800, they are systematically replaced with letters with diacritical marks (Česká, Římská Říše).[54] That is to say, usage of "cz", "rz" and other combinations for the consonants /č/, /ř/ at the end of the 18th century was neither a sign of an individual style nor an adherence to the old scribe tradition, but a mere standard fixed in a schoolbook.[55]

The new mainstream history of the Early Modern Czech interprets the results of the quantitative text analysis and the individual language characteristics within the framework of the metalinguistic environment, which includes intellectual reflections, legal acts, as well as social or

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[49] Berger, Tilman: Užívání češtiny jako úředního jazyka v druhé polovině 18. století na příkladě města Chrudimě. In Lunga, Radek; Petrbok, Václav; Tydlitát, Jan (eds.). *Východočeská duchovní a slovesná kultura v 18. století. Sborník příspěvků ze sympozia konaného 27.–28. 5. 1999 v Rychnově nad Kněžnou.* Boskovice: Albert, 1999, p. 59–60, 63–64.

[50] Jungmann, Josef: *Historie literatury české*, p. 492.

[51] Činátl, Kamil: Čtenář - produkt osvícenské reformy školství. *Kuděj: Časopis pro kulturní dějiny*, vol. 7, №1–2, 2005, p. 60–64; Kneblík, Michal: Školní fase - prameny pro dějiny výchovy a vzdělávání v 18. století. *Cornova: Revue České společnosti pro výzkum 18. století a Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze*, vol. 1, №2, 2011, p. 47–49; Madl, Claire: Organizace tisku učebnic v Čechách. Přizpůsobení jedné tereziánské reformy. *Cornova: Revue České společnosti pro výzkum 18. století*, vol. 7, №1, 2017, p. 59–63.

[52] Pleskalová, Jana; Kosek, Pavel: Obrozenský pravopis. In Karlík, Petr; Nekula, Marek; Pleskalová, Jana (eds.). *Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny; Brno: Masarykova univerzita, p. 1221.

[53] *Slabikář, obſahugjcý w ſobě Způſob, ſe djtky magj včiti Pjſmeny znáti, ſlabikowati, a čjſti. Ku proſpěchu Sſkoł w Cýſařſkých Králowſkých Zemjch.* Prague: Tiskárná normální školy, 1781, p. 15.

[54] *Slabikář pro ſſkoly w cýſařſkých králowſkých zemjch.* Prague: Tiskárná normální školy, 1800, p. 9.

[55] Timofeev, Dmitriy: *Jazyk českých knih historiografických zápisků "dlouhého" 18. století*, p. 91–101, 116–119.

technological changes,[56] and thuswise differs from the previous paradigm, that was predominately based upon linguistic observations alongside with the cultural bias. Our current approach does not just re-evaluate several language phenomena but also points out that the role of the Habsburg state in the development of written Czech at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries was no less than that of the Romantic nationalists themselves.

Early Modern Bohemical Literature and its Multilingual Integrity

The leading philological works of the 19th and 20th centuries introduced the Early Modern literary production of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia as divided into several "literatures" depending on the language a given author uses.[57] This way, an influential joint monograph published in 1933 as part of the book series Czechoslovak National History separates the Czech writings[58] from the German ones[59] and picks out the Polish-written texts from the Silesian region.[60] This language-based division was so deeply rooted in the Czech culture that even the recent schoolbooks, rightly questioning the classical canon, focus on the Czech-written production and largely avoid troubling the traditional approach.[61]

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[56] Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena: Lexikální germanismy v životopisech českých exulantů usazených v Berlíně ve 2. polovině 18. století. In Nejedlý, Petr; Vajdlová, Miloslava (eds.). *Cesty slov*. Prague: Ústav pro jazyk český Akademie věd České republiky, 2012, p. 54–62.

[57] Wögerbauer, Michael: Filologie služebnicí národa? Poznámky k funkci velkých dejin literatury v Čechách 1882–1948. In Bláhová, Kateřina; Sládek, Ondřej (eds.). *O psaní dějin. Teoretické a metodologické problémy literární historiografie*. Prague: Academia, 2007, p. 186–193.

[58] Novák, Arne: Dějiny české literatury. In Novotný, Miroslav; Pražák, Albert (eds.). *Československá vlastivěda. Díl VII. Písemnictví*. Prague: Sfinx - Bohumil Janda, 1933, p. 7–208.

[59] Kraus, Arnošt: Německá literatura na půdě ČSR. do roku 1848. In Novotný, Miroslav; Pražák, Albert (eds.). *Československá vlastivěda*, p. 297–324.

[60] Martínek, Vojtěch: Literatura polská. In Novotný, Miroslav; Pražák, Albert (eds.). *Československá vlastivěda*, p. 291–296.

[61] Lehar, Jan: Baroko. In Holý, Jiří; Janáčková, Jaroslava; Lehár, Jan; Stich, Alexandr. *Česká literatura od počátku k dnešku*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2008, p. 125–148; Stich, Alexandr: Rané obrození. In Holý, Jiří; Janáčková, Jaroslava; Lehár, Jan; Stich, Alexandr. *Česká literatura*, p. 151–176. The founder of language-based approach to literature in the Bohemian context was most probably Josef Dobrovský, see Petrbok, Václav: "Geben Sie uns eine Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache, ihren Fortgang und Kultur, und... vergesen Sie nicht zu klassifiziren". Několik tezí

Nevertheless, the attempts to create different national kinds of literature of the Czech lands were destined to comprise contradictions. Since the Middle Ages, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia have been multilingual areas, and their most prominent intellectuals were fluent at least in Latin and German.[62] The controversy surrounding the inclusion of individual writers in the Czech pantheon is obvious. For example, in the preface to the *History of Czech Literature*, edited by Felix Vodička, we read that the literature of the late 18th and early 19th centuries "united the developing Czech Republic, the national culture and the popular masses", but at the same time among the significant authors of the era there were such personalities as in German, the Christian journalist Augustin Zitte or the Piarist scholar Nikolaus Adaukt Voigt, who published only in Latin and German, and was quite far from the popular masses.[63]

Some researchers throughout the 20th century have been reacting to this controversy by emphasising the impossibility to understand the Early Modern Czech literature without its contemporary German and Latin counterparts. [64] However, the well-defined academic view of the Bohemian writings of the time mentioned was not formulated until the 21st century, when Michael Wögerbauer and Václav Petrbok brought up the concept of vernacularisation and promoted the idea of litteratura multiplex, proposing the critical study of the texts written in different languages in the same cultural environment. Petrbok has noticed that in the Early Modern time and later, the language of a book had to do in the first place with the type and the function of the text, indeed rarely being a sign of the author's identity and self-perception.[65] The definition of

k počátkům literární historiografie v českých zemích. In Lorman, Jaroslav; Tinková, Daniela (eds.). *Post tenebras spero lucem*, p. 392.

[62] Nechutová, Jana: Trium linguarum in Bohemia litterae. *Česká literatura. Časopis pro literární vědu*, vol. 53, №1, 2005, p. 109–111; Petrbok, Václav: *Stýkání, neb potýkání? Z dějin česko-německo-rakouských literárních vztahů od Bílé hory do napoleonských válek*. Prague: Triáda, 2012, p. 27–55, 121–124; Sládek, Miloš: Ukotvenost a ukotvitelnost pojmu barok v českých literárních vodách aneb Žhavý článek pro vyvolání diskuze. In: *Česká literatura. Časopis pro literární vědu*, vol. 53, №3, 2005, p. 309–317.

[63] Vodička, Felix (ed.): *Dějiny české literatury II. Literatura národního obrození*. Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1960, p. 24–28, 662, 665.

[64] Kraus, Arnošt Vilém: August Gottlieb Meißner. In Petrbok, Václav (ed.). *Arnošt Vilém Kraus (1859–1943) a počátky české germanobohemistiky*. Prague: Academia, 2016, p. 62; Peřina, Josef: *Přehledné dějiny vztahů české a německo-české literatury v 19. století I (1780–1848)*. Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 1996, p. 4–17; Petraň, Josef et al. (ed.): *Počátky českého národního obrození. Společnost a kultura v 70. až 90. letech 18. století*. Prague: Academia, 1990, p. 240–250.

[65] Petrbok, Václav: Bilingualismus/Zweisprachigkeit als literarisches Phänomenon in den böhmischen Ländern des ‚langen' 19. Jahrhunderts. *Listy filologické*, vol. 137, № 1–2, 2014, S. 98–101.

vernacularisation, given by Wögerbauer at the end of the 18th century, interprets it as a process of transforming vernacular language into a tool of access to previously elite knowledge by less privileged social groups for whom this knowledge was unavailable. An integral approach to Czech literature follows the transformation of Latin culture into a vernacular culture and provides a vision of the linguistic reality of the Czech lands in a contextual perspective. It shows us the late 17th and the 18th centuries not as the time of the underdeveloped national cultures, but as periods of the fully developed "area cultures" that have not yet treated the paradigm of the language-based national wholes as fundamental and obligatory.[66]

Interconnection between the supranational Latin culture and the domestic Czech culture is convincingly displayed in the study of an influential classical philologist Miloš Sládek dedicated to the Early Modern sermons. Sládek analyses the usage of Latin fragments in the Czech-written gospels and highlights several essential tendencies. Firstly, he follows the variety of ways for the employment of Latin: The quotes from the Vulgate Bible or classical poets are often paraphrased, remarkably changed or even loosely extended by a preacher, so they could better fit the topic of his speech, they might also emphasise the authority and the credibility of a quotation or a statement, increase the importance of a specific part of a sermon or simply alter the tempo of the exhortation and attract the attention of the audience. Then Sládek discusses the reasons for translating the Latin quotes into Czech and concludes that the priests issued from the public addressed in these cases. The popular preacher Ondřej de Waldt, in his countryside sermons, uses Latin moderately and most often explains the meaning of the citations, whereas, in his speeches pronounced in the monasteries, the fragments of Biblia Vulgata are much longer and never vernacularised. However, as the researcher proves, the Latin segments are highly significant in all cases and do not simply decorate the text.[67] The examined sermons were written by

[66] Wögerbauer, Michael: Vernakularizace - alternativa ke konceptu národního obrození?, p. 481–482.

[67] Sládek, Miloš: Kytička oslavenci letmo trhaná aneb Několik poznámek ke koexistenci češtiny a latiny v českých kázáních raného novověku. In Förster, Josef; Kitzler, Petr; Petrbok, Václav; Svatošová, Hana (eds.). *Musarum Socius, jinak též Malý Slavnospis, to jest malá knížka studií ku cti slovutného pana Dra Martina Svatoše, philomusa, znalce písemnictví českého & latinského doby pobělohorské, především pak spisků bratří Tovaryšstva Ježíšova neboli jesuitů, rovněž historie doby novější etc. etc., složená od jeho kolegů & přátel u příležitosti jeho jubilea & připravená k vydání na světlo Boží péčí Josefa Förstera, Petra Kitzlera, Václava Petrboka & Hany Svatošové.* Prague: Kabinet pro klasická studia, Filosofický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2011, p. 112–116.

the authors fluent in both languages and were meant for those listeners and readers who could understand the Latin Bible. In this regard, they can be seen as prototypical cases of explicitly bilingual texts that shall be perceived and studied solely and exclusively with bilingual integrity; otherwise, their interpretation will be ahistorical, and their understanding might occur dramatically incomplete.

Another relationship between texts and their implicit audience may be followed in cases of so-called self-translation when an author creates two language versions of the same literary piece: Dealing with the Early Modern Bohemian production, one could run into differences between the works referred to particular social groups. A representative revelation of this kind was made by Václav Petrbok while comparing forewords to the Czech and the German hymnals compiled by the famous Jesuit missionary Antonín Koniáš in the mid-18th century. In large part, the forewords are similar, but tellingly, the German version additionally stresses that the hymnal contains songs dedicated to the saints hallowed "in the Czech lands and beyond" and was composed in respect of the time-honoured authentic sources; further Koniáš states, that the hymns included an appeal to "each and every one", whereas the Czech version named the addressed readers "compatriots". These distinctions led Petrbok to hypothesise that the German hymnal was not aimed only at the German-speaking Bohemians but was also meant as a missionary attempt to promote the Czech saints (and the Czech Jesuits) in the neighbouring German lands.[68] Furthermore, this conclusion would not have been possible without juxtaposing two seemingly identical texts written by the same author.

The typical approach of the speakers of Czech and German to "creative writing" emerged from the institutionalised aesthetical reforms of the late 18th century that resulted in the downfall of the Humanist and Baroque rhetorical principles and caused the decay of the Catholic Latin culture, also shall not be undervalued. The foundation for reforms mentioned was laid by a German theologian and philosopher, Karl Heinrich Seibt, who started the Chair of Fine Arts and Morals at the Prague University in 1763. Furthermore, it is crucial to focus that, despite the primary language of instruction at the university being German, the new concept of writing grounded in classicism was also applied for the Czech works. According to Michael Wögerbauer, Seibt recognised translation

[68] Petrbok, Václav: *Stýkání, neb potýkání?*, p. 104–106. The practice of self-translation in the Czech lands continued far into the 19th century, see Petrbok, Václav: Selbstübersetzung als Ausdruck der literarischen Zweisprachigkeit in den böhmischen Ländern. Voraussetzung, Motive, Wirkung. *Zeitschrift für interkulturelle Germanistik*, vol. 5, 2014, p. 103–116.

as the most effective teaching method and encouraged students to take an example from the authors of Antiquity and contemporary Northern German Anacreontic poets represented, for example, by Johann Gleim or Ewald Christian von Kleist. Since 1775 translations made by Seibt's disciples were being commercially published "in order to make up for a deficiency in the high-quality literature";[69] therefore, they could serve as guides to writing for those who did not go to university. So, although the Czech and the German authors later in the 19th century may have gone their ways, it is crucial to keep in mind that in the late 18th they used to graduate from the same school, and that is why the comparative stylistic and genre analysis of the works from the period described above is more fruitful than their separate study.

The newly establishing and quite quickly developing a view on the Early Modern literary works from the Czech lands is focused on examining the multilingual specificity of the Bohemian intellectual realm,[70] which was largely dismissed by the language-based Romantic nationalist paradigm. The area study helps us avoid the inconsistency of the older narrative, in which even the siblings could have been put on the different sides of the cultural barricade by the academy depending on the language and the topics they have chosen for their books.[71] The research on the mutual aesthetical principles and patterns the Czech, German and Latin authors have been taught at the educational institutions provides reliable instruments to recognise similarities and differences between the texts written in the main land-languages. Moreover, the discussion concerning relationships between the originators of the writings, their audience and state agencies[72] may substantially redefine the essential roles of the individual authors, the social and political factors in creating the history of Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian literature.

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[69] Wögerbauer, Michael: Vlastenecká literatura a její dva proudy, p. 103–104, 112–113.

[70] Historia Litteraria within Bohemian Lands: From Balbín to Cerroni. In Förster, Josef; Podavka, Ondřej; Svatoš, Martin (eds.). *Historia litteraria v českých zemích od 17. do počátku 19. století*. Prague: Filosofia, 2015, p. 55–76.

[71] Wögerbauer, Michael: Litteratura multiplex. In: Cerman, Ivo (ed.). *Habsburkové 1740–1918. Vznikání občanské společnosti*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2016, p. 106–107.

[72] Wögerbauer, Michael; Píša, Petr; Šamál, Petr; Janáček, Pavel (eds.): *V obecném zájmu*, p. 61–219.

Early Modern Manuscript Culture and its Unexpected Development

Early Modern manuscripts were generally ignored by Romantic nationalist actors and Modern cultural historians, many of whom implicitly assumed that invention and expansion of printing has generally deprived the handwritten production of its significance.[73]

The European scholars started perceiving manuscript culture of the 17th and 18th centuries as a specific study area only in the late 1990s;[74] this interest was reinforced after discovering that scribal copying was competitive with book-printing until the 19th century.[75] Charles University in Prague joined this research trend in 1998 by starting a unique project of creating a catalogue of all handwritten materials that emerged from the year 1600 to the 1820s deposited in the museums of the Bohemian historical region. Two volumes of the catalogue, published by now, contain records about 3298 items from 94 museums[76] , and the upcoming third volume will bring over 1500 records more.[77] Their study gives remarkable pieces of evidence of the manuscript cultural evolution. It challenges the authoritative viewpoint that the sharp increase of interest in the Czech culture and language seen in the second half of the 18th century resulted from recent Revivalist scholar efforts supported by the local patriotic activists.[78]

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[73] See, for example, Chartier, Roger; Martin, Henri-Jean (eds.): *Histoire de l'édition française. Le livre conquérant. Du Moyen Âge au milieu du XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Promodis, 1989; Eisenstein Lewisohn, Elizabeth: *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

[74] Ezell, Margaret: *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

[75] Walsham, Alexandra; Crick, Julia Catherine: Introduction: Script, Print and History. In Walsham, Alexandra; Crick, Julia Catherine (eds.). *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 9.

[76] Linda, Jaromír; Stich, Alexandr; Fidlerová, Alena; Šulcková, Martina (eds.): *Repertorium rukopisů 17. a 18. století z muzejních sbírek v Čechách. Díl I/1, A–F. Díl I/2, H–J*. Prague: Karolinum, 2003; Fidlerová, Alena; Bekešová, Martina (eds.): *Repertorium rukopisů 17. a 18. století z muzejních sbírek v Čechách. Díl II/1, K–L. Díl II/2, M–O*. Prague: Karolinum, 2007.

[77] Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena; Andrle, Jan; Bernhardt, Tomáš; Těšínská Lomičková, Radka; Timofejev, Dmitrij (eds.): *Repertorium rukopisů 17. a 18. století z muzejních sbírek v Čechách. Díl III/1, 2, P–Š*. Prague: Karolinum, 2021 (upcoming).

[78] Hroch, Miroslav: *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. Cambridge; London; New York; New Rochelle; Melbourne; Sydney: Camridge University Press, 1985, p. 44; STICH, Alexandr: Rané obrození, p. 173–176.

One of the pioneers and the most prominent figure in exploring Bohemian handwritten production is Alena Andrlová Fidlerová, whose dissertation and subsequent papers reconstruct the complete picture of the development of the manuscript culture.[79] Her analysis surprisingly reflects the constant growth of the Bohemian manuscripts number since the very beginning of the 17th century, which becomes incredibly immense in the late 18th century. The manuscripts that emerged in the 18th century make up almost 85 % of the whole corpus of records, and on top of that, half of the total was written in the last decades of the century, after the year 1760 (see Graph 1). The published results of the research cover only the period up to the year 1800, but data available for the beginning of the 19th century prove the continuously growing trend.[80] Furthermore, the striking contrast between the late 18th century and the other periods concerned accents the uniqueness of the era at issue.

The most frequent type of Bohemian manuscripts turned out to be prayer books. Observations of their linguistic diversity revealed that from the 1760s to the end of the 1780s, the number of Czech and German manuscripts was essentially the same, but in 1790 and 1800, the number of Czech books had doubled compared to the previous decade. Czech texts began to dominate.[81] Therefore, this quantitative growth of Czech-written manuscripts at the turn of the century went hand in hand with the quantitative growth of the Czech-written printed books, but at the same time was happening at a much faster rate.[82]

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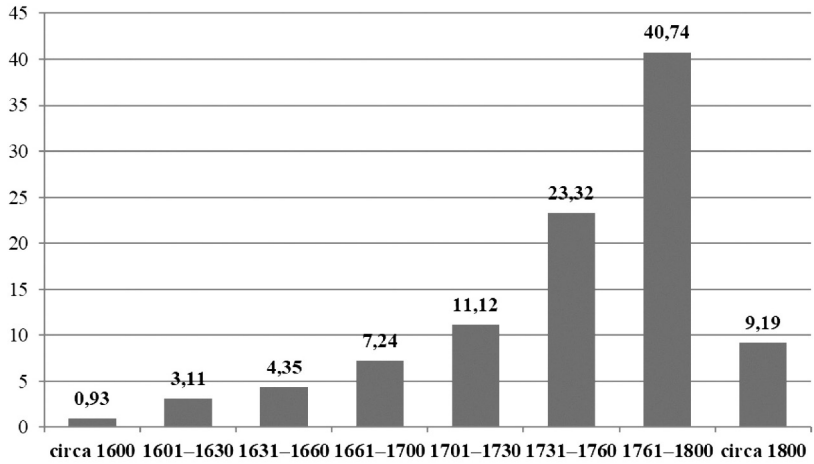
[79] Fidlerová, Alena: *Raněnovověké rukopisy v českých muzeích a možnost jejich využití pro poznání českého jazyka a literatury 17. a 18. století*, Unpublished dissertation. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 2008; Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena: Rukopisná kultura Čech 17. a 18. století v zrcadle muzejních sbírek. *Folia Historica Bohemica*, vol. 28, №1, 2013, p. 181–224; Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena: Popular Manuscript Prayer Books in Early Modern Bohemia. *Lingua Franca*, vol. 2, 2016. Available at <http://www.sharpweb.org/main/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Fidlerova_Paper.pdf> [cited August 13, 2019].

[80] Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena: Rukopisná kultura Čech, p. 191.

[81] Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena: Popular Manuscript Prayer Books, p. 15. It's also important to point out, that German was dominating in the other types of texts, for example, legal papers until the mid-19th century; see Berger, Tilman: Zweisprachigkeit in den Ratsprotokollen von Chrudim (1750–1850). In Höhne, Steffen; Ohme, Andreas (eds.). *Prozesse kultureller Integration und Desintegration: Deutsche, Tschechen, Böhmen im 19. Jahrhundert.* München: Oldenbourg, 2005, s. 249–273.

[82] For data on printed books see Ondřej Bláha: Národní jazyky v české knižní produkci druhé poloviny 18. století. *Historie — Otázky — Problémy*, vol. 9, №1, 2017, p. 67–72.



Graph 1. Growth in the percentage of Bohemian manuscripts in the 17th and the 18th centuries (undated manuscripts estimated to be within a third of a century)

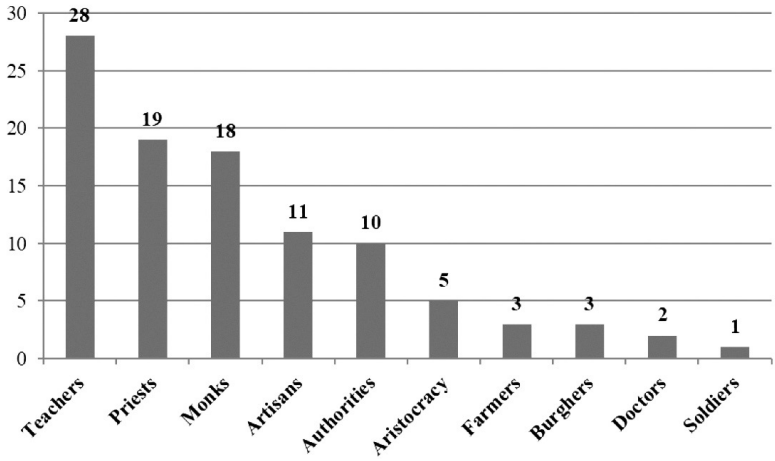
To explain these phenomena, Alena Andrlová Fidlerová raises a suggestion that "the introduction of obligatory schooling during the 1770s resulted in greater increase in literacy among the Czech-speaking population".[83] There is circumstantial evidence confirming this suggestion: Further analysis of the given corpus of records proves that the most active social group of authors and copiers of the Czech handwritten artefacts in the 18th century were teachers (see Graph 2). Moreover, over 80 % of all the teachers' manuscripts have emerged between the years 1780 and 1800; over 70 % of them are written in Czech and about a half might be with certainty identified as commissioned work.[84]

Hence, since the peak of the Czech manuscript culture is securely dated to the last decades of the 18th century. The leading creators of the handwritten production are state employees of the educational institutions; we hypothesise that the empowerment of Czech identity in the late 18th and the early 19th centuries was more likely an outcome of the explosion of literacy level initiated by the Theresian and Josephine school system reorganisation, than an effect of the Revivalist intellectuals' popular and academic activities.

The profound research on the Early Modern manuscript culture in the Czech lands started only twenty years ago. The complete catalogue of Bohemian handwritten works is still not finished. The registration of Moravian and Silesian manuscripts has not yet started. However, the

[83] Andrlová Fidlerová, Alena: Popular Manuscript Prayer Books, p. 16.
[84] TimofeJev, Dmitrij: Původci a čtenáři rukopisné produkce z Čech, p. 84–86.

first conclusions demonstrate that the development of the manuscript culture in the 17th and 18th centuries was not so closely dependent on the evolution of book-printing but represented an individual process with its regularities and characteristics. Identifying its distinctive features requires continuously following the progress of manuscript culture, based upon more extensive databases structured by given areas or other external criteria throughout more extended periods. Thanks to this approach, we could enrich the cultural map of the Early Modern Czech lands and track the changes in the cultural habits and behaviour of a multilingual nation in the era of the Enlightenment revolutionary reforms.



Graph 2. Occupation of the originators of Bohemian manuscripts in the 18th century (in per cent)

Conclusion

This paper summarises recent trends concerning research on the Czech language, Bohemian literature and Bohemian manuscript culture in the Early Modern period, particularly in the 18th century. Apart from proposing a synopsis of several case studies that emerged in the last two decades, we confronted some new revelations with the Romantic nationalist version of Czech cultural history, which was established in the first half of the 19th century and became philological mainstream for almost 200 years.

The first part describes the vision of the Early Modern Bohemian written culture promoted by the Romantic nationalists, who tried to present it as a "degenerate" product with poor linguistic and literary qualities. This concept emerged in the late 18th century in the context of

a political war between the Habsburg state and the Catholic Orders over the intellectual dominance in the Hereditary lands, in which the Romantic nationalists openly criticised overwhelming Church-related printing activities and outmoded Humanist and Baroque principles of writing and implicitly supported Theresian and Josephine vernacularisation efforts. It is assumed that the political nature of the "degenerate era" concept might be proven by the fact that its propagators tended to emphasise the unworthiness of the Early Modern writings by stressing their Catholic character or pointing out several allegedly inferior features but generally avoided any quantitative data or discussions over text circumstances.

The second part deals with the new approach to the study of the Early Modern Czech focused on the analysis of linguistic data within the broad metalinguistic context of the time, mainly including contemporary views on the written language, its common usage and educational reforms. It demonstrates how the scholars following this approach have proved the long-preserved Romantic nationalist paradigm, which claimed that the codified written Czech of the Humanist Golden age was corrupted by the standard style spoken items, to be an ahistorical misinterpretation of the Early Modern language standard.

The third chapter introduces the current discourse of 18th century Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian literature. Contrary to the language-based romantic nationalist narrative supporting the contradictory idea of separate modern Czech, German and Latin "literatures", the new concept was based on the premise that despite the multilingualism of the Czech lands, the intellectual culture was relatively homogeneous, rooted in the standard patterns of the educational system used by both native Czech and German-speaking authors. Furthermore, some texts written by bilingual authors cannot be adequately understood without knowing the linguistic background of their originators. Hence, today's scholars suggest studying the Early Modern written production of the Czech lands as an integral multilingual phenomenon vernacularised only in the first decades of the 19th century by the impact of changing European cultural trends and Habsburg state reforms.

The last part briefly overviews the first revelations of newly established manuscript studies, which follow the development of manuscript culture by examining a comprehensive catalogue of Bohemian handwritten texts. It drew attention to the fact that the number of manuscripts increased throughout the 18th century in parallel with the number of printed books. It also suggested that since on the peak numbers in the 1790s, originators of handwritten texts were teachers and their commissioned work mainly was Catholic, the formerly stated growth of interest to the Czech literary production on the turn of the 18th and the 19th

centuries was most probably caused by school reorganisation measures provided by the Habsburgs than by secular philological and philosophical activities of the Romantic nationalist movement.

The concern was to demonstrate that studying Bohemian written culture in its entirety, considering its products and practices, and decisively Habsburg institutional settings,[85] is an effective way to reconsider the history of the Czech lands without political bias. Some of the approaches mentioned in the paper will be useful for similar research projects, especially in the Central- and Eastern-European areas historically characterised by ethnically and linguistically diverse populations with strong Romantic nationalist cultural traditions.

Moreover, despite all criticism of the Romantic nationalists for disregarding the historical reality and replacing it with mythology, their theoretical and practical efforts to save and protect the national heritage must be respected. Thanks to them, we have now the perfect opportunity to study and preserve our culture, every part of which is worth studying and worth preserving.

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CHALLENGES FACING RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF FORMERLY UNIFIED HISTORICAL TERRITORIES IN THE LIGHT OF ENLIGHTENMENT HISTORIOGRAPHY: A CASE FROM THE CORNER OF THE HABSBURG HEREDITARY TERRITORIES[1]

Abstract

This article aims to treat some problems connected with research on the Enlightenment and focuses on the case of Enlightenment historiography in the area between the Alps and the upper Adriatic. The article compares two Enlightenment historians (Carlo Morelli and Anton Tomaž Linhart) from the neighbouring Habsburg heredity provinces (the Duchy of Carniola and the County of Gorizia) in the area between the Alps and the upper Adriatic. The two scholars are emblematic of the challenges that research on the Enlightenment historiography of the then historically unified territories is facing today, in a period when nation-centred interpretations of history still retain an important role.

Keywords: Enlightenment historiography, County of Gorizia, Carlo Morelli, Anton Tomaž Linhart.

The ascent of national identities and historiographies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

As stressed by Peter Rietbergen, in the period between 1400 and 1800, European inhabitants were, first and foremost, attached to their family and *patria*, *Heimat* or "native soil". Some were also characterized by the feeling of belonging to the regional state, as early modern Europe was composed of regional cultures. From the seventeenth century

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onwards, several European countries (e.g., France) developed "national" variants of culture, delivering a blow to regional traditions and turning regional languages into dialects. In the eighteenth century, the admiration of classical civilization among the middle-class strata of European nations was accompanied by an increasing glorification of individual nations' past. A growing emphasis was placed on the search for common roots. Through the leading strata, this tendency developed into national identity. Constructing their respective national identities and unity, societies resorted to elements of emotional value, such as common language, common religion, and historical memory. Rising nationalism contributed to building an internal unity through connecting different regional identities and "sociocultural elements", which were not infrequently in conflict. In addition, they provided support for the expansionist goals of European countries.[2]

It is possible to identify two ways of creating a nation in Europe roughly. The Anglo-Saxon-French way is based on the state-forming construction of the third estate into a sovereign nation, whereas the German way builds on the language and cultural components.[3] Between the French Revolution and the First World War, the "nation" drastically changed its connotation and political function. At the end of the eighteenth century, it encompassed a small number of people that belonged to higher, executive political strata and, in cultural terms, intellectuals of every stripe. In the early twentieth century, however, the nation already had a mass foundation and signified in Europe a tool for political legitimation.[4]

The creation of nations was a cultural necessity of the time.[5] Earlier regional identities had to adapt to this change and subject themselves to the formation of nation-states. This period witnessed the emergence of historical works written from the vantage points of individual countries. However, the pasts of individual countries were praised not only in history books but also in literature, music, and artworks.[6] In the eighteenth century, increasing admiration was felt for own nation and its past. At the end of the eighteenth century, special attention was also devoted to historical periods through which the characteristic traits or particularities of an individual society or country could be elucidated.[7]

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[2] Rietbergen, *Europe*, pp. 166–373.
[3] Kreft, Znanstveno zgodovinopisje, pp. 64–70.
[4] Schulze, *States*, p. 137.
[5] Kreft, Znanstveno zgodovinopisje, pp. 64–70.
[6] Rietbergen, *Europe*, pp. 366–373.
[7] Rietbergen, *Europe*, pp. 330–335.

Regional identity and historiography in the Age of Enlightenment in the case of the County of Gorizia

In my previous studies, I have dealt with the problem of early modern collective identities (between the end of the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century) in the case of the border area of Venetian Friuli and the Habsburg County of Gorizia, an area between the Alps and the upper Adriatic, which is today divided between the Republic of Italy and the Republic of Slovenia.[8] In the Age of Enlightenment, this is where the County of Gorizia, since 1500 a Habsburg hereditary territory, bordered the Venetian Republic or, more precisely, the Venetian Friuli. The Habsburg part, that is, the Habsburg-dominated County of Gorizia, was strongly marked and transformed by the enlightened absolutism of Empress Maria Theresa and her son, Emperor Joseph II. The two rulers introduced radical administrative, economic, education, tax, church, and other reforms. Chronologically, my research had focused on the period before the nineteenth century, when national ideas first took root in this part of Central Europe and radically changed the structure of collective identities in this area.[9]

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg Monarchy, which also encompassed the bordering County of Gorizia, had already developed an "Austrian" identity across several regions. Although the formation of a common elite culture largely rested on the German language, instruction in vernacular languages also encouraged the cultural development of other language groups. These movements mainly developed on the aesthetic level without undermining the loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty or state.[10] However, in the nineteenth century, the multilingual Habsburg Monarchy was already torn by nationalisms.[11]

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[8] Makuc, *Historiografija*; Makuc, Early Modern Provincial Identity, pp. 1–14; Makuc, Italijanski patriotizem, pp. 17–28; Makuc, *Border identities*.

[9] Makuc, *Historiografija*; Makuc, *Border identities*; Makuc, Early Modern Provincial Identity, pp. 1–14; Makuc, Italijanski patriotizem, pp. 17–28; Makuc, Furlanska historiografija, pp. 43–58. For more on the history of the County of Gorizia in early modern period, see: e.g. Morelli, *Istoria della Contea*, books 1–3; Rutar, *Poknežena grofija*, pp. 69–111; Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec, *A Slovene History*, pp. 87–267; Cavazza, I primi decenni, pp. 99–161; Pavlin, *Goriška*, pp. 15–241; Preinfalk, Golec (eds.), *Marija Terezija*; Zwitter, Linhartova doba, pp. 303–350.

[10] Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 218.

[11] An exception among nation-centred historical works is a non-nationally conceived textbook by Tadeusz Korzon from Warsaw, titled *Historya nowożytna. Tom I do 1648 roku*, which was published in Krakow in 1889. The work, among other things, dedicates an equal share of attention to Polish and Habsburg developments (Davies, *Europe*, pp. 33–34, 812–835, 1141).

It is worth considering subsequent interpretations and meanings of Enlightenment historiography, which emerged in the watershed period when territorial or regional identities still played an important role among the population in this part of Europe, but soon withdrew into the shadow of emerging national identities. While territorial identities retained their role in the area under examination and remained relevant throughout the early modern period, radical changes began to occur in collective identity in the eighteenth century,[12] signalling a period of significant social, economic, political, and cultural changes. In this sense, the century of the Enlightenment was also a kind of transitional period regarding collective identities.[13]

The Habsburg Gorizia witnessed the compilation of an important Enlightenment work. A special note ought to be taken of the territorial history of the County of Gorizia, *Istoria della Contea di Gorizia*, written in Italian by the Gorizia nobleman Carlo Morelli (1730–1792). Driven by his social engagement and concern with concrete problems facing the society in which he lived, Morelli accorded much consideration to the recent history and the eighteenth century itself, to economic, political, demographic, and cultural topics. Morelli held important offices in state administration. He also organized the archives of the Gorizia territorial estates with exceptional care and, drawing on a detailed and in-depth knowledge of the archival materials and other primary sources, compiled the historical work on Gorizia's early modern history.[14]

Focusing on his native territory, Morelli's work is underlined by the territorial concept. The inhabitants of the County of Gorizia considered themselves and their fellow people as a community of individuals of different language backgrounds who were bound together into a whole group by certain political and social factors that took root in the Middle Ages. In the multilingual County of Gorizia, the territorial identity surpassed the language differences of its population by being inclusive of all historical languages of the area, i.e., Friulian, Slovenian, Italian, and German. Territorial identities slowly gave way to Italian, Slovenian, and German national identities in the nineteenth century.[15] During the same period, its mild and sunny climate earned Gorizia the repu-

[12] Makuc, *Historiografija*; Makuc, *Border identities*.

[13] Schulze, *States*, pp. 134–174. See also: Vovelle, *Ideologije*, p. 132.

[14] Cavazza, L'Istoria della Contea, pp. 49–60; Cavazza, Porcedda, Manoscritti ed edizione, pp. 89–99; Cavazza, Morelli Carlo, pp. 1733–1737; Cavazza, Note sulla storiografia, pp. 61–77; Cavazza, Premessa, pp. 9–13; Porcedda, Il riordino dell'archivio, pp. 75–87; Porcedda, Una vita per lo stato, pp. 19–47; Makuc, *Historiografija*, pp. 98–100; Makuc, *Border identities*.

[15] Makuc, *Historiografija*; Makuc, *Border identities*; Makuc, Early Modern Provincial Identity, pp. 1–14; Makuc, Italijanski patriotizem, pp. 17–28.

tation of a climate resort, the so-called "Austrian Nice", *Görz Österreich's Nizza*. This image was popularized by Baron Carl von Czoernig (1804–1889). Czoernig was born in the Bohemian town of Černousy and later became a state functionary until he moved to Gorizia for health reasons. In the following decade, Czoernig published in Vienna *Görz Oesterreich's Nizza: nebst einer Darstellung des Landes Görz und Gradisca* (in two volumes, 1873–1874), in which he presented Gorizia and its surroundings as a climate resort.[16] Branko Marušič stressed that in the nineteenth century, when national conflicts were already besetting Gorizia, such a presentation was an attempt to promote peaceful coexistence among the nations and languages in the region. An attempt that failed at the outbreak of the First World War.[17] The nationalisms in the area led to fierce national struggles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The "savage and wrathful" nationalisms were not inclined towards a peaceful coexistence between the Slovenes and Italians, "as was still be hoped for in the liberal nineteenth century, but rather towards the formation of two opposing sides [Italian on the one hand and Slovenian on the other] vying with each other in a merciless struggle and settling scores following the decline in the values of equality and tolerance".[18]

Returning to Morelli, the researcher Silvano Cavazza pointed out that he possessed a sound knowledge of administrative and economic affairs. However, he also distinguished himself for his practical attitude towards the economy, administration, education, and similar fields, and for his splendid knowledge of primary sources. His work combines a great mastery of primary sources, critical scholarly work, and a great historical synthesis. Morelli's history is still considered a fundamental work for studying the period of the Enlightenment and the policies of enlightened rulers of his time. In terms of substance and methodology, Morelli's work is regarded as outstandingly innovative within the framework of Enlightenment historiography while preserving the tradition of territorial historiography and reflecting the author's deeply felt territorial identity.[19]

Although Morelli wrote a masterpiece of the Age of Enlightenment, it is striking how little known it is today outside the Slovenian-Italian border area in which it was produced.[20] Why, then, is it so little known outside its territorial boundaries? That is probably because he wrote in

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[16] Kralj, Czoernig baron; Tavano, Czoernig Carl, pp. 1115–1119. Cf. Czoernig, *Görz*.

[17] Marušič, Prispevek, p. 33.

[18] Sestan, *Venezia Giulia*, p. 125.

[19] Cavazza, L'Istoria della Contea, pp. 49–60; Cavazza, Porcedda, Manoscritti ed edizione, pp. 89–99; Cavazza, Morelli Carlo, pp. 1733–1737; Cavazza, Note sulla storiografia, pp. 61–77; Cavazza, Premessa, pp. 9–13. Cf. Morelli, Istoria della Contea, books 1–3.

[20] Cavazza, Premessa, p. 10

Italian about a small, frontier Habsburg hereditary territory, but even more so because of the territorial concept of his Enlightenment work itself. However, the answer remains incomplete unless placed within the broader history of Gorizia, the neighbouring territories, and European society in general.

Towards Slovenian national identity and historiography: Anton Tomaž Linhart

The Slovenes, who lived in several Habsburg hereditary territories, were considered the so-called non-historical nation for not having their own state.[21] In this connection, a special note should be taken of Morelli's contemporary, a playwright, poet, and historian Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795). Comparing the two historians will enable us to understand better the subsequent change in the field of collective identities and interpretations of history and historical works. Linhart was born in Radovljica in the historical province of Carniola, a Habsburg hereditary territory that neighboured Gorizia and that still represents the central Slovenian area today. Among other things, he served as an archivist in the Ljubljana Episcopal Archives and the secretary of the Carniolan territorial board. In 1781, he wholeheartedly embraced the ideas of the Enlightenment. It was partly due to his engagement in the circle of enlightened intellectual, patron, and wealthy industrialist Sigismund Zois (1747–1819). There is extensive literature on Linhart, especially in the Slovenian language,[22] not least because he set the foundations of Slovenian drama and theatre.[23] The Age of Enlightenment was of paramount importance for developing the Slovenian literary language, literature, and historiography. That is because the form of Enlightenment that took root in Central and Eastern Europe — as opposed to Western Europe — incorporated "national" tendencies.[24]

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[21] Štih, Poglavje, p. 122. For more on Slovenian history, see: Luthar et al. *The Land Between*; Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec, *A Slovene History*.

[22] Zwitter, *Linhartova doba*, pp. 303–350; Svetina et al. (eds.), *Anton Tomaž Linhart*; Koblar, Linhart; Strsoglavec, "Anton Tomaž Linhart", pp. 321–332; Štih, "Linhart kot zgodovinar", pp. 291–310; Štih, *Miti*, pp. 25–47; Štih, *Poglavje*, pp. 114–118; Sitar, *Sto slovenskih znanstvenikov*, pp. 140–141; Kreft, *Znanstveno zgodovinopisje*, pp. 55–71; Vidmar, Linhart. Literature on Linhart's literary work is very extensive. A survey of literature on Linhart is conveyed in: Lah, Izbrana bibliografija, pp. 592–610.

[23] Koblar, Linhart.

[24] Strsoglavec, "Anton Tomaž Linhart", pp. 322–323.

In the 1780s, Linhart wrote the Enlightenment historical work in German, titled "Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slaven Oesterreichs" (An Attempt at a History of Carniola and Other South Slav Lands of Austria, Ljubljana 1788–1791). He extended Slovenian history back to the early Middle Ages, to the time of the early medieval gentile Princedom of Carantania.[25] In what remained an incomplete *Attempt*, he discussed the time from prehistory to the eighth century.[26] In discussing the creation of national communities, historians devoted particular attention to the Middle Ages.[27] As pointed out by Đurđa Strsoglavec, the title of Linhart's work indicates that it is "a combination of territorial and national history".[28] In addition, Linhart talked about "Carniolan Slavs" (*krainischen Slaven*),[29] suggesting that his concept of national history had not entirely broken with the longstanding tradition of territorial historiography.[30] Nevertheless, unlike Morelli, Linhart tried to abandon the territorial concept and introduce that of Slovenian national history. The said concept signalled the beginning of Slovenian national historiography and represented a cornerstone in constructing Slovenian national identity in the nineteenth century. Linhart's book was often "labelled as the major and central ideological work of the so-called Slovenian Rebirth Movement and as the first historical work written from the Slovenian national perspective that introduced in historiography the Slovenian historical conception, i.e. treating the history of the Slovenes as a national whole", even though Linhart used the concept of national history for the early medieval period when peoples and nations in the modern sense did not exist.[31] At the same time, he admired the Slavs in general (*die Slaven*), stressing that "although they were barely noticed in the grey past, they attained magnificence unmatched by any other nation". He highlighted the robustness and numerousness of the Slavs in the Habsburg Monarchy.[32]

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[25] Štih, "Linhart kot zgodovinar", pp. 291–310; Štih, *Poglavja*, pp. 105–132. For more on Carantania, see: Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec, *A Slovene History*, pp. 27–41.

[26] Linhart, *Versuch*, vols. 1–2.

[27] Schulze, *States*, pp. 170–174.

[28] Strsoglavec, *Anton Tomaž Linhart*, p. 330.

[29] Cf., e.g. Linhart, *Versuch*, vol. 1, preface. Cf. Linhart, *Poskus*, vol. 1, p. 9.

[30] Obviously being aware that the designation of the territory of Carniola for the period of the Middle Ages might confuse the reader, Linhart explained that he used it for earlier periods, when the name still did not exist, for purely practical reasons in terms of the former territory of the present-day Carniola (Linhart, *Versuch*, vol. 1, preface. Cf. Linhart, *Poskus*, vol. 1, p. 10).

[31] Štih, "Linhart kot zgodovinar", pp. 291–310 (quotation on p. 291); Zwitter, Linhartova doba, pp. 303–350.

[32] Linhart, *Versuch*, vol. 2, preface. Cf. Linhart, *Poskus*, vol. 2, p. 171. On this, see also: Zwitter, Linhartova doba, pp. 329–330.

As stressed by Peter Štih, Linhart introduced a conception of the Slovenes as a linguistic, cultural, and historical community, albeit not naming it Slovenian. He talked about "Carniolan Slavs" (*krainischen Slaven*), "Slavs in Southern Austria" (*die Geschichte der Slaven Oesterreichs im Süden*),[33] which is not at all unusual due to terminological confusion and non-uniformity in designating the Slovenian-speaking population and the Slovenian language in Linhart's time.[34] The awareness of the existence of the Slovenian language community became consciously articulated in the sixteenth century through the works of Protestant authors. For the first time in history, the term "Slovenian" appeared in written sources, becoming a clearly defined bearer of Slovenian national consciousness in the nineteenth century. Linhart espoused the comparative-philological method of equating peoples and languages, which asserted itself as the predominant method in the nineteenth century.[35] That is because the establishment of early modern "state-nations" and their needs led to the division of the world in congruence with language boundaries. It was only in the more recent period that these became of crucial importance for defining and delimiting individual communities or nations.[36]

Adopting Linhart's views in discussing the history of the Slovenian-speaking population was of long-term significance for Slovenian historiography. The writer and journalist Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819)[37] promoted the knowledge of Linhart's national concept, most notably in a textbook that reached broader strata of the population.[38] However, because it remained unclear who Linhart's "all-Slavic conception" encompassed, it ought to be stressed that in 1795 the teacher and enlightener Blaž Kumerdej (1738–1805)[39] also included Gorizia in this framework.[40] Thus, Linhart notably contributed to the formation of the Slovenian nation in the nineteenth century, whereas the concept of national history finally prevailed in the early twentieth century. Yet, at the end of the

[33] Cf., e.g. Linhart, *Versuch*, vol. 1, preface, vol. 2, preface. Cf. Linhart, *Poskus*, vol. 1, pp. 8–9, vol. 2, p. 171.

[34] Štih, Linhart kot zgodovinar, pp. 299–300.

[35] Štih, „Linhart kot zgodovinar", pp. 291–303; Štih, *Poglavja*, pp. 105–132; Štih, *Miti*, pp. 25–47. Cf. Zwitter, Linhartova doba, pp. 303–350. More on the new approach in Slovenian historiography and Slovenian historical myths, see: Štih, Nacionalizem, pp. 221–237.

[36] Zantedeschi, Nazioni, p. 106.

[37] For more on Vodnik, see: Kos, Toporišič, Vodnik.

[38] Zwitter, Linhartova doba, p. 347.

[39] For more on Kumerdej, see: Logar, Kumerdej.

[40] Zwitter, Linhartova doba, p. 348.

twentieth century, an interpretation took root in Slovenian historiography that the aforementioned concept of national history represented a "retrospective nationalization of history" by anachronistically transposing the existence of the modern Slovenian nation into distant historical periods when the actual consciousness of a Slovenian national community had still not developed. Old conceptions of Slovenian history still featured significantly in the historical consciousness of the Slovenes.[41]

Morelli's and Linhart's works differ significantly. Morelli discussed recent and contemporary history by relying on archival materials of the early modern period, which he splendidly mastered.[42] On the other hand, in a similar vein as part of enlightened historians, Linhart underestimated scientific criticism and erudition.[43] He discussed the complex and distant medieval history, and read the earliest historians in translation or even through abstracts of more recent authors.[44] From the perspective of the present knowledge of the early medieval period, the ethnogeneses of his time and so on, Linhart's work was already outdated.[45] In contrast, Morelli's work still represents today an essential source for studying the early modern history of Gorizia. Linhart's work is intertwined with "ethnicities" and peoples, whereas Morelli devoted no attention to what was later called "ethnic" issues. Morelli focused on his native historical territory, whereas Linhart sought the best way possible to present the "Southern Slavs of Austria" territory.[46] Within this framework, his conception of the Slovenian-speaking population in the Habsburg-Venetian border area was ambiguous. More specifically, Linhart was making only vague references to "Italianized Slavs in Gorizia and Friuli — *Schiavi, Schiavoni*".[47]

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[41] Štih, "Linhart kot zgodovinar", pp. 291–303; Štih, *Poglavja*, pp. 105–132. Cf. Zwitter, Linhartova doba, pp. 303–350.

[42] Porcedda, Il riordino dell'archivio, pp. 75–87.

[43] Zwitter, Linhartova doba, p. 317; Grafenauer, Pripombe, p. 380.

[44] Linhart, *Versuch*, vol. 1, preface. Cf. Linhart, *Poskus*, vol. 1, p. 9. Although Linhart served as an archivist in the Ljubljana Episcopal Archives (Zwitter, Linhartova doba, p. 309), this was not of particular benefit to him for the period of the early Middle Ages. However, he did use archaeological remains (Linhart, *Versuch*, Vol. 1, preface. Cf. Linhart, *Poskus*, vol. 1, p. 9).

[45] Another author writing about this: Grafenauer, Pripombe, pp. 381–382.

[46] Cf. Morelli, *Istoria della Contea*, books 1–3; Linhart, *Versuch*, vols. 1–2. Cf. Linhart, *Poskus*, vols. 1–2.

[47] Zwitter, Linhartova doba, p. 323. Cf. Linhart, *Versuch*, vol. 2, p. 199; Linhart, *Poskus*, vol. 2, p. 241.

Conclusion

The works thus differ substantially in terms of methodology, selection of historical periods, (non)discussion of peoples, and, most importantly, in the framework itself (Morelli's territorial concept and Linhart's national concept). The comparison between Morelli's and Linhart's works is indicative of the problem researchers face when investigating the Enlightenment history and historiography of formerly unified historical territory, which is today divided between two countries and where two nation-centred interpretations of the past (Italian and Slovenian) still frequently collide,[48] but also of the answer to the question of why Morelli's Enlightenment work is little known outside today's Slovenian-Italian border area.[49] Morelli and his writing promulgating the territorial concept was overshadowed by the concept of nation in this part of Central Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the other hand, Linhart's name features prominently in today's Slovenian historiography. The subsequent evaluations of Enlightenment historiographical works were often contingent on whether they suited the ensuing, nationally focused interpretations. The role that Linhart's concept of Slovenian national history played in the future construction of Slovenian national identity gave his name and historical work a prominent place in Slovenian historiography.

Reconstructions of the past are, of course, selective by highlighting some things and omitting others.[50] National historiographies in border areas often include the mythologization of the past and excluding "other" nations or communities, thus rendering mutual understanding difficult.[51]

A great step towards transcending the treatment of history strictly through the perspective of one nation has in the area concerned been the activities performed by the Slovenian-Italian historical and cultural commission, which the Italian and Slovenian governments established in 1993. The collaboration resulted in the publication of a trilingual report on the Slovenian-Italian relations between 1880 and 1956, the most tragic and divisive period in the Slovenian-Italian relations, the origins of which could be traced back to the Enlightenment period. The report was first officially published in Ljubljana in 2001 under the title

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[48] For more on this, see: Panjek, *Ricostruire*, pp. 9–28; Verginella, *Zgodovinjenje*, pp. 207–216; Rožac Darovec, *Narod*, pp. 217–228. On transculturality in the Alps-Adriatic space, see: Jurić Pahor, *Čezmejni in transkulturni imaginariji*, pp. 409–424.

[49] Cavazza, Premessa, p. 10.

[50] Jurić Pahor, Čezmejni in transkulturni imaginariji, p. 412.

[51] Rožac Darovec, Narod, pp. 217–228. An important survey on the Slovenian national formation, the concept of Slovenian national history and its myths (including the image of Carantania): Štih, Miti, pp. 25–47.

Slovene-Italian relations 1880–1956. Report of the Slovene-Italian historical and cultural commission.[52] However, despite the endeavours of some researchers, there are still quite a few steps to be taken on this path because nation-centred interpretations continue to render research on Enlightenment historiography difficult in regions and areas plagued by conflicting national interpretations of the past.[53] The effort to avoid an anachronistic discussion of the complex Age of Enlightenment requires researchers to reflect on such interpretations and their research approach, as well as read sources and literature carefully.

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[52] Kacin Wohinz, Troha (eds). *Slovensko-italijanski odnosi.*

[53] Verginella, *Zgodovinjenje*, pp. 207–216; Panjek, *Ricostruire*, pp. 9–28; Rožac Darovec, *Narod*, pp. 218–228.

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USING SPEECH ACT THEORY AS A TOOL FOR UNDERSTANDING THE AUTHORSHIP OF BALTHASAR MÜNTER

Abstract

This paper sheds light on the German (Danish at that time) theologian Balthasar Münter's authorship and focuses on how his writings adapted to his intellectual, social and cultural surroundings. Münter served as a preacher in the German congregation in Copenhagen between 1765 and 1793 and left many writings to posterity, including 17 volumes of sermons. These texts are written in a public and political environment, offering shifting conditions for the church.

The reflection concentrates on how he changed his preaching and teaching under the different conditions the church was offered in this period. A central question is what Münter *is doing* when preaching, writing and teaching, i.e., how he wanted this to be understood by the 18th-century reader? This approach to 18th-century intellectual history draws on the speech act theory, such as this theoretical foundation developed by the British intellectual historian Quentin Skinner.

Keywords: Speech act theory, Quentin Skinner, text, context, Denmark, Norway, sermons, church life, Balthasar Münter.

This article thematises the works of the German theologian Balthasar Münter (1735–1793), who served as a pastor in the German St. Petri Congregation in Copenhagen from 1765 until his death in 1793. In our own time, Münter is most known for having been the spiritual advisor to Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1772), after Struensee was sentenced to death for his illegitimate leadership over Denmark–Norway from September 1770 to January 1772. In the weeks before the execution, Münter attempted to convince Struensee of the truth of the Christian gospel. According to Münter's reports, the doomed man confessed his Christian faith before being beheaded. The process is described in Münter's most famous work, *Bekehrungsgeschichte des vormahligen Graf Johann Friedrich Struensee*, which was printed in several subsequent editions and

was translated into several foreign languages. Through this publication, Münter achieved international fame.[1] Yet even if Münter himself claims to have documented Struensee's conversion, modern scholarship has questioned the legitimacy of his allegations.[2]

The main aim of this article is to examine how the so-called speech-act theory, as formulated by British scholar Quentin Skinner, can be used to understand Balthasar Münter's authorship. *Bekehrungsgeschichte* is only one among many theological writings left by Balthasar Münter to posterity. Münter, who already in his student days in Jena had distinguished himself as one of the most talented students of the famous theologian Joachim Darjes, published a prodigious number of theological texts during his career, among which are 22 volumes of sermons and sermon sketches. With this considerable number of printed texts, Münter can be compared to his colleague and fellow citizen Johann Andreas Cramer, who, with 27 volumes of sermons and sermon sketches in addition to individual sermon pamphlets and other publications, is known as the pastor who published the most sermons during the eighteenth century. Like Cramer, Münter also published texts other than sermons during his pastorate in the Danish capital, including two volumes of *Sacred Songs* (*Geistliche Lieder*), a two-volume review of Christian doctrine, and an introduction to Christianity for the pupils in Copenhagen's German schools.[3]

Münter made his sermon outlines and sermons available to the public during all his time as a pastor in Copenhagen.[4] From 1778 to 1793, Münter's sermons were published according to how they were delivered in the Sunday service. A seven-volume series of sermons on the Gospels came out from 1778 to 1784, while his sermons from 1785 to 1793 were published in the series *Oeffentliche Vorträge*.[5] Therefore, his large

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[1] The title of the first edition, published in Copenhagen in 1772, is „Bekehrungsgeschichte des vormahligen Graf Johann Friedrich Struensee, nebst desselben eigenhändinger Nachricht von der Art, wie er zur Aenderung seiner Gesinnungen über die Religion gekommen ist".

[2] Jens Glebe-Møller, *Struensees vej til Skafottet*. Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanums forlag (2007), pp. 105–107; Asser Amdisen, *Til Nytte og Fornøjelse*. Copenhagen, Lindhardt & Ringhof (2012).

[3] The two-volume systematic review is *Unterhaltungen eines nachdenkenden Christen mit sich selbst über die Wahrheit und Göttlichkeit seines Glaubens, aus innern Gründen*, published in 1775–1776. The introductory book was titled *Anleitung zur Erkenntnis und Ausübung des Christlichen Glaubens*, published in 1782.

[4] From 1765–1769, Münter published four volumes of *Inhalt aller Predigten*. This series of outlines was followed by a series of eight volumes, *Abgekürzte Predigten über einige Evangelien und den Cathecismus nebst einigen neuen geistlichen Liedern* (1778).

[5] The series published from 1778 to 1784 was titled „Predigten über die gewönlichen Sonntagsevangelien", and dedicated to the prince of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,

number of theological writings and his complete series of sermons make it possible to follow theological authorship through shifting contexts. Nevertheless, while many theological texts can give a good picture of Münter's theological writings, only a few biographical sources have survived from Münter's own time. Münter, therefore, cannot be studied as a historical person but only as one who can be known through what he wrote. Thus, the question is to what extent Münter's writings adapt to their intellectual surroundings. This question relies upon understanding language as conventional and always related to prevailing ideas and opinions. This point of departure makes Quentin Skinner's theories useful as a tool for apprehending Balthasar Münter's writings.

As a student of Darjes in Jena, Münter was taught in a tradition emphasising that Christian revelation was in accordance with human reason. This tradition gained substantial inspiration from Christian Wolff, and the influence from the Wolffian tradition was strengthened during Münter's own working life. As a pastor in Copenhagen, Münter was in touch with high-profile theologians such as Johann Jerusalem, with whom he exchanged letters.[6] *Bekehrungsgeschichte* discloses that Münter used Jerusalem's writings in his discussions with Struensee, along with recently published books by another famous contemporary theologian, Johann Spalding.[7] This theological background strongly indicates that Münter's preaching and teaching were following this clearly enunciated Enlightenment theology. This theology, which among other things, represented a critical attitude towards Christian dogmas as well as a firm belief that reason and revelation were compatible, came to be known as *neology*.[8] The neologians also believed that the Bible consisted of texts with language styles adapted to the various contexts in which they were written.

Ferdinand von Braunschweig. The full title of the next series was „Oeffentliche Vorträge über die Reden und Begebenheiten Jesu nach den vier Evangelisten". Both series were published in Copenhagen.

[6] This can be documented from Balthasar Münter's son Friedrich's correspondence. See for example the letter from Johann J. Jerusalem to Friedrich Münter, 8 December 1782. Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Ny Kongelig Samling 1698, Fol.

[7] Balthasar Münter, *Bekehrungsgeschichte des vormahligen Graf Johann Friedrich Struensee, nebst desselben eigenhändinger Nachricht von der Art, wie er zur Aenderung seiner Gesinnungen über die Religion gekommen ist.* Copenhagen (1772), p. 3.

[8] See for instance Albrecht Beutel, *Kirchengeschichte im Zeitalter der Aufklärung.* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (2009), pp. 112–115; and Walter Sparn, "Auf dem Wege zur theologischen Aufklärung in Halle: Von Johan Franz Budde zu Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten", in Norbert Hinske (ed.), *Halle: Aufklärung und Pietismus* [Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Aufklärung. Zentren der Aufklärung, 15]. Heidelberg, De Gruyter (1989), pp. 71–90.

Münter wrote his texts and delivered his sermons in a political environment that offered changing conditions for the church. After Struensee was dismissed, the nationally oriented and conservative theologian Ove Høegh-Guldberg came to power and ruled the country for the next twelve years. Høegh-Guldberg is known to have introduced some restrictions, not least among them a restriction to regulate the press. This was put into effect after a rescript was promulgated in 1773. Høegh-Guldberg is also known to have endeavoured to prevent modern Protestant theological impulses from being asserted in the Evangelical-Lutheran church as well as in the public sphere. His theological orientation resulted in two key works: in 1765, he wrote a book on natural theology, in which he argued that human reason should be used to prove the validity of revealed truth; and in 1773, he published a treatise on what he believed to be the most important teaching of the Bible — revealed theology.

Høegh-Guldberg's tenure was followed by the government of Andreas Peter Bernstorff, who governed from 1784 and had different preferences from his predecessor. Instead of controlling the church and its development, Bernstorff introduced reforms that increased individuals' freedom and secured their rights as citizens. Even if the press regulations approved under Høegh-Guldberg's period were still legally valid, the new governmental line led to a more tolerant public discourse, where a wide range of different opinions was accessible to the reading public. In a Protestant country like Denmark–Norway, where church and state were legally tied, one could easily imagine that political changes of this kind could affect the church and its preaching.

As a pastor in the St. Petri congregation, Münter worked in a church with close connections to state leaders and societal elites. St. Petri, which was — and still is — Copenhagen's largest and oldest German church, was a wealthy community, with intellectuals, aristocrats, and prominent politicians amongst its congregation.[9] Since the seventeenth century, the church had been under the jurisdiction of a patron chosen from the country's political elite. During Münter's pastorate, three patrons were responsible: Foreign Minister Johan Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff, Otto Thott, and Andreas Peter Bernstorff. Otto Thott, who served as a patron between 1772 and 1785, was one of the most influential ministers in Høegh-Guldberg's government. Thus, there had been a tradition of close contact between St. Petri Church and the nation's political leaders for many years. Moreover, different sociabilities and clandestine groups could be connected to the congregation. These were a part of Copen-

[9] Louis Bobé, *Die deutsche Saint-Petri Gemeinde zu Kopenhagen: ihre Kirche, Schule und Stiftungen MDLXXCV–MCMXXV.* Copenhagen, Im Auftrag des St. Petri Kirchenkollegiums (1925), p. 8.

hagen's institutional life: salons, clubs, societies, and lodges where the city's aristocracy frequently appeared as guests. Andreas Peter Bernstorff, for instance, while a rational political leader in his professional life, was privately occupied with a sort of mystical religion, claiming to have a special contact with Christ. In Münter's intellectual surroundings, some artists defended a typical contemporary understanding of the arts as potential media for religious experiences. One of these was Friedrich Klopstock, who had launched a theory about poetry's meditative potential in the introduction to the epos *Messiah*, written ten years before Münter came to Copenhagen.[10] Klopstock was central to a political initiative around 1750, which helped put the Danish capital on the cultural map of Europe. Although Klopstock left Copenhagen when Struensee came to power, Münter remained in close contact with him, as proved in the preface to Münter's *Sacred Songs* (*Geistliche Lieder*), where Münter acknowledged Klopstock for his inspiration in the writing of such texts.[11] The contemporary salons, which were particularly important venues for the upper social strata in society, became sites for practising these ideas about art's potential as media for a transcendent experience.[12]

With this background, one could easily assume that Münter developed his preaching and teaching under the various contextual conditions affecting the church in Copenhagen during his pastorate. Since relatively few contemporaneous sources have survived from Münter's own time, I will read Münter's texts to explore what they operationally express or how they were meant to be perceived by the contemporary reader. Hence, the texts will be understood as representations of the writer. Quentin Skinner's theories are helpful here because they emphasise the connection between meaning, language, and conventions. Skinner's starting point is that the use of language should always be seen in the light of intellectual surroundings, and even if the term "intention" plays an important role in his methodology, he avoids the intentional fallacy by defining intentions as distinctions between the conventions in the context and the specific use of the expression.[13]

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[10] Gerhard Kaiser, *Klopstock. Religion und Dichtung*. Gütersloh, Cornelsen Verlag (1963), pp. 327–347.

[11] See Balthasar Münter, *Geistliche Lieder*, vol 1, p. 1.

[12] Anne Scott Sørensen, "Min Lanterna Magica — om Charlotte Schimmelmann og Sølyst", in Anne Scott Sørensen (ed.), *Nordisk Salonkultur. En studied i nordiske skønånder og salonmiljøer 1780–1850*. Odense, Syddansk Universitetsforlag (1998), pp. 76–100.

[13] "Intentional fallacy" refers to the well-known claim of the impossibility of grasping the intentions of the writer. See "The Intentional Fallacy", in William K. Wimsatt

This article addresses this matter in three parts. Firstly, it presents Quentin Skinner's theories, such as those presented in his 1969 article "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas". The second part gives a synopsis of Münter's authorship from 1772 to 1793. The third part comprises an elaboration on how Skinner's ideas can be used for understanding Balthasar Münter's writings.

Quentin Skinner's Speech-Act theory

Quentin Skinner (b. 1940) can be regarded as one of the most important intellectual historians of our own time, with historical works focusing mainly on early modern Europe. Together with John Pocock and John Dunn, Skinner is regarded as the founder of the Cambridge school in political history. During the last 50 years, the Cambridge school, whose representatives generally concentrate on the intellectual context and actual historical conditions of a given epoch, has exercised a fundamental influence on the history of political thought. A few historians have helped develop the movement further. Their works have also gained influence on a broader basis — Quentin Skinner's two-volume work, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978), has been regarded as one of the 100 most influential books since World War II.[14]

As a theorist, Skinner assumes that utterances should always be understood in their intellectual contexts. In his 1969 article, he adapted John Langshaw Austin's theory that to say something is also to do something. In his *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), Austin elucidated the speech-act theory and emphasised that a speech act always has three different aspects: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary.[15] The locutionary speech act is the utterance itself, the illocutionary speech act depicts what one does when one says something, and a perlocutionary speech act describes the consequence of the given expression. While Austin proposed a philosophical theory, Skinner made this theory relevant for historians working with texts. In his 1969 article, Skinner demonstrated this through examples from early modern political history.

Skinner emphasises the illocutionary aspect of the speech act and underlines that an expression will always be dependent upon the context in which it is uttered. It follows from this that a speech act will

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and Monroe Beardsley (eds.), *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry*. Lexington, University Press of Kentucky (1954), pp. 3–18.

[14] *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 October 1995.

[15] John Langshaw Austin, *How to Do Things with Words. The William James Lecture Delivered at Harvard University 1955*. Edited by J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà. Oxford, Oxford University Press (1962), p. 3.

always be conventional and that its meaning can be understood only by taking notice of the surrounding conventions. Thus, a writer will always be captured in her or his context, and the meaning of an expression can thereby transcend what the writer can comprehend. However, the retrospective observer can grasp this meaning. With her or his privileged access to the speech act's intellectual context, he or she can also disclose structures of which the writer was unaware. That is the historian's prerogative: "it is commonplace ... that our own society places unrecognized constraints upon our imaginations. It deserves, then, to be a commonplace that the historical study of the ideas of other societies should be undertaken as the indispensable and the irreplaceable means of placing limits on those constraints."[16]

Skinner's use of the term "intention" should be seen in the light of his understanding of the writer's lack of ability to grasp his or her context. "The writer's intention" is not to be understood as a meaning of which the writer was necessarily aware, but how the expression was meant to be understood when it was uttered. To understand Machiavelli's sayings that a prince must learn how not to be virtuous, for example, it is not sufficient to understand what was said or to grasp that the meaning of what was said may have changed.[17] Instead, one must focus on what it meant not to be virtuous; or how what was said was meant when it was uttered. It can be described as a two-step process, and Skinner unfolds the first step in the process in this way:

> My first suggested rule is: focus not on the text to be interpreted but on the prevailing conventions governing the treatment of the issues or themes with which the text is concerned. This rule derives from the fact that any writer must standardly be engaged in an intended act of communication. It follows that whatever intentions a given writer may have, they must be conventional intentions in the strong sense that they must be recognizable as intentions to uphold some particular position in argument, to contribute in a particular way to the treatment of some particular theme, and so on.[18]

The process of finding out how what was said was meant to be perceived can be derived from studying all the possible ways a given expression could be used during the given time. Skinner admits that this enterprise is "almost absurdly ambitious", but through his focus on possible

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[16] Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*. Princeton, Princeton University Press (1988), pp. 61–62.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Quentin Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts", in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*. Princeton, Princeton University Press (1988), p. 77.

ways of using a particular expression, he does at least shed light upon how the meaning of utterances may change.[19]

The second step in the prescribed process is unfolded as follows:

> Focus on the writer's mental world, the world of his empirical beliefs. This rule derives from the logical connection between our capacity to ascribe intentions to agents and our knowledge of their beliefs. This rule can also be applied critically as well as serving as a heuristic device.[20]

Thus, the meaning of the given expression is constituted at the intersection between the text and the public sphere and is thereby never contingently connected to the speech act. This implies that Skinner distinguishes between *intention to do* and *intention in doing*. While the intention to do does not necessarily lead to the action itself, intention in doing is logically connected with the speech act and a force that is coordinated with the meaning of an utterance in itself. The intention in doing can be (to mention a few) to warn, advise, command, or provoke. This form of "interior" intention can be traced in the text and will be the key to grasping the given speech act. Understanding what the author intended to do can only be grasped by studying the contexts surrounding the utterance at stake. The question of whether Machiavelli meant to confirm or dismiss an accepted moral law with his famous statement from *The Prince* must, therefore, according to Skinner, not be derived from studying the expression and its meaning or from the study of its social context. Instead, it should be derived from exploring whether this advice was commonly given in Renaissance moral tracts. According to Skinner, these explorations disclose that Machiavelli's *intention in doing* was "to challenge and repudiate an accepted moral commonplace".[21] It is also identical to the illocutionary force of Machiavelli's utterance. Nevertheless, the question of what Machiavelli did can never explain the *meaning* of this saying because knowledge of the given context can only assist the historian in encountering the question of what Machiavelli intended to say with this expression.

This theory will also form the background for elaborating on the question of what Balthasar Münter did when preaching, teaching, and writing. In the following, I will focus on two themes that will be crucial for deciphering Münter's intentions and which are central to his contexts. These themes are a) dogmatic currents and b) the understanding of the

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[19] Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding", p. 56.

[20] Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts", p. 78.

[21] Quentin Skinner, "'Social Meaning' and the Explanation of Social Action", in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*. Princeton, Princeton University Press (1988), p. 86.

divine service. The two chosen themes will have different conventions, all of which can be derived from studying the various ways they are used and applied. The question of Münter's intentions can be derived from the intersection between his concrete application of the current issue and the conventions reigning in its contexts. Skinner's "almost absurd enterprise" begs for a closer delimitation, and it will here be restrained to texts known to have been important for Münter. These are written by, for instance, Johann Spalding and Johann Jerusalem.

Balthasar Münter's Authorship

Münter's authorship in the years studied in this article falls into two separate epochs, coinciding with the different governments during these years. While Münter, in a sermon series running from 1778 to 1784, used the official lectionary readings and cross-referenced them with other biblical readings, in 1785, he took on a new project with the series by presenting the sermons as lectures and expounding on the Gospel as a coherent history. Münter meant that the traditional pericopes gave a fragmented picture of the Gospels, and he received the government's permission to exchange the standard Bible texts with a chronological presentation of the accounts of Jesus as was presented in the Gospels.[22] For almost nine years, the congregation in Saint Petri could go to church on Sundays and follow a continuous presentation of one historical event on the Sundays Münter officiated.

a) 1772–1784

The synopsis presented in the following will focus on Münter's sermons.[23] The sermon series Münter delivered during Høegh-Guldberg's governmental epoch follows the theological trends of his era and has clear connections to contemporary neology. It pertains, for instance, to the concept of devotion, the concept of original sin, and the institutional church service. The concept of devotion played an important role in neological preaching and writings. In his book *Die Bestimmung des Menschen*, published in 1758, Johann Spalding presented devotion as

[22] In the preface to the ninth volume of *Oeffentliche Vorträge*, Balthasar Münter's son Friedrich related that his father had considered the prime minister Andreas Peter Bernstorff as an important support for the structure chosen from 1785. Münter dedicated the first and last volumes of this series to Bernstorff. See Friedrich Münter, *Oeffentliche Vorträge*, Vol. 9, Vorwort.

[23] Münter's other writings mentioned in the introduction — the sacred songs, the two-volume review of the Christian doctrine, and the introduction for school children — were all written during Høegh-Guldberg's governmental period.

an inner quality that signified a new nature.[24] This inner quality could be seen as a condition including both rationality and feelings. Devotion should be a consequence of the heart's preoccupation with God, and it expresses feelings and an inner disposition that resulted from encountering something sacred. In *Gedanken über den Werth der Gefühle in dem Christenthum*, which was among the books Münter gave to the imprisoned Struensee, Spalding stressed that the religious feeling aroused because of studying the Bible and all feelings which could not be seen in connection with the Bible could be written off as imaginings of a dreamer.[25] Therefore, it was important, Spalding underlined, to be attentive to the kinds of feelings one was encountering. Spalding also emphasised a significant difference between the feelings that arise from a proper understanding of Scripture and other feelings. The genuine religious feeling will strengthen and confirm contact with the divine. Accordingly, one could then say that the basis of the religious feeling is twofold: it has its origin in God's word, but it must also support man's inner motivation to seek God.[26] Thus, one should concentrate on the word of the Bible and be open to how it communicates.

Münter concurs with important neologians in understanding this feeling as a necessary consequence of studying the Bible. In several of his sermons, he underlines that the Bible should be heard with alertness since Scripture is the creative and constitutive power for the religious experience. The preacher's language is thereby to be understood as a necessary tool for disseminating God's word, even if the sermon is also seen as the basis for religious experience. According to Münter, the Word of God itself brings sanctification, and as Christians, we should study God's words regularly. In a sermon for the second Sunday of Lent 1783, Münter uses the words of Paul to illustrate how faith arising from the sermons based on the truths of the Gospel, as well as the Gospel itself, can be seen as an outcome of God's word.[27] It is thus clear that

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[24] Johann J. Spalding, "Der vernüftige Werth der Andacht", in Johann J. Spalding, *Die Bestimmung des Menschen*, ed. Albrecht Beutel, Daniela Kirschkowski, and Dennis Prause [Johann J. Spalding Kritische Ausgabe 1/1]. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck (2006), pp. 224–254.

[25] Johann J. Spalding, *Gedanken über den Werth der Gefühle in dem Christenthum*, ed. Albrecht Beutel and Tobias Jersak [Johann J. Spalding Kritische Ausgabe 1/2]. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck (2005), p. 26.

[26] Ibid., p. 120.

[27] See Matt. 15.21–28, *Predigten* vol. 6, p. 152. Also, in Münter's other sermons and writings, it is possible to see this weight on the significance of God's words for arousing religious feelings. See for example his sermon on Matt. 5.20–26 and Phil. 1.9–11, *Predigten* vol. 1, pp. 353–368, and his sermon on John 16.5–15, *Predigten* vol. 5, pp. 225–240.

religious devotion can be seen as a result of the Scripture alone, but it is mediated through the pastor's preaching. Münter also agreed with the neologians in their understanding of moral action as the consequence of the religious feeling.[28]

There is also an explicit affinity between Münter and Spalding when it comes to the idea of original sin, and the connection surfaces in their use of the same formulations and expressions. The understanding of original sin as a dominant characteristic in human nature is a frequent theme in Münter's writings, and it has fundamental anthropological consequences. In *Gedanken*, Spalding portrays a living God who makes people aware of their misery and causes them to turn to the Lord. In one of his sermons from 1782, Münter seems to have paraphrased this well-known German theologian.[29] Consequently, both Münter and Spalding see confession as an act imbued with joy, and Luther's understanding of repentance acts as a prototype.[30] Moreover, both stress the necessity for daily repentance because sin must constantly be counterbalanced. God's grace incites a constant awareness of the need for daily confession, thus ensuring that sin cannot gain the upper hand. With their understanding of God's grace as the precondition for salvation, Spalding and Münter can be seen as examples of how Luther's conception of *Sola Gratia* is assimilated and interpreted in the age of the Enlightenment. However, with this emphasis on original sin as a dominant characteristic of human life, Münter distances himself from Johan J. Jerusalem's interpretation of this central Christian doctrine. In his efforts to convert Struensee to Christianity, Münter had used Jerusalem's bestseller *Betrachtungen über die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der Religion*.[31] One of the most important characteristics of this book is that Jerusalem does not link Adam's fall to sinful human nature.[32] Instead, Adam is seen as an archetype. According to Münter, Adam's fall contaminated human

[28] See for example Spalding, *Gedanken* (see above, n. 24) vs. Münter's sermons Matt. 3.13–17, Matt. 26.28, Eph. 1.7, *Predigten* vol. 6, 129–144 and Mark. 16–18, Rom. 6.4, *Predigten* vol. 5, pp. 161–176.

[29] Spalding, *Gedanken* (see above, n. 24), p. 147 and Münter's exegesis of John 16.5–15, *Predigten* vol. 5, pp. 225–240.

[30] Spalding, *Gedanken* (see above, n. 24), pp. 147–148 and Münter's sermon on Isaiah 55.6–7, *Predigten* vol. 5, pp. 209–224.

[31] Münter regards this unfinished work, which was published between 1768 and 1779, to be the one that shows Struensee longing for immortality. See *Bekehrungsgeschichte*, p. 30.

[32] Johann J. Jerusalem, *Betrachtungen über die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der Religion*, 3 vols. 4th Ed. Braunschweig, Verlag der Fürstl. Waysenhaus Buchhandlung, (1773–1779) vol. 2, pp. 89–210.

nature thenceforward and forever.[33] Münter thereby reflects a classic understanding of original sin and neglects an important feature in one of the books he perceived as important during his work with Struensee.

In his attempts to convert Struensee, Münter also used Spalding's recently published sermons. In several of these, Spalding discusses the duty to attend the institutional church service versus living in constant service to God. Here he devalues the importance of the public church service in the life of a Christian. In his sermon on the regular service of the Christian (*Den beständingen Gottesdienst eines Christens*) (1768), Spalding discusses the faithfulness of Anna, which is described in Luke 2: Anna never left the temple but served God in prayer and fasting. This, he underlines, must mean that she complied with all external duties related to attending church.[34] Anna did what she did to glorify God, and she is thus a good example of how contemporary people can also honour God. With this example, Spalding draws attention away from an understanding of the church service and institutional church life as the only conceivable way to practice the Christian faith. The example is given extra weight through Spalding's rhetorical question in the same sermon: he asks whether Christianity only extends as far as the church service or whether it should not influence people's daily lives. This awakens a potential for doubt about the primary importance of church service.

Even though Münter emphasises the importance of allowing the contents of the church service to become manifest in practical daily living, he underlines the significance of attending regular church services and discusses this explicitly. In his sermons on Luke 14.1–11 (1780 and 1783), Münter explains the direct connection between the church service and the Christian life in a way that dismisses all doubt about its primary importance. This sermon is entitled *The Christian's duty to attend the public worship service*. There are no direct claims comparing the institutional church service with the service to God expressed through actions. For Münter, "the common and public church service accords so closely with the spirit and goal of the Gospel, that anyone who thinks it can be neglected simply cannot have the right understanding of the nature and intention of Christianity".[35] The institutional church cannot be replaced by anything else, it is a primary and absolute part of the Christian life.

During Høegh-Guldberg's governmental period, Münter demonstrates that he is a minister with strong roots in contemporary German theology.

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[33] See Münter's sermon on John 3.16–21, *Predigten* vol. 5, p. 298.

[34] Johan J. Spalding, "Der beständinge Gottesdienst eines Christens", in Spalding, *Neue Predigten*, ed. Albrecht Beutel and Olga Söntgerath [Johann Joachim Jerusalem, Kritische Ausgabe II/2]. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, p. 86.

[35] Luke 14.1–13; Rom. 10.14, *Predigten* vol. 3, p. 395.

He is also someone who adapts his preaching to the reigning political restrictions. Münter reflects an obvious connection to Spalding's thoughts and writings but diverges from Spalding's teaching on the role of the institutional church service in the Christian's pious life. Hence, Münter's sermons from this period demonstrate the neological legacy, but it is done in a way that must have been relatively unproblematic to the political-theological guidelines laid down by Ove Høegh-Guldberg's regime.

b) 1785–1793

Turning to the sermons Münter published starting from 1785, *Oeffentliche Vorträge*, it is relatively easy to find threads of continuity between this series and the previous one. Münter has specific theological agendas running through his pastorate: he draws attention to how the Christian's inner orientation must be renewed and emphasises the perpetual need to seek personal and fervent contact with God. The essence of faith is devotional life, insofar as a contemplative attitude is the hallmark of the person who communicates with God. This devotion can be regarded as the outcome of reading and hearing God's words. Yet, in addition to these points of continuity, there are basic differences as well as shifts in his sermon series of both formal and theological character. In the series published during Høegh-Guldberg's government, Münter uses the ordinary lectionary readings as the point of departure for his sermons. Substantially, these readings are linked with other passages which Münter has chosen himself and provide a framework for the theme on which he wants to preach. The readings are taken from both the Old and New Testaments, as well as from deuterocanonical writings. In *Oeffentliche Vorträge*, each sermon is part of a larger unity; seen together, they provide a historical narrative about the life and work of Jesus. Münter thus creates an intellectual understanding among his listeners and readers, and the Gospel stories and the theme of the history of Jesus determine what he will say to his congregation.

The most important changes pertain to the role of the institutional church service in a Christian's life. In the abovementioned sermon on Luke 14.1–11, Münter discussed the necessity of church attendance. Here, he described how one should participate in the service and prepare for it. The Sabbath was ordained for the benefit of believers, Münter pointed out, thus shedding light upon how Christians are obliged to participate in the Sunday service. However, in *Oeffentliche Vorträge*, Münter places much more weight on human freedom concerning church attendance. What he now focuses on is the difference between the worship service of the Jews and the practice introduced by Jesus. Münter points out how the Christian worship service now allows freedom. He repeatedly

criticises the Jew's outward form of worship and stresses that a different kind of worship now replaces this with entirely different contents. Yet this freedom involves more than an end to compulsory forms of behaviour and the keeping of Jewish laws — for the person in Münter's own time, it extends to participation in the Sunday service. This time of communal worship invites the Christian to participate freely, Münter claims, and he continues to stress that one is in no way forced to participate.[36] In certain instances, Münter says that it would even be preferable to renounce churchgoing. Jesus healed on Sabbath, thus acting on behalf of his neighbour in a way that was far superior to church attendance. True worship consists of showing one's faith when interacting with others, of acting in ways that benefit others. Considering this, Münter stresses that no place is more holy than any other, and no time of day is more suitable for worship than any other.[37]

Thus, there seem to be important differences between the sermon series which Münter delivered during Høegh-Guldberg's regime and those delivered during Bernstorff's regime. One such difference is the formal aspect — that the chosen structure and the continuous story of Jesus determine what he will say to the congregation. There are also significant differences with respect to the conception of worship service. In *Oeffentliche Vorträge,* the church service can be seen as secondary, in the sense that it cannot provide norms for where Christianity can be found, nor can the institutional church service be seen as obligatory. Thus, during Bernstorff's pastorate, Münter's conception of the church service took a radicalised turn which can be seen in the light of Bernstorff's greater degree of openness and pragmatic attitude to religion: Münter no longer treated church attendance as a necessary means for religious experience. Further, through the historicising structure, the sermon became an object for different intellectual understanding than under the previous governmental period. Neological theology seems accordingly to be accommodated to the premises prevailing in Münter's contexts.

Münter's intentions in writing

What, then, were Münter's intentions in writing, according to Quentin Skinner's definition of this expression? A diachronic study of Balthasar Münter's preaching shows a division paralleling the change of the government. Münter seems to use his theological inheritance to confirm or promote the predominant political convention of the church at the given

[36] Luke 2.22, *Oeffentliche Vorträge*, vol. 2, p. 171.
[37] John 4.7–26, *Oeffentliche Vorträge*, vol. 2, pp. 108–109.

time. Münter's illocutionary force, or what he performs when uttering what he does, lies in what he confirms, and this was his intention when delivering his sermons. "Meaning" should here be understood in the light of Skinner's thoughts about the writer's intentionality. Münter declaims on the basis of premises laid down for his current public spheres, and the confirming he does also includes theological innovations and/or historical changes. Not least, by moulding his sermons as parts of larger historical narratives, he challenges his own homiletic tradition. That, in turn, contributes to the theological changes and alterations typical for that time.

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NOT A QUESTION OF STYLE? CATHOLIC ENLIGHTENMENT AND ITS REFLECTION IN THE VISUAL CULTURE OF BAROQUE CEILING PAINTING IN SOUTHERN GERMANY

Abstract

The new methodological principles for the research on the Enlightenment and its visual reflection in baroque ceiling painting in southern Germany show a clear correspondence between composition and iconography and the reform concepts of the Catholic Enlightenment.

The methodological approach does no longer focus on stylistic questions which do not lead to conclusive results or on the relationship between neoclassicism and Enlightenment but aspects of religious and ideological changes taking place in the 18th-century — devotional rhetoric, instructions regarding the sacrament, or the scholarly approach to history in the sense of the Congrégation de Saint-Maur.

The changes occurring during the Enlightenment did not lead to neoclassical forms but visual rhetoric structures in narrative cycles of large ceiling decorations. Earlier ceiling decorations followed the post-Tridentine principle of a correspondence between the calculated effects of the rhetoric of the images and the written words. The viewer should be surprised (*maraviglia*) by deceptions through ingenious perspectives (*inganno degli occhi*) as well as rejoice (*diletto*) in the beauty of the paintings. Later, in the years of the Catholic Enlightenment, we observed a return to the system of horizontal perspective, which focused more exclusively on the iconographic content of the representation. This tendency follows the goals of spiritual literature by authors like Lodovico Antonio Muratori.

Keywords: Visual rhetoric structures, Baroque ceiling painting, Catholic Enlightenment, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Law of Amortisation, Augsburg, Munich.

At first glance, the Baroque ceiling paintings of the Catholic churches in southern Germany seem hardly associated with issues of the Enlightenment.[1] These fresco paintings are considered *the* prime example of

[1] This essay was written as part of my work at the CbDD (https://deckenmalerei.badw.de/das-projekt.html).

post-Tridentine interior decorations, equal to Roman sacred architecture. However, it is precisely in these frescos where a noticeable change is apparent, at least since the 1750s.

Frank Büttner laid the methodological foundations for research on the Enlightenment and its visual reflection in Baroque ceiling painting in southern Germany.[2] It becomes particularly evident in the church decorations, which constitute most painterly commissions. They show a clear correspondence between composition and iconography and the reformatory ideas of the Catholic Enlightenment.[3]

The methodological approach does no longer focus on stylistic questions which failed in this case or on the relationship between neoclassicism and Enlightenment but aspects of religious and ideological changes taking place in the 18th century — devotional rhetoric, instructions regarding the sacraments or the scholarly approach to history in the sense of the Congrégation de Saint-Maur.

The changes during the Enlightenment did not lead to neoclassical forms but visual rhetoric structures in narrative cycles of large ceiling decorations. Earlier ceiling decorations followed the post-Tridentine principle of a correspondence between the calculated effects of the visual rhetoric and the written word. The viewer should be surprised (*maraviglia*) by deceptions through ingenious perspectives (*inganno degli occhi*) as well as rejoice (*diletto*) in the beauty of the pictures. In the years of the Catholic Enlightenment, we see a return to the system of horizontal perspective, which focused more exclusively on the iconographic content of the representation. This tendency agrees with the goals of spiritual literature by authors like Ludovico Antonio Muratori.[4]

Based on a few typical examples, I would like to illustrate the link between the new enlightened religious practice and the new kind of ceiling painting, demonstrating how practical the "historical turn" approach can be for art history.

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[2] Büttner, Frank: "Abschied von Pracht und Rhetorik. Überlegungen zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Stilwandels in der Sakraldekoration des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts in Süddeutschland." *Herbst des Barock. Studien zum Stilwandel,* Die Malerfamilie Keller (1740–1904), ed. by Andreas Tacke. Munich et. al. 1998, pp. 165–173.

[3] Klueting, Harm: "'Der Genius der Zeit hat sie unbrauchbar gemacht'. Zum Thema 'Katholische Aufklärung' — Oder: Aufklärung und Katholizismus im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts. Eine Einleitung." *Katholische Aufklärung - Aufklärung im katholischen Deutschland*, edited by Harm Klueting et al., Hamburg 1993 (Studien zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert, vol. 15), pp. 1–35; Schneider, Bernhard: "'Katholische Aufklärung': zum Werden und Wert eines Forschungsbegriffs". *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. 93 (1998), 3/4, pp. 354–397.

[4] For example, Muratori, Lodovico Antonio: "Della Regolata Divozione De' Cristiani". Venice 1747.

At the same time, I would like to show how drastic the influence of the sovereign and the responsible prince-bishop was on the ceiling painting. For that reason, I will compare church frescos that originated under Joseph von Hessen-Darmstadt, the Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, with those that developed under the supervision of the electoral Religious Council in Munich. For such a comparison, the different ecclesio-political prerequisites provide an ideal base.

In his seminal essay in the catalogue *Herbst des Barock*, Büttner focused on the fresco of the Munich court painter Christian Wink, painted in 1767 in Inning at Lake Ammer. Above the choir, it shows the baptism of Christ in a scene where a quiet crowd of people follows the action in the open countryside. The depiction visualises an important and scripturally recorded moment of the life of Christ, drawing on the "stilus humilis". However, artistically this proves to be not very beneficial on such a large surface as the church vault. Büttner comments rightly: "The style chosen by Wink and his concept of broad narration are not suitable for the layout of the decorations."[5]

It is a similar case with the frescos by Wink from 1767 for the pilgrimage church Hl. Kreuz in Loh.[6] The choir fresco displays the bronze serpent, a topological reference to the cross of Christ, as *patrocinium* of the church. The fresco thereby emphasises the great significance of this topic in the context of the liturgy of the hours. However, in terms of composition, a crowd of people watches Moses and the bronze serpent, slightly forlorn in the large pictorial space. Again, the subject proves to be not suitable to the available picture plane.

In earlier decorations, the iconography of the bronze serpent as an expansion of the concept relating to content was mainly found in the framing cartouches. For the central frescos, however, the extendable and more eventful narratives such as the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, the uncovering of the precious cross by Saint Helena or the recovery of the True Cross by Emperor Heraclius were preferred. It can be exemplified by the fresco of Johann Baptist Zimmermann in collaboration with Martin Heigl for the interior of the parish church in Berbling from 1756.[7] Here the topological prototypes — the tree of knowledge, Noah's

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[5] See Büttner, op.cit., p.?

[6] Schmidmaier, Edith: "'... durch einen künstlichen Mahler herausziehren ...'. Die Wallfahrt ‚Zum Heiligen Kreuz' in Loh mit Fresken und Altarbildern von Christian Wink (1767/68)". *Kunstsammlungen des Bistums Regensburg*, vol. 7 (1989), pp. 465–480.

[7] Bauer, Anna: "Berbling". *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland,* edited by Hermann Bauer et al. Vol. 12,1: Freistaat Bayern, Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern, Stadt und Landkreis Rosenheim, part 1: Aising bis Hohenaschau, Munich 2006, pp. 90–101.

ark, Moses striking the rock or the bronze serpent — only assist from the small pictorial area of the cartouches. Their execution as grisaille also indicates their subordinated position. The narrative density of the presented events provided the artist with a broad spectrum for unusual inventions and perspective subtleties, facilitating a compelling composition of the large pictorial space. It also accommodates the wish for an opulent and splendid decoration, as appropriate for the "stilus gravis", the high rhetoric style.

Regarding form and content, the fresco paintings of Berbling are related to the Jesuits' Collegiate Church in Landsberg am Lech.[8] The remarkable optical illusion, the so-called "inganno degli occhi", was created by Christoph Thomas Scheffler in 1753, a member of their religious order.

The so-called "Litterae Annuae" passed down the period perception of this church decoration. They are annual reports from Jesuit houses written for the order's headquarters in Rome and sometimes also gave account of architectural changes. Precisely because whitewashing, eulogies and exaggerations were immanent in this medium, the actual appreciation of the Landsberg Jesuits is exemplary of the time.[9]

Right from the outset, "the elaborate brush of the highly experienced Appeles" (Appelis peritissimi artificiosissimus sane penicillus)[10] is praised as well as *select postures* and the enhanced and elaborate shading of the different colours, before mentioning the virtue of swiftness, typical of the time. The commentator conveys how Scheffler managed to move — in the sense of *movere* — the believers with his opulent "ornat": Scheffler's art affects the viewers of the time in a way they admire most, displaying such great virtuosity and craftsmanship that they marvel at it.[11]

The following quote shows how, according to the report, all senses of the fictitious viewer were vividly stimulated:

> namque ea est pontis nimio fugientium pondere divulsi ruina, is subito delabentium immanis horror, ea torrentis, fluctibus hostes involventis, et gutatas aquas undique dipargentis natura, is accensus acerrime pugnantium ardor, id ex ocultis

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[8] Dietrich, Dagmar: "Zum Bildprogramm der Landsberger Jesuitenkirche Heilig Kreuz. Ein Beispiel jesuitischer Kreuzes–Ikonographie. *Das Kreuz. Darstellung und Verehrung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Carla Heussler et al. Regensburg 2013 (Regensburger Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, vol. 16), pp. 234–261; Hartmann, Simone: *Christoph Thomas Scheffler (1699–1756). Visualisierung barocker Frömmigkeit.* Regensburg 2015 (Studien zur christlichen Kunst, vol. 10), pp. 44–47, 49, 76–78, 112, 143–145, 167, 181–186, 235–238.

[9] Reprinted by Hartmann, p. 235–236.

[10] Ibid., 235.

[11] Ibid.

emicans fulgur, ea vulneratorum, ac morientium tristissima Species, ea denique diversissimorum mortuum vehementia ut Syderati intuentium oculi nec ab arte, nec ab ingenio quid quam, solae aures armorum Strepitum, et pugnantium clamorem desiderare possint; at vero cum vocem artifex penicillus dare non potuit, certe vocis conatum non sine admiratione dedit.[12]

The correspondence between the Jesuit maxim "Omnia ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam" and the ensuing decorations is evident.[13] Furthermore, the description follows the "*visual rhetoric ideas of spiritual guidance*"[14] as they can be outright attested for the "*Catholic-Jesuit circles in Bavaria*"[15] in the early 18th century. The artistic intention to open the viewer with all kinds of rhetoric means for the "persuasio", i.e., the argumentative persuasiveness of the pictures, is more than apparent in this account.

In the following, I show how this spiritual guidance with the help of visual rhetoric changed in the features of the post-Tridentine decorations. The reason for this was, on the one hand, altered ideas of piety within the Catholic Enlightenment; on the other, a "simplified", carefully chosen and reduced iconography reflecting the Enlightenment's art theory. How much Wink's fresco in the church in Loh turned out to be pioneering and modern is demonstrated by the ceiling fresco of Johann Joseph Anton Huber in Schlipsheim near Neusäß a quarter of a century later.[16] Huber had been the director of the Catholic Academy in Augsburg since 1784. In the late 1760s, he was promoted to the favourite painter of the enlightened circles surrounding the prince-bishop of Augsburg.[17]

While looking at the fresco in the palace chapel of Schlipsheim, which belonged to the Augustinian monastery Heilig Kreuz in Augsburg, quite a few stylistic developments in comparison to Wink's fresco in Loh are apparent. In contrast to Wink, Huber refrains almost altogether from using any optical illusion, the "inganno degli occhi" necessary for the vertical perspective. Instead, the fresco, also painted from a single viewpoint, presents itself as "quadro riportato", a panel painting on a ceiling.[18]

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Dietrich, p. 238.

[14] Hundemer, Markus: "Rhetorische Analyse und topische Theorie. 'Die Brücke über die Zeit'. Johann Georg Bergmüllers Chorbogenfresko im Marienmünster zu Dießen am Ammersee". *Pinxit, sculpsit, fecit. Festschrift für Bruno Bushart*, edited by Bärbel Hamacher et al. Munich 1994, pp. 196–210, 210.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Menath–Brosch, Marika: *Johann Joseph Huber (1737–1815). Das Werk des Augsburger Freskanten und letzten Akademiedirektors.* Munich 2009 (opacplus.bsb–muenchen.de), vol. 1, pp. 253–261. Vol. 2, pp. 187–195.

[17] Ibid, vol. 1, p. 44–45.

[18] Accolti, Pietro: *Lo inganno de gl'occhi, prospettiva pratica,*1625. Pietro Accolti wrote under the title 'Optical Illusion' a compendium on perspective in which he deals

The reduced number of depicted people monumentalise the larger than life-sized figures in the rather low-ceilinged interior. By foregoing the figure and the vertical perspective, Huber ignores the rule of the "versimile". Instead, he obtains with his lucid composition a quick and concentrated way to appreciate the message relating to content: the adoration of the bronze serpent. The simplified meaning of this issue, according to the biblical "Book of Numbers" (21:1–9), is entirely consistent with its meaning in the "Liturgy of the Hours" for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, which falls on the 14th of September.[19] The unity between the church decoration and the liturgical service as a result of this undergoes a crucial consolidation. At the same time, the focus lies more on the biblical passages. The connection between the raising of the cross and the erection of the bronze serpent is now addressed not only in the liturgy of the hours but also in the church decoration.

The unusual choice of topic and the stylistic devices of Wink in Loh and Johann Joseph Anton Huber in Schlipsheim quite resemble each other. However, the ecclesio-political conditions for these two church decorations were utterly different.

Within the diocese of Augsburg, one could detect steady steering towards the reformative ideas of the Catholic Enlightenment since the middle of the 18th century. This tendency centred around the Prince-Bishop Joseph von Hessen-Darmstadt in Augsburg. His two closest advisors, Giovanni Battista de Bassi and Eusebius Amort, verifiably kept a lively and friendly correspondence with Lodovico Antonio Muratori, whose writings greatly influenced the religious goals of the Catholic Enlightenment in south Germany.[20] Regarding an intended reform Muratori published his book *De i pregi dell' eloquenza popolare* in 1750. This work was already translated into Latin, the language understood by all priests, by

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with the question how to widen space upwards without losing plausibility. Fastenrath, Wiebke: *'Quadro riportato'. Eine Studie zur Begriffsgeschichte mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Deckenmalerei*, (Schriften aus dem Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität München 51) 1990, pp. 60–61. In addition: Büttner, Frank: "Die ästhetische Illusion und ihre Ziele. Überlegungen zur historischen Rezeption barocker Deckenmalerei in Deutschland". *Das Münster*, 54/2 (2001), pp. 108–127, 110–111.

[19] Re. the correlation between the text of the reading and the iconography of Wink's rendering, see Schmidmaier, p. 473–474; re. the text of the liturgy of the hours, see Schenk, Johann: *Deutsches Brevier. Vollständige Übersetzung des Stundengebets der römischen Kirche.* Regensburg 1936/37, vol. 1, pp. 776–783.

[20] Dreyer, Angelika: *Die Fresken von Joseph Mages (1728–1769). Zwischen barocker Frömmigkeit und katholischer Aufklärung.* Regensburg 2017 (Studien zur christlichen Kunst, vol. 12), pp. 54–81, 184–193; Müller, Markus Christopher: "'Aufgeklärtes Aggiornamento' in Augsburg? Die Korrespondenz (1743–1768) Giovanni Battista Bassis mit Eusebius Amort." *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte e.V.*, vol. 51 (2017), pp. 467–534.

Trautwein and published in Augsburg in 1757.[21] Muratori demanded in his book that the priest's style "must be distinctly simple and comprehensible"[22] while at the same time condemning, regarding architecture, opulent ornaments in speech as licentious.[23] Earlier, in 1718, Fénélon proposed the same perspective: he postulated that sermons should be composed in the style of the Bible, in the style of the discourses of Christ, the prophets and the apostles.[24] Exactly this demand for more Christ-centred piety and the reduction of the rhetoric repertory of images was one of the defining elements in the domain of the Augsburg diocese from the middle of the 18th century onwards.

The Catholic Enlightenment in the Electorate of Bavaria stood with Max II Joseph under completely different auspices. Numerous statutory regulations aimed to gain state access to church assets and dissolve administrative structures within the church.[25]

Politically quite skilfully, the many announcements in Bavaria drew society's attention to the monasteries as sole culprits of the precarious economic situation in the Catholic electorate, which was mainly shaped by agriculture. It had fallen considerably behind in comparison to the economically rather virile Protestant north, primarily dominated by trade.

The state's seizure of church property was made possible through the so-called law of amortisation. The term "amortisation" derives from "manus mortua", i.e., dead hand. It relates to church property and the perpetuity of this church property by canonical law. A consequence thereof was the withdrawal of all contributions towards the church from the economic cycle.

The edict from the 3rd of July 1756 can be seen as a legal turning point. It allowed, among other things, the seizure of the monasteries' mobile properties.[26] On the day of declaration, all those properties were

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[21] Muratori, Lodovico Antonio: *Contra sublime loquentes in cathedra seu Dignitas Eloquentiae Popolaris*, translated by Gregor Trautwein, Augsburg 1757.

[22] Ibid., p. 17: "clarum, facilem, planum esse oportet stylum."

[23] Ibid., chapter 2: "De duplici genere dicendi, quo efferri potest Verbum Dei, sive de Eloquentia Sublimi & Populari", p. 18: "Cæterum sæculò proximè elapso verè immoderatio sacrorum quorundam Oratorum obtinuit, quam in architectura prudentes damnant cum risu, ornamentorum luxuries."

[24] Fénélon de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon, Francois: *Dialogues sur l'éloquence en general et sur celle de la chair er particulier*, Paris 1740, pp. 190–195. Büttner, p. 168, 172: footnotes 23–25.

[25] Heß, Helmut: *Das kurfürstlich bayerische Generalmandat vom 4. Oktober 1770. 'Edle Simplizität' wird behördlich verordnet*, Munich 1989 (Schriften aus dem Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität München, vol. 47); Dreyer: pp. 235, 247–251.

[26] Edict from 3 July 1756: *Sammlung der Kurpfalz–Baierischen allgemeinen und besonderen Landes–Verordnungen*, edited by Georg Karl von Mayr, vol. 2, Munich 1784, p. 771–772.

taxed with the so-called "quarta pauperum", i.e., a deduction of 25 per cent for the care of the poor. Further signs of a tightening of the monasteries' situation are often seen in the decimation, at first limited to five years (1759 to 1763) which then was slowly established. The numerous regulations found their final shape in the pragmatic amortisation of the 13th of October 1764.[27] The constantly tighter and finally life-threatening noose around the neck of the monasteries on the electorate's territory now became manifest and turned into a politically irrevocable fact once and for all.

Paragraph 15 of the law of amortisation from the 13th of October 1764 also speaks against the display of splendour in the decoration of convents and abbeys. It says that the splendour in buildings must be avoided as much as in sumptuous food and drink and should be punished.[28] The reduction of splendour, stipulated and legally binding for the high clergy, was soon also applicable for the parishes. The relevant passage can be found in the startling Bavarian Electoral General Mandate from the 4th of October 1770.[29] Remarkably it says that these must be fashioned in a uniform structure without unnecessary stucco and other interior decorations. The decoration of the altar, pulpit or pictures should exhibit the simplicity appropriate for a sanctuary.

The actual realisation of this mandate for newly decorated churches resided with the state supervisor of the electoral Religious Council, one of Bavaria's specific authorities, initiated in 1556.[30] At the time of Joseph III, it was an important instrument to intervene in church politics actively. It was now mandatory, for example, that any kind of commissioning of a fresco or stucco had first to be ratified by said Religious Council. Effectively this led to local administrators on the electorate's territory almost exclusively communicating with the sovereign authorities if new church decorations were necessary. In such a situation, the opinion of

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[27] Heß, pp. 49–57; Dreyer, pp. 247–251.

[28] Law of amortisation from 13 October 1764, paragraph 15 (starting at the end of paragraph 14), quoted from: Moritz, Heinrich Andreas: *Novellen zum baierischen Landrecht. Codex Maximilianeus bavaricus civilis*, Memmingen 1820, p. 151–152: "Unsere Klöster und Stiftungen haben nicht so viel auf neue Acquisitiones lucrativas, als darauf zu denken, daß dasjenige, was sie schon haben, der Gebühr nach administrirt, und sowohl der Ueberfluß in Speiß und Trank, als unnöthiger Pracht in den Gebäuden vermieden, der fundationsmäßige Numerus nicht überschritten und [...] nicht all zu sehr mißbraucht, und exzedirt werde."

[29] Quoted from: Heß, appendix Q1, 9, paragraph 5.: "daß mit Beybehaltung einer reinen und regelmäßigen Architektur alle überflüßige Stukkador- und andere öfters ungereimte und lächerliche Zierrathen abgeschnitten, an denen Altären, Kanzeln und Bildnissen eine der Verehrung des Heiligthums angemessene edle Simplicität angebracht werde."

[30] Heß: pp. 51–55.

the priest managing a given parish and church, or a monk taking care of the monastery, was not taken into account at that time.

The art policy of the Religious Council in Munich with this shows a distinct difference to the bishopric in Augsburg. Since the middle of the 18th century, the reformative efforts in Swabia were focused solely on the depiction of Christocentric topics in new church decorations. For example, the Pilgrimage Church of Wies passed muster with the prince-bishop's court theologian Eusebius Amort when he inspected the decorations with their focus on Christ-centred piety.[31] In his opinion, this church ultimately realised the reformative goals of the Catholic Enlightenment. However, the Wieskirche nowadays is seen as a prototype of a particularly opulent Bavarian rococo church with its artistic vividness.

On the other hand, Munich explicitly banked on the reduction of the glorifying, post-Tridentine splendour. The Religious Council expresses this in its letter of permission for the fresco and stucco decorations of the pilgrimage church in Bettbrunn from 1783. The letter states that it concluded that "a certain extravagance of church adornments which would emphasise the splendour rather than true worship is not to be granted".[32]

The commissions for new fresco decorations within the Bavarian territory went mainly to the court painter of Munich, Christian Wink. He was mainly in charge and then assigned his friend and colleague, the stuccoer Franz Xaver Feichtmayr as a contractor for the stuccos, which were significantly reduced compared to stucco decorations from the middle of the century. Wink expresses this in a letter from 1783, which he wrote to the parish priest of Schwindkirchen to explain the modalities of the fresco paintings. He explicitly opposes the now old-fashioned heavy stuccos, which — according to him — interfere with the paintings.[33]

This remark shows a clear shift from the formerly preferred stucco, which was more cost-intensive and therefore considered more valuable, to the frescos with their instructive iconography. After finishing his fres-

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[31] Wies bei Steingaden, *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland,* edited by Hermann Bauer et al. Vol. 1: Freistaat Bayern, Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern, Landkreise Landsberg am Lech, Starnberg, Weilheim-Schongau, Munich 1976, pp. 602–623; Dreyer, pp. 66–74; Wetzler, Dörte: *Die Wieskirche als inszenierte Rahmung des Gegeißelten Heilands*, Paderborn 2019 (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte 165).

[32] Heß, p. 24: "einigen Aufwand zu Kirchenzierden, welche mehr auf Pracht als auf den wahren Gottesdienst abzielen, nicht zu gestatten."

[33] Heß, p. 34: "Denn es ist keine Sorge zu haben, daß heute zu Tage, wo ganz ein anderer Gustho herrschet, eine schwehre Stuckador Arbeit die Malerey einschränken werde, denn diese Arth ist Gott sey Dank verbannet worden, und ich bin versichert, daß das eine weniger Stukador Arbeit, ein größeres zur Zirde beytragen werde."

cos in Bettbrunn, Wink writes in another letter that they would make *"the mysteries of religion more understandable"*.[34]

The apparent favouritism of Wink regarding commissions was mainly due to his good connections at court. Wink's almost patrimonial relationship with the Privy Councillor Johann Caspar von Lippert was crucial.[35] Lippert was promoted in 1768 to director of the historic class at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and was also the driving force for disseminating the ideas of Enlightenment within the electoral administration. It was mainly due to von Lippert that Wink was well-known and respected in German-speaking enlightened circles.

With the help of Lippert, the highly esteemed engraver Johann Georg Wille in Paris, who had many friends amongst the leading Enlightenment figures, also got to know of Wink. In a letter to Lippert in August 1774, Wille praised the court painter as a "splendid artist"[36] and considered him one of the few "who deserved to be known to the world"[37]. Two years later, Wille even ordered a picture from Wink via Lippert.

In terms of his artistic talent, Wink gained the most significant attention from the Kaiserliche Franziscische Kunstakademie (Imperial Franciscan Academy of Art) in Augsburg, again facilitated by Lippert. The academy was founded in 1755 by the publisher Johann Daniel Herz who vehemently opposed the "Augsburger Fratzen-Mahler"[38] and tried to initiate an appropriate apparatus of a new artistic repertoire. Due to its rivalry with the city's art academy, it lacked the backing of the local elite, but on an international level, it achieved remarkable successes. Thus, numerous prominent Enlightenment figures such as Leibniz, Hagedorn or Winckelmann ensured Herz their full support.[39]

Crucial for the great response amongst contemporaries were the various art magazines released by the academy's directorate, who originally came from publishing. At irregular intervals, the following journals were produced, always explicitly following the maxims of the Enlightenment.[40]

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[34] Heß, p. 34: "*die Geheimnisse der Religion verständlicher*."

[35] Hutter, Christine: *Zwischen Rokoko und Klassizismus. Die Tafelbilder des kurfürstlichen Hofmalers Christian Wink (1738–1797)*, Munich 2012 (opacplus.bsb–muenchen.de), pp. 25–29.

[36] Ibid., p. 27: "*daß er ein vortreflicher Maler sey*."

[37] Ibid., p. 27: "die doch verdienten Welt bekannt zu seyn."

[38] Quote by Johann Joachim Winckelmann from a letter of 26 April 1758, reprinted in Rehm, Walter: *Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Briefe*, vol. 1 (1742–1759), Berlin 1952, p. 353.

[39] Bushart, Bruno: "Augsburg und die Wende der Deutschen Kunst um 1750". *Amici Amico. Festschrift für Werner Gross [...]*, edited by Kurt Badt. Munich 1968, pp. 261–304.

[40] For example: Die reisende und correspondirende Pallas oder Kunst-Zeitung (The Travelling and Correspondent Pallas or Art Journal); Das Augsburgisches Monatliche

These magazines included reports on the newest art productions to inform artists about modern movements. Especially the founding of the Munich Academy of Art by Wink as a painter, Feichtmayr as stuccoer and Johann Anton Boos as sculptor resonated powerfully in 1770 with the writers of the March edition of the Kunstzeitung der Kayserlichen Akademie zu Augsburg (The Travelling and Correspondent Pallas or Art Journal).[41] They were particularly enthusiastic about the not only hands-on focus of the academy but also about its concentration on art theory which the journal praised as epochal. Here Wink was also presented as a highly enlightened artist on an intellectual level.

In the same edition of the art journal, there were also high praises of his recent frescos in the parish churches of Egling and Eching.[42]

Especially the frescos in the church of Eching show pretty clearly the change in the guidance of the viewer through visual rhetoric.[43] It becomes particularly manifest when comparing the decoration with a fresco by Johann Anwander in the nearby parish church of Pittriching, painted about twenty years before and with the same subject in mind.[44]

The fresco of Pittriching from 1753 presents on its terrestrial ground strip the martyrdom of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in excellent narrative detail. Even wondrous elements from legendary tradition are shown here, such as the severed head of Saint Paul that supposedly had left three wells of milk behind when hitting the ground three times. The fresco above the choir displays an allegoric scene within an elaborate illusionistic architecture of the Fides-Ecclesia around the four continents. Heretics who topple over the picture frame complete the highly adept optical illusion. Intellectually sophisticated emblems and personifications like piety enhance the lavish decor of the visual rhetoric.

Wink in Eching, on the other hand, approached the topic entirely differently. He focussed solely on the recorded moments of martyrdom

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Kunstblatt (The Augsburg Monthly Art Journal); Die Kunstzeitung der Kayserl. Akademie zu Augsburg (The Art Journal of the Imperial Academy of Augsburg). Compare also Mahler, Hildegard: "Das Geistesleben Augsburgs im 18. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Augsburger Zeitschriften". *Zeitung und Leben*, vol. 11 (1934), pp. 23–30.

[41] Kunstzeitung der Kayserlichen Akademie zu Augsburg. 13th item. Monday 26 March 1770, pp. 99–101.

[42] Kunstzeitung der Kayserlichen Akademie zu Augsburg. 29th item. Monday the 16 July 1770, p. 230.

[43] Eching. *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland,* edited by Hermann Bauer et al., vol. 1: Freistaat Bayern, Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern, Landkreise Landsberg am Lech, Starnberg, Weilheim-Schongau, Munich 1976, pp. 48–53.

[44] Pittriching, *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland*, edited by Hermann Bauer et al., vol. 1: Freistaat Bayern, Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern, Landkreise Landsberg am Lech, Starnberg, Weilheim-Schongau, Munich 1976, pp. 191–198.

and connected these with the personification of the Fides-Ecclesia, who is placed above in celestial regions, easily identifiable. In this way, the significance of Saint Peter as a church founder is introduced and immediately grasped by the viewer. The condensation of the image of the conversion of St Paul and the martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul gives the nave a key role in imitating the experience (*imitatio*) so essential for the stability of the faith of believers. Moreover, the conduct of Saint Peter and Saint Paul is solely contextualised in their succession of Christ. They are not the ones who should be worshipped but SOLO DEO GRATIA — such as the urging of the cartouche in the quire arch. Their martyrdom can purely be seen as a sign of their unwavering faith, of their exemplary virtuousness. Therefore, miracles from legendary tradition like the visualisation of the milk wells do not play any role in Eching.

Along with the contextual change, one can also detect a clear stylistic shift, even though this should not be labelled neoclassicism as such. Thus, in Eching, the costly stucco ornament — completely indispensable twenty years before — gave way to the *stucco finto*, the painted stucco. In addition, it lends the nave's ceiling painting a distinct, confining frame and classifies it as a visual medium. In Eching, there is a very restrained 'inganno degli occhi' — the staging of the ceiling fresco as hypethral opening in the sky — and the figures only show a distinctly modest vertical perspective without it being already a return to the quadro riportato, to a panel painting located on the ceiling.[45] The martyrdom of Saint Peter and the triumphant Ecclesia with her attributes of the cross and the cup as references to salvation in faith through the sacrifice of Christ, found in the nave, is contrasted in the choir with the delivery of the keys to Saint Peter as a moment of the Christian church's foundation. The correspondent quotation from the bible borders the choir fresco in cartouches: "TU ES PETRUS ET SUPER HANC PETRAM AEDIFICABO ECCLESIA MEAM [...] ET TIBI DABO CLAVES REGNI CAELORUM." (Matthew 16 / 18–19) Only the four evangelists as bible authors are added to the programme in the nave's cartouches. Further and more extensive visual decorations — like emblems or specific personifications which enrich the iconographic concept in Pittriching — are completely missing here.

How much this reduction of the pictorial repertoire and the focusing on a simple and generally intelligible iconography was also seen by contemporaries as a modern approach in the sense of the Enlightenment, can be seen by the eulogy for Wink's painting for the high altar in Eching in the art journal mentioned above. The review praises the statically quiet and coherent composition with the heartfelt farewell of the Princes of

[45] See footnote 17.

the Apostles: "Both embrace each other in a tender and highly suitable manner … Mr. Wink is a painter who does Bavaria great honour."[46]

In summary, I would like to raise awareness that enlightened thinking in the medium of post-Tridentine ceiling painting should not be solely connected with neoclassical criteria. Instead, the large-scale medium of fresco painting, excellent for grand narratives, was more than suitable to visualise contextual reformative efforts. The stylistic execution of the decorations, seen as highly modern by renowned figures of the Enlightenment, still often complied with the laws of baroque visual habits. However, it seems a worthwhile and fruitful task for the studies on baroque ceiling painting to draw our attention to these content shifts.

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[46] Augsburgische Kunstzeitung. The second issue's 52nd item, Monday 30th December 1771, p. 410: "Beyde umarmen sich auf eine zärtliche und dieser Handlung sehr angemessene Weise, [...] Herr Wink ist ein Maler, der Bayern viele Ehre macht."

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A HISTORY OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT WITHOUT POLITICAL ECONOMY? THE CASE OF SPAIN

Abstract

Although often side-lined, political economy was one of the core languages of the European Enlightenment. In countries such as Spain, this discipline emerged in the 1740s as an essential language of the enlightened movement and a powerful mechanism for connecting with culturally and economically more developed countries. This article uses political economy as a common thread to consider some of the dilemmas currently facing the historiography of the Spanish Enlightenment: a single Enlightenment movement versus national context; radical versus moderate; centre versus peripheries; and an Enlightenment that was tied to the eighteenth century versus a longer-term movement.

Keywords: Spanish Enlightenment, political economy, national context, long Enlightenment, centre/periphery.

I.

In one of the reflections addressed to the European sovereigns of his day, Voltaire mused about how they should proceed so that their nations could benefit from the advantages of apparently uniquely developed agriculture such as that in China. "*Que doivent faire nos souverains d'Europe en apprenant de tels exemples?*", he asked emphatically, going on to reply that they should simply limit themselves to "*admirer et rougir; mais surtout [à] imiter*".[1] Far from being banal or rhetorical, Voltaire's question and answer hold fundamental keys to explaining the nature of the European Enlightenment. To a great extent, this was an exercise in endless observation, admiration and imitation. The latter was understood in a sense that involved an active role for enlightened Europeans:

[1] „What should our sovereigns do to learn from these examples? …to admire and to blush, but above all to imitate".

first to understand, then to spread and finally to adapt to their respective nations the ideas and experiences that they discovered beyond their borders and which simultaneously aroused feelings of embarrassment and envy.[2]

As in most Old Continent countries, the Enlightenment in Spain was essentially a process of circulating, adapting and applying these new developments and, as such, was a creative process with indisputable added value. When filtered through different national realities, the scientific, economic and social innovations originating in France, Britain and Germany mutated into something different from the original versions. The result of this process of cultural migration was not a pure product that was a faithful derivative of the original, but a kind of jointly owned hybrid in which the first version had usually undergone a significant transformation.[3] If, moreover, these new European ideas reached Enlightenment Spain via a third country such as France, as they usually did, these impurities assumed even greater relative importance. Furthermore, the Spanish intellectuals and reformers who were involved in these processes of receiving and appropriating ideas, reforms and socio-political and cultural practices throughout the eighteenth century were not concerned with remaining faithful to the doctrinal orientation that had inspired them; they were not worried about being viewed as supporters of Adam Smith, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Isaac Newton or Cesare Beccaria, but about pursuing a process of creative re-appropriation whose end products would be suitable for insertion into the new Hispanic reality that embraced them. These processes took precedence over pure creation or innovation, and as such, they cannot be overlooked if the aim is to interpret correctly the nature of the Enlightenment in countries that, like Spain, were essentially recipients of the movement. However, in another sense, they were also countries with a political, military, imperial and economic weight of the first order in the geography of eighteenth-century Europe.

Bringing Spain into a discussion of the European Enlightenment may seem somewhat anomalous; in fact, the traditional interpretation that denies Spain's involvement in the Enlightenment has never entirely

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[2] See, on this nº I, Jesús Astigarraga, "Admirer, Rougir, Imiter. Spain and the European Enlightenment", in Jesús Astigarraga (ed.), *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2015, pp. 1–17. A more complete version of this work can be found in Jesús Astigarraga, "Sujeto histórico e historia intelectual. Reflexiones en torno a un debate historiográfico acerca de la Ilustración española", in Teresa Nava (ed.), *De ilustrados a patriotas. Individuo y cambio histórico en la monarquía española*, Madrid, Sílex, 2017, pp. 41–65.

[3] See Peter Burke, *Cultural Hibridity, Cultural Exchange, Cultural Translation: Reflections on History and Theory*, Cambridge, Polity, 2010.

disappeared. However, although this is not the place to go into detail, the development of Spanish historiography over the last five decades is an invitation to bring the Spanish Enlightenment out of the shadows and try to fix it on the overall map of the movement in Europe. Spain undeniably had its own unique Enlightenment, which requires attention and study, and which can be analysed by means of classical categories such as "enlightened ideas", "enlightened reforms", and "enlightened despotism". The country unquestionably internalised some of the European Enlightenment's main ideas, practices and reforms, particularly during the last three decades of the eighteenth century.[4]

II.

It was also the case with political economy. Although often sidelined — or even totally neglected — by traditional eighteenth-century historiography, the discipline was indisputably one of the core languages of the European Enlightenment[5], and, as John Robertson has brilliantly shown, played a central role in its international dissemination.[6] Franco Venturi explained that, like the Enlightenment as a whole, political economy was understood as a utopia and reform; that is to say, as a movement of intellectual research and practical reforms.[7] Moreover, as a science of government, it was also understood to have a significant political

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[4] Mónica Bolufer, "The Enlightenment in Spain: Classic and New Historiographical perspectives", in Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer and Catherine M. Jaffe (eds.), *Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment,* Abingdon-New York, Routledge, 2020, pp. 3–16.

[5] Without wishing to be exhaustive, on the emergence of political economy in the European eighteenth century can be seen: William Letwin, *The Origins of Scientific Economics*. Londres, Methuen, 1963; Terence W. Hutchison, *Before Adam Smith. The Emergence of Political Economy, 1662–1776*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1988; Jean-Claude Perrot, *Une histoire intellectuelle de l'économie politique,* Paris, EHESS, 1992; Catherine Larrère, *L´invention de l´économie au XVIIIe siècle. Du droit naturel à la physiocratie*, Paris, PUF, 1992; Keith Tribe, *Governing Economy. The Reformation of German Economic Discourse*, *1750–1840*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998; Peter Groenewegen, *Eightheenth Century Economics: Turgot, Beccaria and Smith and their contemporaries*, Londres, Routledge, 2002; Istvan Hont, *Jealousy of Trade. International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge-London, Harvard University Press, 2005.

[6] See John Robertson, "The Enlightenment Above the National Context: Political Economy in Eigtheenth-Century Scotland and Naples", *The Historical Journal* 40–3, 1997, pp. 667–697; *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples, 1680–1760,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

[7] Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971.

dimension and, in fact, was undoubtedly one of the preferred languages of politics in countries such as Spain during a good part of the eighteenth century.[8] In strictly intellectual terms, political economy was a landmark in the history of European ideas. Its emergence was part of a broader intellectual movement that, throughout the 17th century, had sought a new definition of human nature that was unconnected to religious explanations and attempted to understand humanity's true passions and interests and the ultimate reasons for its sociability. Its appearance is thus not unrelated to the more general of what the eighteenth century termed the "sciences of man", to use Hume's expression. The hostility towards religion, the destruction of the intellectual unity of the Catholic world that came from the Reformation and the new empirical and rational understanding of the world illuminated by natural scientists and empirical philosophers of natural law, mainly British, Dutch, German and French, formed the basis of the new ways of thinking[9], that ultimately fuelled the gradual emergence of political economy during this century.

In countries such as Spain, political economy emerged from the 1740s onwards as an essential language of the Enlightenment movement, as well as a powerful mechanism for connecting with countries that were culturally and economically more developed and transferring from them some of the most prominent institutions of their economic culture (press, dictionaries, translations, chairs or economic societies)[10]. It is therefore impossible to write the history of the Enlightenment in Spain without paying close attention to political economy, and this article uses the discipline as a common thread to consider some of the dilemmas currently facing the historiography of the Spanish Enlightenment[11]: a single Enlightenment movement versus national context; radical versus moderate; centre versus peripheries, and an Enlightenment that was tied to the eighteenth century versus a longer-term movement.

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[8] A synthesis of the history of political economy in the Spanish Enlightenment can be seen in Vicent Llombart, "El pensamiento económico de la Ilustración en Europa (1730–1812)", in Enrique Fuentes Quintana (ed.), *Economía y economistas españoles. Vol. III. La Ilustración*, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg-Círculo de Lectores, 2000, pp. 7–89.

[9] See, for a deeper reflexion, Anthony Padgen, *The Enlightenment and why it still matters*, Oxford, 2013.

[10] See a full synthesis in Jesús Astigarraga, *An Unifying Enlightenment. Institutions of Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Spain (1700–1808)*, Leiden-Boston, Brill Publishers, 2021.

[11] See two complete balances on the Spanish Enlightenment in Jesús Astigarraga (ed.), *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2015, and Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer et Catherine Jaffe (eds.), *Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment,* Abingdon-New York, Routledge, 2020.

III.

An initial interpretative approach that may be useful in analysing the circulatory flow of ideas about political economy in Enlightenment Spain is the centre-periphery model; that is, how these ideas, which originated in centres of innovation such as Edinburgh, London, Paris and Amsterdam, arrived and took root in the underdeveloped and culturally backward peripheries of Southern Europe, as indeed occurred in Spain.[12] However, this approach is rather too schematic to be useful, as the problem of the unclear demarcation between the concepts of "centre" and "periphery" immediately arises. The main dividing line is usually drawn between the Protestant North and the Catholic South, with France as the only exception; however, as Franco Venturi's *magnum opus* makes clear, the Italian Enlightenment cannot be considered merely an intellectual by-product of the West Atlantic mainstream.[13]

The additional problem is that many writings and economic and political ideas arrived in Spain from their places of origin — Scotland, England, Holland and Germany — following a process of intervention in which a decisive role was played by Paris, and French, as a genuine lingua franca.[14] That was mainly true of British and German-Austrian economic-political treatises, almost all of which reached Spain in French. While this was specifically the case with authors such as Joshua Gee, David Hume, George Grenville and Charles Davenant from the first group, and Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi ou Joseph Sonenfels from the second, various texts such as those by Cesare Beccaria and the Pietro and Alessandro Verri brothers, which originated in Italian states, were also circulated in Spain in their French translations. These interventions led to problems related to diachrony — a text could take some time to arrive in Spain simply because of delays with the French translation — and content: the Spanish version was produced based on a French translation that may well have departed from the original, so that the result — the Spanish version — that was eventually circulated throughout the country was the product of a double transfer process.

The usefulness of the centre-periphery model where Spain is concerned is undermined by a further reason related to the fact that the

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[12] See, for example,, Richard Butterwinck, Simon Davies and Gabirel Sánchez Espinosa (eds.), *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2008.

[13] Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, Turin, 1969–1984, 5 vols.

[14] Vicent Llombart, "Traducciones españolas de economía política (1700–1812): catálogo bibliográfico y una nueva perspectiva", *Cyber Review of Modern Historiograph,, CROMOHS*-Firenze University Press, 2004, 9 [DOI: www. cromohs.unifi. it/92004/llombart. Html].

writings originated in several places. It is connected to the direct flow — that is, without any intervention whatsoever — that Spain established with other states that were also classed as "peripheral", the best representatives of which are undoubtedly Portugal, Greece and Italy. Some of the essential treatises by major Neapolitan school authors such as Giacinto Dragoneti, Antonio Genovesi and Gaetano Filangieri went straight to Spain[15], making Italian the second most important medium for the transfer of economic and political culture, above English.[16] It was also the case with other institutions, the most important of which was the Naples Chair of Commerce and Civil Economy, created under the aegis of *Carlo di Borbone* in 1754 and headed by Antonio Genovesi until 1769. This experience was directly transferred to Spain as the model for the Chair of Civil Economics and Commerce founded thirty years later (1784) in Zaragoza by the *Sociedad Económica Aragonesa*, as well as for similar teaching experiences there at the end of the century.[17] Likewise, the *Aula de Comércio,* founded by Pombal in Lisbon in 1759, was a factor in creating the Spanish university chairs in commerce.

A very similar pattern of communication, although undoubtedly less important than that originating in Naples, was reproduced in economic treatises and other writings produced by authors such as Gian Rinaldo Carli or Francesco Griselini in Austrian Lombardy and Francesco Maria Giani in Leopold II's Tuscany, whose works also reached Spain without intervention from third countries. All these cases involved processes of cultural transfer — which also flowed in the opposite direction — that bypassed the great centres of the continental Enlightenment. Studies of the European Enlightenment tend to forget, or at least undervalue, these "dialogues" that took place on the edges of the "other Europe", but their importance to Spain was neither circumstantial nor marginal: between 1774 and 1836, about thirty translations or Spanish versions of texts

[15] Jesús Astigarraga, "Diálogo económico en la 'otra' Europa. Las traducciones españolas de los economistas de la Ilustración napolitana (A. Genovesi, F. Galiani y G. Filangieri)", *Cyber Review of Modern Historiography, CROMOHS*-Firenze University Press, 2004, 9 [http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/Cromohs-15645]. The circulation of ideas in the opposite direction was also very fluid; see, for example: Niccolò Guasti, "Claroscuros de la fortuna de Campomanes en la Italia de la Ilustración", in Dolores Mateos (ed.), *Campomanes doscientos años después*, Oviedo, Universidad de Oviedo e Instituto Feijoo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 2003, pp. 691–708.

[16] Llombart, Vicent, 2004, "Traducciones españolas", *op. cit.*

[17] Jesús Astigarraga and Javier Usoz, "El pensamiento politico y económico ilustrado y las cátedras de la Sociedad Económica Aragonesa", *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 78–79, 2008, pp. 423–448; "The Enlightenment in Translation. Antonio Genovesi´s Political Economy in Spain, 1778–1800", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 28–1, 2013, pp. 24–45.

originating in the Neapolitan Enlightenment were produced. It means that economic-political culture in the Spanish eighteenth century cannot in any sense be interpreted from an exclusively Franco-centric perspective, as the Spanish Enlightenment began to be largely reconstructed in its most modern phase by authors such as Jean Sarrailh or Richard Herr[18]; in fact, this was also the case with the European Enlightenment as a whole, which Ernest Cassirer's classic theory wrongly linked to the *Lumières* and the small circle of *philosophes* who represented them.[19] Neither can this culture be ascribed to a merely Franco-British phenomenon: under no circumstances can the advent of Spanish enlightened - and liberal - culture forget its Italian roots.

The interpretative problems raised by the centre-periphery approach also apply to the receiving centres. While early studies interpreted European economic and political ideas' arrival in Spain as a phenomenon that was almost exclusively confined to the Court of Madrid, a much fairer line of interpretation has since developed that takes into account the contributions that the different regions in Spain made to this reception process: the focus has shifted from an interpretation based on a "single centre" — Madrid and its powerful court — to a more polycentric approach.

Spain's political make-up had some bearing on this issue. In other European regions, such as the Italian and German states and principalities, this polycentric component was simply a consequence of fragmented political structures, which had a decisive influence on how Enlightenment ideas were received and applied.[20] In Spain, however, no such political fragmentation appeared to exist; in fact, the reverse seemed to be true. The transition from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons after the War of Succession entailed a substantial change in political and administrative model, from the Habsburgs' horizontal and "compound" structure to the Bourbons' more centralised and vertical structure with its increasingly unitary and executive administrative pattern[21]. However, as is well known, this did not mean that all vestiges of the old Spain inherited from the Habsburgs were eliminated; this is clear from the example of

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[18] Jean Sarrailh, *L´Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1954; Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1958.

[19] Ernest Cassirer, *La Philosphie des Lumières* (1932), Paris, Fayard, 1996.

[20] On the Italian case, see *Settecento riformatore, op. cit.*, de Franco Venturi, and on the German case, Tribe, *Governing Economy*, and Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, Oxford, 1995.

[21] María Victoria López-Cordón: "Instauración dinástica y reformismo administrativo: la implantación del sistema ministerial", *Manuscrits,* 18, 2000, pp. 93–111; "Secretarios y secretarías en la Edad Moderna: de las manos del Príncipe a relojeros de la Monarquía", *Studia Historica-Historia moderna*, 15, 1996, pp. 107–131.

the three Basque provinces and the Kingdom of Navarre, which retained their *fueros* — chartered laws — and public law institutions. At the same time, the cultural identity of the economic and political elites continued to be marked by a regional component, by the ties to Hapsburg Spain's ancient kingdoms and crowns, which in some way helped to prolong its validity over the years. The first manifestations of the early Enlightenment were centred around *tertulias* — gatherings — and groups of *novatores* — innovators — they were geographically isolated and had relatively little communication with each other and thus retained this significant regional component after the Bourbons ascended to the throne.[22] Partly as a continuation of these early expressions of cultural change, the emergence of political-economic culture from the 1750s and 1760s onwards was no different in this respect. The regionalisation and decentralisation process undergone by the economic Enlightenment was underpinned by two institutions in Spain, at least at the administrative level: the trade consulates and the economic societies.[23] Both essentially emerged from the 1760s onwards and helped to multiply the effect of the circulation of economics writings on the shaping of the Spanish "public sphere" during the Enlightenment period.[24]

However, economic-political literature had begun to appear in the 1760s, even before the proliferation of consulates and economic societies, reflecting the fact that political economy was reaching and adapting to regions that had enjoyed their own political and administrative identity before the War of Succession. It arrived without first passing through the court. Authors such as Tomás Anzano in Aragon, Javier María de Munive, Count of Peñaflorida in the Basque Country, Enrique Ramos in the Kingdom of Valencia and Francisco Romà y Rosell in Catalonia were among the first exponents of these "regional" Enlightenments, which remained very active in the period before the *Cortes* of Cadiz were held from 1810 to 1813. These authors, and others who continued to develop this regional economics approach afterwards (Antonio Arteta, Ignacio Jordán de Asso, Manuel Sisternes, Jaume Caresmar, Antonio de Capmany, José Cornide and many more), wrote a series of works whose content referred to the regional realities of the Principality of Catalonia,

[22] Jesús Pérez Magallón, *Construyendo la modernidad. La cultura española en el tiempo de los novatores (1675–1725)*, Madrid, CSIC, 2002.

[23] Jesús Astigarraga, "Economic Societies and the Politicisation of the Spanish Enlightenment", in Jesús Astigarraga (ed.), *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2015, pp. 63–81, and *An Unifying Enlightenment*, ch. 4.

[24] On the relations between the Enlightenment, the political economy and the public sphere, see John Robertson, "Enlightenment, Public Sphere and Political Economy", dans Jesús Astigarraga and Javier Usoz, *L´économie politique et la sphère publique dans le débat des Lumières*, Madrid, Casa Velázquez, 2013, pp. 9–32.

the Kingdoms of Valencia, Aragon, Galicia and Navarre, and the Basque provinces, for the first time since the Bourbons had become established. It is the fundamental factor that gave the economic Enlightenment in Spain its polycentric component. As Franco Venturi argued in the case of Italy, the Spanish Enlightenment was essentially the work of personalities, political authorities, civil servants and other royal employees, intellectuals and reformers linked to official institutions — the courts and bodies of provincial administration — or semi-official ones, such as the consulates and the economic societies.[25] It gave the process of the reception and acclimatisation of economic-political ideas its marked territorial component, which also extended to the question of translation. The Spanish versions of works by authors such as Charles Davenant, Gabriel-François Coyer, Jakob Friedrich Bielfeld, Antonio Genovesi, Jean-François Melon, Francesco Griselini and Gian Rinaldo Carli were produced in these enlightened groups in the Basque Country, Majorca and Aragon. In some cases, such as Catalonia or the Basque provinces, these regional centres developed proposals whose doctrinal and reformist foundations were not always consistent with the "official" programme designed at court.[26]

The issue of polycentrism becomes even more complex if the country, including its Atlantic side, is considered. Although the transfer of economic-political culture from peninsular Spain to its overseas territories is poorly understood, everything suggests that the mainland played the role of a true "centre", as a mediator in the reception of the economic-political ideas of the European Enlightenment and their subsequent transfer to Latin America, where they underwent a second process of reception, dissemination and adaptation. The centre-periphery scheme is therefore of little use in the case of Spain, which, in short, was polycentric - both within the peninsula and on its Atlantic side - and can thus be compared to some extent to the Enlightenment experienced in the different Italian states, as described in detail by Venturi.

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[25] See, in the same line, María Victoria López-Cordón, "The Enlightenment and its Interpreters: Nobility, Bureaucrats, and publicists", in Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer and Catherine M. Jaffe (eds.), *Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment,* Abingdon-New York, Routledge, 2020, pp. 203–17. On Venturi, see "Economisti e riformatore spagnoli e italiani del´700", *Rivista Storica Italiana,* 74, 1962, pp. 532–61.

[26] On the Catalan case, see Ernest Lluch, *El pensament económic a Catalunya (1760–1840)*, Barcelona, Édicions 62, 1973; and on the Basque case, Jesús Astigarraga, *Los ilustrados vascos*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2003.

IV.

If centre-periphery models are generally of little use due to their over-simplicity, economic culture in Enlightenment Spain cannot be approached with any real thoroughness either by interpretative models assimilated to "national context", along the lines of Roy S. Porter and Teich Mikula's 1981 analysis[27]. Their work stressed the non-existence of a single, unitary Enlightenment, and Porter went so far as to say that this idea seemed to him to be a kind of "hallucination". If the phenomenon were to be approached properly, it had to be fragmented in such a way that the idea of the Enlightenment (with a capital E and singular) gave way to that of enlightenments (plural), defined in national, political (republican versus royalist), religious (Catholic versus Protestant) and other terms. The cost of this historiographical tradition, today enthusiastically represented by John G. A. Pocock[28], has been the deconstruction of the Enlightenment's unitary sense. At the same time, however, it has undeniably led to clear progress in studies of the European Enlightenment, contributing to a better understanding of the importance of such ebullient regional Enlightenments, as those in Scotland and Naples, and enhancing knowledge of the relationship between Enlightenment ideas and the different political and social contexts in which they were received.

However, these indisputable benefits do not make the approaches that produced them valid in themselves. Indeed, they are highly questionable when applied to the Spain of the Enlightenment and the interpretation of the arrival of economic-political culture there. The first reason is that the focus of the national context approach has been built on national entities when, throughout the eighteenth century, the identity element of enlightened sectors was frequently based not on political community, which did not exist then, but on other factors such as language.[29] Secondly, this approach is based on an anachronistic interpretative model, as it projected the nation-state structure that took hold in the following two centuries onto the eighteenth century. The vastness of the territories controlled by Spain then made it necessary to multiply "national contexts" well beyond the Iberian Peninsula itself. As the area ruled by Spain encompassed numerous nation-states that would come

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[27] Roy S. Porter et Teich Mikula (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* Cambridge, CUP, 1981.

[28] John G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1999–2003 (3 vols.), vol. I. *The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 5–10.

[29] See, for example, the case of Greece:: Paschalis M. Kirimiades, *Enlightenment and Revolution. The Making of Modern Greece*, Cambridge-Massachusetts-Londres, Harvard University Press, 2013.

into being during the first decades of the following century, still under the influence of Enlightenment ideas, defining the precise national context to which it is not easy to confine any analysis of the international flow of economic-political ideas.

In addition, as outlined above, the Spanish Enlightenment's raw material was the multiplicity and diversity of issuing and receiving centres. If the regional Enlightenments' remarkable intellectual activity in the receiving and applying economic-political culture is considered, understanding the country's central power as the only such centre is inappropriate. Doing so would require breaking down the national dimension into "sub-national" units to do justice to this culture's impact on Spain. The unitary Enlightenment model would thus be replaced by a kind of fragmentation process resembling *matryoshka* dolls.

There is a third reason why the usefulness of methods associated with the national context in the issue at hand is debatable, and this is related to the very process by which political economy emerged as a science. As is already known in some detail, this process was the result of research at international and cross-generational levels, which is inseparable from its cosmopolitan component and in which, as a brilliant work by Sophus Reinert has shown[30], the cross-border circulation of ideas played a crucial role. If it is fair to talk of the existence of political economy in the Spanish Enlightenment, this is because the discipline had previously taken root in other nations, giving rise to new economic laws, policies and methods. The political economy of the Spanish Enlightenment was a fusion of these foreign ideas with pre-existing currents of thought, mainly Castilian *arbitrismo* — political economy of XVI and XVII centuries — and, to a lesser extent, scholasticism. Above all, however, it involved a programme of adapting these external ideas to the Hispanic context.

For this reason, it is not possible to understand the birth of Spanish economic culture in the eighteenth century in isolation, disregarding this international dimension, without stressing that it was, above all, the result of intense intellectual interconnection. To use Franco Venturi's well-known expression, it was the outcome of the fusion of the "patriotic" and "cosmopolitan" facets of the Enlightenment. They were "cosmopolitan" because of intellectual interests and aims, because they transcended national borders and enlightened thinkers were able to harness the emergence of this powerful intellectual cosmopolitanism infrastructure to their countries' advantage. However, at the same time, they were "patriotic" because European intellectual and reforming elites applied these ideas to their societies in order to activate processes of improvement

[30] Sophus A. Reinert, *Translating Empire. Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy*. Cambridge-London, Harvard University Press, 2011.

there. As John Robertson has argued, if the Enlightenment is reduced to a plethora of independent and unconnected movements and local centres, this not only abolishes the very idea of Enlightenment, but also curtails the essence of political economy's emergence as science without a specific nationality and that was eventually established in most European societies during the eighteenth century, making a decisive contribution to the shaping of their enlightened sectors.

This economic culture's emergence in Spain can thus be presented as a local expression of the broader Enlightenment movement.[31] It can be analysed without needing to renounce the idea of the existence of an Enlightenment with a capital E, that is to say, unique and indivisible, one of the expressions of which was precisely the emergence of the new science of political economy. This approach is in keeping with the lines of interpretation put forward by authors such as Franco Venturi and John Robertson: Franco Venturi's notion of a polycentric Enlightenment regarding its transmitting and receiving centres, and Robertson's idea of an Enlightenment that allows for diversity within a common framework of ideas and aspirations are both wholly appropriate. Its coherence would lie in the intellectual interest in inquiring into "how to promote the improvement of the human condition in this world" [32]. In its focus on the material improvement of subjects and sovereigns, the political economy would share the limelight with the "sciences of man", as well as with others concerned with the historical development of societies and their progress from barbarism to civilisation. In short, it both influenced and was influenced by moral philosophy, politics and history, and the great differences that *local* patriotism gradually imposed on *universal* cosmopolitanism gradually became apparent within this common framework.

V.

This unitary vision would link the approach outlined here to Jonathan Israel's recent magnum opus on the Enlightenment.[33] His work bursts

[31] On the histories of economic thought that interpret economic theories from a national perspective, see Manuela Albertone and Alberto Masoero (eds.), *Political economy and national realities*, Torino, Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, 1994; Ernest Lluch, "Las historias nacionales del pensamiento económico y España", in Enrique Fuentes Quintana (ed.), *Economía y economistas españoles. Vol. I. Una introducción al pensamiento económico*, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg-Círculo de Lectores, 1999, pp. 435–476.

[32] John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment, op. cit.*, p. 28ff.

[33] Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750*, Oxford, 2001; *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and*

with evidence of the idea of one sole Enlightenment, albeit with a wealth of national or local variants. However, it is much more difficult to accept the different historiographical categories that structure it, of which the most important is the "radical Enlightenment". Jonathan Israel portrays this as a kind of *touchstone* for re-evaluating the European Enlightenment as a whole, and this has a direct bearing on the movement's most representative features at several levels. Firstly, chronologically, it places the beginning of the early Enlightenment around 1660 rather than 1680, when, according to Paul Hazard's traditional model, the first expressions of the "crisis of the European conscience" appeared[34]; secondly, thematically, in that it emphasises the importance of Baruch Spinoza and his philosophical system rather than other classical starting points, especially the fathers of natural law (Samuel von Puffendorf or Thomas Hobbes) and Pierre Bayle, and finally, geographically, in that it establishes the Dutch Enlightenment's hegemony over the French, British and German movements to some extent.

According to Antoine Lilti, this approach completely rules out the possibility of continuing to construct the intellectual history of the European Enlightenment based on John Locke, Voltaire, Montesquieu or David Hume; that is, on these more measured liberal and empiricist authors, the foundation stones of a "moderate" Enlightenment.[35] These thinkers were undoubtedly predominant and constituted the Enlightenment mainstream on much of the Old Continent; moreover, they were the main bedrock on which political economy was built. It certainly did not emerge from the currents inspired by Baruch Spinoza and his radical, secular and materialist philosophy, but blossomed from roots in the moderate empiricist and utilitarian currents which Israel derides, both the fathers of natural law from Thomas Hobbes to John Locke, and moral philosophers from Shaftesbury to David Hume, as well as in the multiple currents of the sciences of government, including Germanic Cameralism. The study of political economy and its acceptance as one of the central sciences of the European Enlightenment is in itself a powerful revival of the relevance of the currents that are side-lined in Jonathan Israel's work: it is possible to address national variants of the Enlighten-

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the Emacipation of Mind, 1670–1752, Oxford, 2006; *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy*, Princeton, NJ, Oxford, 2010.

[34] Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne* (Paris, 1935); Spanish translation, Madrid, Alianza, 1988.

[35] Antoine Lilti, "Comment écrit-on l´histoire intellectuelle des Lumières? Spinozisme, radicalisme et philosophie", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, 64–1, 2009, pp. 171–206. On tha Spanish case, see Jesús Astigarraga (ed.), *The Spanish Enlightenment, op. cit.*

ment from a unitary understanding that acknowledges the central role of these "moderate" currents in its genesis and unfolding.

Concerning the perennially complex problem of religion, these moderate Enlightenments proposed a relationship that did not always exclude faith: on the contrary, in contrast to what Israel argued, it was common — not only in Spain — for faith to be compatible with membership of the enlightened Republic of Letters, even among authors that adhered to its most radical heterodox tendencies.[36] In the same way, it does not seem right to exclude the Enlightenment's conservative or even reactionary manifestations from the movement. And finally, as occurred in Spain and most European countries, the outcome of the intellectual and reform process led by Enlightenment political economy did not necessarily culminate, as Israel assumes, in a democratic Enlightenment underpinned by republicanism, encouraged by a revolutionary transformation of the human condition. Identifying the Enlightenment with revolution is confusing and uncertain, although some authors still subscribe to this view.[37] Enlightened absolutism and democratic Enlightenment need not be presented as mutually exclusive ways forward; if they were, not only Spain but most European countries would be left off the Enlightenment map.

The political economy of the Enlightenment, even in its most radical aspects, developed in the shelter of reformist gradualism, and this legacy continued into the nineteenth century. This fact highlights the usefulness of approaches that insist on the *longue durée* Enlightenment, not only in terms of when it began, but more especially when it ended. As Joel Mokyr's recent works on political economy convincingly show, taking a long-term view of the Enlightenment is particularly necessary for any analysis that includes the effect of the movement's ideas and policies, not only in technological change but more significantly in the institutional sphere. As Joel Mokyr explains in detail about the seminal case of Britain, the legacy left by Enlightenment political economy vis-à-vis the institutional transformations that made liberal society and the dawning of industrialisation possible stretched into the mid-nineteenth century.[38] A similar claim can undoubtedly be made for Spain:

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[36] On the issue of the Catholic Enlightenment, see Ulrich L. Lehner, "Introduction. The many faces of the Catholic Enlightenment", in Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (eds.), *A Companion to the Catolic Enlightenment in Europe*, Leiden-Boston. Brill, 2010, pp. 1–61.

[37] See, in the same line as Israel, for example, Kirimiades, *Enlightenment and Revolution, op. cit.*

[38] See Joel Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of Knowlwdgwe Economy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002, and, particularly, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700–1850*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010.

Enlightenment economics, which was introduced and applied with special intensity during the reigns of Ferdinand VI (1746–1759) and Charles III (1759–1788), lasted well into the nineteenth century, at least until the Liberal Triennium (1820–1824). Under the protection of freedom of the press and expression, this was a high point in spreading European Enlightenment thought throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

VI.

An adequate interpretation of the political economy's arrival in Spain is essential for a better understanding of the Spanish Enlightenment as a whole. This article has asserted the importance of interpreting the intense process of the transmission and international circulation of the economic-political ideas from which the country benefited during the long Enlightenment, highlighting their roots in moderate Enlightenment currents and avoiding the need to splinter the framework of the Enlightenment, which should be considered a unitary phenomenon and understood beyond its specific national expressions. Choosing appropriate interpretative guidelines is a question of crucial importance owing to the political economy's importance in Spain in the second half of the eighteenth century as a vital language in the spreading of Enlightenment ideas and the implementation of reforms, including at the political level. The process that placed Spain on the path to constitutional culture cannot be understood unless the role unquestionably played by Enlightenment economics is considered. It is likewise impossible to provide a fair profile of the players who shaped Spain's transition from *Ancien Régime* to liberal society; they were not only steeped in Enlightenment principles but were also educated in the principles of economics and, to a greater or lesser degree, contributed to the fact that its presence constituted one of the most representative distinguishing features of the era they lived through.

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HOW TO STUDY EMOTIONS IN THE (POLISH) ENLIGHTENMENT?

Abstract

The affective turn is one of the well-visible so-called twists in contemporary cultural research, which also has clear repercussions for literary research. The literature discussing the phenomenon itself, especially using the methodological solutions introduced by this phrase, is extensive. These methodological solutions are particularly willingly applied to new and newest phenomena, emerging and taking place since the middle of the 20th century. However, contemporary affective research largely grows out of an interest in the emotions of old times, to refer to the works of Barbara Rosenwein. Thus, it seems fully justified to look at the broadly understood emotional phenomena in the 18th century using methods falling within the framework of the affective turn.

Of course, the affective turn will not contribute to discovering the existence of new emotions in the Enlightenment Age, because research into the emotionality of this period has a long tradition, especially in the study of sentimentalism. This term prompts reflection on the network of concepts and terms in the field of emotions concerning various cultures and literature of the 18th century. The essential part of this paper is an attempt to answer the questions about what testimonies of Polish 18th-century emotionality are at our disposal today and with what methods they can be interpreted. In other words, it will be an attempt to consider what we can see - thanks to the sensitivity to emotions, also related to the methods of affective turn - in the emotional (mainly textual, but also, for example, iconic) Polish space of the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

Keywords: Polish Enlightenment, emotions in literature, emotional turn, emotions in diaries.

The question of how to study emotions in the (Polish) Enlightenment, raised in the title, should be supplemented with a subtitle-apposition: what benefits might such studies bring? In other words, an attempt to contemplate methods of studying emotions, and their specific solutions, will also concern potential new results of studies conducted in this respect. However, we can also ask a slightly different question: can the study of emotions in the Polish Enlightenment teach us something that we

would not know if we were to study these fragments of the (material and consciousness-related) reality of the Enlightenment with other methods?

The seemingly obvious methodological context of such questions leads to one of the so-called turns in contemporary cultural and literary research, namely the affective turn. The growth of source literature referring to this perspective is substantial and very dynamic, which has been emphasized by researchers tackling this issue. It concerns both works of a methodological nature and attempts to use theoretical concepts when studying specific materials, primarily literary and textual ones, but also memorials, the shaping of public space, intercultural or international relations in a given period. The list of possibilities here is very extensive; scientific imagination leads us to analyze more and more new solutions.

Their considerable part (at least in Polish practice) concerns events, texts, and emotions from the last eighty years, a relatively recent period. In other words, it tackles the affects that have existed since the Second World War and have been processed in the latest social and textual reality. Even if we, like in Agnieszka Daukszy's book on affective modernism, slightly expand the field of observation (she analyses the avant-garde and the body of work of Bruno Schulz), affect searches essentially focus on contemporary times. It is certainly an area that is very-well explained using these tools. It provides significant numbers of testimonies (or their appalling effacements) while revealing subsequent layers of affects, enabling us to express opinions about our reality directly. This statement naturally concerns the Polish situation and Polish studies in the areas of literature and culture.

However, we should note that studies on the quite distant past are important areas of research tied to the affective turn, and one of the classical works of this trend is Barbara H. Rosenwein's 2006 book on emotional communities in the Early Middle Ages. There are decidedly more studies on old emotions, and they have been accreting just as dynamically as other works from the field of affective studies, including synthetic and general approaches. For example, we can invoke a work by Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, researchers belonging to the groups studying medieval emotions, titled *Sensible Moyen Age. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2015), or *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe: 1100–1700* (2019), edited by Andrew Lynch and Susan Broomhall. Nevertheless, it is not about contemplations of specific methodological solutions but the usefulness of the category of emotion in studies on old literature, culture, ways of thinking, or consciousness, which has been proven by these works, by this method of constructing the methodological perspective.

Although the absence of emotions in studies on the (distant) past has been less severe recently than even a dozen or so years ago, it is still worth it to quote Barbara Rosenwein's words from her 2002 article "Obawy o emocje w historii" ("Worrying about Emotions in History"), which she began as follows:

> As a medievalist, I have reasons to fear for emotions in history. I am not concerned about emotions themselves; people in the past — just like now — did express joy, sadness, anger, fear, and many other emotions; they had different meanings (just like they have now); they impacted other people, which is why they were also used by other people (just like they are now). What medievalists — and, in practice, all historians who care about their job — should be concerned about is the way in which historians have treated emotions in history.[1]

The recollection of this remark by Rosenwein constitutes one of starting points. Naturally, I invoke her not as a historian of the Middle Ages, but as a historian of the Enlightenment literature, gladly referencing the cultural perspective and thus using slightly different tools or methods of reading the past than historians "in general." Consequently, I will primarily emphasize textual methods of recording emotional reality; in other words: the emanation of emotions (individual and collective) from texts, but also outside of them, including drawing conclusions from the way they function in social reality, how they are treated, and in which processes of reading they are used.

It is then a clear limitation compared to the possibilities opened by studying the history of emotions "in general," feeding on archival materials, documents, and testimonies to learn about old societies, their governing principles, and the people living therein. A broad spectrum of such possibilities is demonstrated by the three-volume work titled "Histoire des émotions", its approach referencing *Histoire de la vie privée* by Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby. Its second volume, edited by Alan Corbin, covers the period from the Enlightenment to the end of the 19th century (Seuil, 2016). For the eighteenth century (until the end of the French Revolution), the authors describe, among other things, the awakening of the sensitive soul of the time, individual emotions related to the coming times, emotions expressed for the spectacle of nature (including landscape), great common emotions expressed for meteorological phenomena, and political emotions, especially those expressed during the period of the Revolution, including less obvious ones, like revolutionary joy and melancholy.

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[1] B. Rosenwein, *Worrying about Emotions in History*, „The American Historical Review", Vol. 107, No. 3 (June 2002), p. 821.

This very general review of possibilities in studies of "emotional topics," using the example of the eighteenth century in France, demonstrates the primary issue in my chosen perspective: studying the unveiling of emotions does not have to concern only self-evident issues such as — to simplify — love or patriotism. It can also involve an entire set of emotional behaviours that appear as components accompanying behaviours that do not fit the area traditionally named "high" due to the hierarchy of cultural norms and models.

Here is only one example representing this area: Robert Darnton's study titled "Workers Revolt" in his book *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*[2]. Research of literature necessitates a path accounting for text as its basis, not the event itself, and thus searching for emotions in this text — and not just the author's emotions, but also common, collective ones.

It is not something completely new that researchers of the (Polish) Enlightenment would need to treat the perspective mentioned here. Such wording of the issue would ignore both previous observations and — what seems more significant — would mean ignoring the particularity of the Enlightenment, its literature, and culture. This particularity exhibits itself when it is treated not just like cold, rationalist, and soulless mechanisms whose "residents" replicate in their actions this "affectless" nature of the period.

The presence of phenomena with a clear emotional component in the Enlightenment literature, unveiling itself on many levels — to say this in very general terms — has been noticed long ago by researchers working on this period, and some of them believe it to be one of the distinguishing features of the Enlightenment. It has also been noticed by people living in that period, both in reflections on its nature and the naming of phenomena. In order to refer to primary issues, to the lattice of concepts and terms concerning emotions about various languages of culture and literature of the 18th century, we must notice the existence of such studies and research traditions in which these emotional components are exposed.

Such is the history of German-language literature, where we can find the terms *Empfindsamkeit* and *Sturm und Drang*. The former — literally meaning emotionalism or sensitivity — does not have a stable status and can signify a certain period in the 18th-century literature (today, we tend to avoid this interpretation), a certain trend in the Enlightenment (i.e., *Aufklärung*), a group of phenomena emerging from it, or finally the turn of individual interest of an author in the direction of exposing emotional-

[2] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, Basic Books 1984.

ism. On the other hand, *Sturm und Drang* (the so-called period of "storm and stress" is a clear entity of the periodization process of German literature of the second half of the 18th century, covering the 70s and 80s, and transitioning into the period named *Klassik/ Weimarer Klassik*. Despite many discussions concerning the nature of this phenomenon, it is accepted to define it by pointing out the significant rise, at the time, of the role of individualism of the author's subject and the appearing fierceness in the manifestation of social attitudes and beliefs (in the longer perspective, characterizing especially the works by Friedrich Schiller).

On the other hand, in studies on Polish literature, the term sentimentalism is used to determine the literary trend whose most important determinant is, at this moment in research, the introduction into literature, especially poetry, of feelings (sentiments) situated in the area of "feeling" linked with the "heart," to invoke the categories from reflections of contemporary authors. In the description of Polish literature, sentimentalism operates within specified temporal boundaries. However, it signifies not a period but a phenomenon coexisting in the Enlightenment order of literary trends. At the same time, basic periodization models of French or English literature of the 18th century do not account for emotion-related categories as clear entities. However, naturally, we perceive in them phenomena that trigger the emotionalism embedded in the text or expected of the reader.

Such a diversity of methods of "embedding" emotions into the surface of the literary process, outlined here in very general terms, is also tied to the diversity of terms signifying emotions in individual languages, which means that crossing the barriers of languages can cause misunderstanding or incomprehension. According to Barbara Rosenwein:

> Many European languages have more than one word to refer to phenomena the Anglo-Saxons call "emotions," and these terms often cannot be used interchangeably. In France, love is not called *émotion* — it is classified as *sentiment*. Anger, on the other hand, is *émotion*, because *émotion* is short and violent, while — in principle — every *sentiment* is characterized by a certain subtlety and longer duration.[3]

This list is longer and concluded with a question that — adapted appropriately — is worth placing within these contemplations. The researcher wonders:

[3] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Wspólnoty emocjonalne we wczesnym średniowieczu*, red. G. Urban-Godziek, trans. Lidia Grzybowska, Jerzy Szafranowski, Grażyna Urban-Godziek, Seria Nowa Humanistyka, Warszawa 2016, s. 20–21.

> To what extent should we account for these differences when studying 'emotional communities' in the Early Middle Ages? If it could be strictly defined, it would be necessary to rethink not just the title, but the very assumptions of this book. Nonetheless, such a definition is impossible.[4]

Discussions about emotions in the 18th century took place using a language much more like modern language than the medieval language, although reading Linde's *Słownik* (Dictionary) makes us realize that the gap is quite large. We should also emphasize that comparing the role of medieval Latin and the Enlightenment French is only superficially justified. National languages functioning in the 18th century had a strong status practically throughout Europe. They were used in most societies and communities to exchange thoughts; therefore, there are much fewer silent witnesses of history than in the Middle Ages, evidenced by studies on alphabetism. At the same time, there are differences between languages in terms of expressing and naming emotions; thus, historians of language and lexicologists should answer how this situation changed and its current status.

We should also account for issues related to translation (terminology) and the dominant position of English as the language of global scientific communication. Indeed, if we adapt the problem raised by Rosenwein to the situation of the Enlightenment, it does not seem to be any possibility to draw conclusions. We should be aware of language differences, but at the same time remember that we have tools (especially single- and multi-language dictionaries) that allow us to try to understand old ways of expressing emotions that have a relatively low risk of making a significant error.

Other important issues were pointed out by Gerhard Sauder in the entry on *Affekt* (in the compendium *Handbuch Europäische Aufklärung. Begriffe, Konzepte, Wirkung*). He emphasized the significance of the gradual process of their "scientification", which should be understood as the presence of affects in the medical discourse and practice — for the 18th-century functioning of emotions. Today's metaphorical understanding of the heart as a place where emotions are located is, according to Sauder, a result of a long process, one of the stages of which was the 18th-century recognition of the chest and heart as the true seat of suffering. Since the mid 18th century, there has been a clear differentiation of vocabulary concerning emotions; emotions are still subject to value judgements; they are directly related to axiology. According to Sauder, the defence of strong feelings is combined with a longing for the primal

[4] Ibidem.

greatness and heroic virtue in authors of *Sturm und Drang*, like Rousseau, Diderot, and Helvétius.

In the Polish Enlightenment, many emotional components relevant to the West European affective discourse did not exist on a high level of abstraction and scientification. Identifying emotions functioning in the society of the time seems more important here than comparing them to abstract European models. At the same time, the process of diffusion of specific ways of talking about emotions and their regulating norms into the Polish society of the second half of the 18th century should be seen here as very significant.

Seemingly, the attempt to reflect on this society's way of expressing emotions using broadly defined written texts, in them and through them, must account for — to use a certain shortcut — the Sarmatist-Noble-Baroque tradition to a much greater extent than in relation to just belles-lettres written in the time of Stanislaw II August. If a change of a "programmatic" nature took place in the strictly literary sphere, in the sphere of non-literary or personal texts, it resulted from many different overlapping factors spread throughout time, operating with different strength in different spaces (e.g., the regional perspective). We should emphasize the significance of issues related to education which homogenizing effect is obvious also in relation to emotionalism — permitted or not, expressed or hidden.

We could formulate an initial hypothesis that would indicate that, when it comes to expressing emotions, the society of the Republic of Poland in the 18th century (and early 19th century) depended on the state of "emotional culture" developed in the 17th century more than other European societies. In other words, the change in the manner of expressing emotions was limited in 18th-century Poland by the burden of the "previous century"; this seems indisputable about the first half of the century, and if we talk about times after 1764, I invoke largely partial explorations whose systematic reviews would be necessary for future research.

Thus, one of the perspectives from which studies of emotions in texts should be studied is chronological, which refers to diachrony. The basic question would concern the progress of change, over eighty years between 1750 and 1830, between the domination of Sarmatism and the beginning of Romanticism, of the set of affects operating among residents of the Republic of Poland and expressed by them

What follows is just one example comprising two quotes, indicating what types of texts we can use to this end. The first fragment is from *Diariusz życia mego* ("Diary of My Life") by Marcin Matuszewicz, born in 1714, from texts concerning the year 1757 (probably written a short time later):

> Even then I remained, as I said, like a poor sheep in a wolf's mouth, alone in Nowogródek, without anyone — other than the Lord God — to place all faith and hope in. Nonetheless, I tensed up for my wife, for what has been happening to her, because I left her very close to labour; but when I visited Fleming for lunch at his personal invitation, I received a letter from home saying that the Lord God has fortunately made my wife deliver and gave her a son who was given the first name Józef at the holy baptism of water; it was the name of my late benefactor father, Jerzy Józef. Nevertheless, I wanted to use this name to find myself in the good graces of my brother, colonel Józef.[5]

The second fragment is from *Historia mego wieku i ludzi, z którymi żyłem* ("History of My Age and People with Whom I Have Lived"), from the diary of Franciszek Karpiński, the pre-eminent poet of Polish sentimentalism, who was born in 1741 and died in 1825; this diary was created in the final years of his life and described an episode taking place in the second half of the 1780s:

> One summer, during entertainment at Mrs Krakowska's [Izabella Branicka], she was visited by Marcin Badeni, the royal chamberlain managing the king's property, a plenipotentiary in general. I have liked this truly good-hearted man since the first day we met due to his sensible replies, but on the next day — due to his great soul and generous treatment of me. [...] I shall remember this esteemed friend until the day I die because, after he initiated our friendship with generous treatment, he later maintained it with reciprocity in so many events, and with respect for me proclaimed everywhere, although I did not even have the time to earn it.[6]

Matuszewicz names his emotions in a very general manner; he says that he "tensed up" for his wife, and his statement is essentially filled with events, a report of actions, although according to the diarist's declaration, we can also notice his emotions related to religious attitude and family relations. On the other hand, Karpiński wrote his diary in style, according to Roman Sobol, emulating the pattern of Rousseau's *Confessions*. The fragment mentioned above demonstrates natural relations between people despite their entanglement in court life and complications of the world — friendship and selflessness are placed in the foreground, which is indirectly used to reveal the diarist's scale of emotional values. The way emotions are shown is meticulously thought out; they are not just named, but the path leading to their inception and their meaning (in the author's subject perspective) are demonstrated.

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[5] Marcin Matuszewicz, *Diariusz życia mego* [Diary of My Life], vol. 1, 1714–1757, ed. and introduction by Bohdan Królikowski, commentary by Zofia Zielińska, Warszawa 1986, p. 760.

[6] Franciszek Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku i ludzi, z którymi żyłem* [History of My Age and People with whom I have Lived], ed. Roman Sobol, Warsaw 1987, p. 128.

This example indicates not just the possibilities of studying changes in the manner of expressing emotions over time but also shows diversity within one genre, differentiation of attitudes, which also enables us (naturally, with more examples) to contemplate the dependence of showing emotions on genre norms. At the same time, diaries — moving to the issue of materials that can be used to study emotions — are a genre particularly destined for such analyses. That is because of the compulsion of sorts to expose oneself — "diarist I" — through the prism of memory, but in a manner that reconstructs, so to speak, past events, often ones where the emotional component played a role, often significant (which facilitated their memorization). This reconstruction also involves projecting a diarist's knowledge about themselves when writing the text down onto their past version as they would want to present it, which features and emotions would they want to grant themselves in self-presentation before the (future) reader.

Such an offset of perspective is not present in the second of important personal genres, i.e., in the letter, which registers hot emotions in the moment of writing, although it also concerns events that had already taken place. Moreover, it is difficult to view the letter as a single text, as a wholly reliable testimony of emotions; however, analyzing sets of correspondence that would include the sender's relationships with individual recipients would enable us to draw much more justified conclusions.

The diary and the letter belong to documents less burdened by statement conventions and social norms of expressing emotions. On the other hand, they impact political writings to a much greater extent; I am aware of using here, concerning political writing of the Polish Enlightenment, a process of an extensive reduction to a single functional pattern, whereas it had been a very diverse part of writings of the time. However, in the case of subsequent studies, appropriate filters (genre, thematic, and personal) will have to be applied consistently, enabling us to group materials and make comparisons, leading to reliable results.

It is evident that the field of reflections concerning emotions also contains literary works, including those intended for theatre, with potential possible information about their stage shape. Indeed, the set of texts in which we can search for testimonies of emotionalism is vast but heterogeneous; firstly, all genre conventions and norms of intimacy functioning in the society of the time must be accounted for, along with the knowledge of what can be conveyed to others, and in what type of text can this occur. Other documents and genres of texts not mentioned here — like the Polish government official journals — will likely constitute a subject of interest remaining in the competence of historians. However, they will

also analyze the genres mentioned above of texts, mainly diaries and letters, searching for testimonies of emotions related to other activities.

Interests in communal and individual emotions, in affects manifested in private and in the public space, will certainly meet in these searches. We can also study — to be very brief here — emotions revealed thematically, through gardens or landscapes, or from another perspective — testimonies of melancholy or joy. We could, naturally, list many more examples.

Nevertheless, examples are not that important; we need to notice the significance of emotions in a new way, following Barbara Rosenwain's statement at the end of her sketch, mentioned earlier, concerning fears about emotions in history:

> The new narrative will recognize various emotional styles, emotional communities, emotional outlets, and emotional restraints in *every* period, and it will consider how and why these have changed over time.[7]

The Enlightenment, not only the Polish one, seems to be an area we should study from this perspective; the use of tools mentioned above creates opportunities to complete and modify its image and our method of conducting contemporary historical reconstruction concerning texts and people of that time.

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[7] Barbara Rosenwein, *Worrying about Emotions in History*, *op. cit.*, p. 845.

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HOW TO STUDY THE ENLIGHTENMENT? STUDY AND DEFEND

Abstract

We live in a time of uncertainty and transition. Some would claim that Enlightenment has already died (Kissinger, in Bendyk 2018, and Agata Bielik-Robson 2019), and its values are no longer relevant to our values. However, quite recently, some outstanding scientists, like Steven Pinker (2018), have published a good defence of the Enlightenment, claiming instead that we need the Enlightenment values. What follows is a quick overview of the defences of the Enlightenment from Adorno, Horkheimer and Habermas, and Todorov, Nussbaum and others to Pinker, arguing for pragmatic rationality. Rationality, even if it is impossible to define it with any universality from the objectivist point of view (Cartesian rationalism is impossible to defend), then it may function, together with human dignity, as a multi-faced criterium for intersubjective reality and tolerant, peaceful society.

Keywords: defence of Enlightenment, rationality, intersubjectivity, Steven Pinker, human dignity

Introduction

In order to contemplate the issue of how to study the Enlightenment, we should first notice what methodological patterns have been driving critics and defenders of the Enlightenment heritage in the 20th and 21st centuries. We should assume the existence of unconscious history like Braudel did, whom we must thank for the reflection on the role of the "long durée" in the history of civilisation. (Braudel, 1960; cf. Kula, 2000; Wichrowska, 2011). This broad perception of civilisational processes has driven both critics and defenders of the Enlightenment. We cannot ignore the fact that the topic of the Enlightenment is now attractive not only to historians of the historical period carrying this name; "the Enlightenment" stokes the passion of many philosophers, critics, and scientists because it is associated on many levels with issues of civilisation

and culture which are still valid, and which are better seen if we measure them using the category of long durée.

This perspective enables us to notice parts of the 18th-century model in the 21st century and perceive the origin of specific processes of the 18th century within the more broadly defined modern period, whose origins can be found in the Renaissance.

One of my main theses is that the process of the Enlightenment began with the ideas of the Reformation, which was known to the people of the Enlightenment themselves, e.g., Immanuel Kant. On the one hand, the Enlightenment contains such ideas as "common-sense thinking" (this is not the best-formulated term since it can also mean a sense of that which is common, common reason, *sensus communis*); tolerance (sometimes we can get the impression that the Enlightenment was a reaction to the time of the fanatical, intolerant war of the Puritans); rational debate, cafés (Habermas saw in them the origins of the modern public space), dialogic imagination, and impartiality (along with the origins of the separation of powers and constitutional thought, and the development of journalism as an institution of the Fourth Estate).

On the other hand, all these ideas can be seen as associated with the Christian ideas of Mercy, Grace, the Bible, Congregation (as a Church), Autobiography, and the principle of "Loving your enemies."

On the one hand, philology and multilingual Bibles are being written during the Reformation; on the other hand, there is a polyphony of voices in the Enlightenment; the system of checks and balances within a state can be seen in this context as equal to the supervision of laypeople and the balance of representative bodies in the Church.

Criticism and defence of the Enlightenment

We can find several critical approaches to the Enlightenment in the 20th and 21st centuries. First, we must mention the Frankfurt School, mainly Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (1994) and Jurgen Habermas (2007). However, we can also mention Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a critic of totalitarianism and the cult of a great leader; in the recent sociology of culture, Zygmunt Bauman was a significant figure. Pope John Paul II seemed to be a critic of the Enlightenment, and his perception of the Holocaust in this context seemed quite like that of Bauman's. His friend and supporter, Benedict XVI, said in 2011: "We must dismount from the high horse of our 'enlightened' reason." (Benedict, 2011). We should emphasise that Solzhenitsyn, John Paul II, and Benedict XVI represent the attitude that we ought to call "anti-communist" in the

political sense. On the other hand, the Frankfurt School of critical theory was primarily critical of the persecuting fascist totalitarianism.

Therefore, one can argue that some attempts to criticise the values of the Enlightenment were only superficially critical because they intended to defend other values originating in the Enlightenment. In recent times, however, we can find many extensive works confidently called "modern apologia of the Enlightenment": Schmidt, 1996; Cascardi, 1999; Neiman, 2008; Todorov, 2009; Pinker, 2018 (published in Poland in 2019).

The greatest problem of the heritage of the Enlightenment, of modernity

In his *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989) (published in Poland under the title "Nowoczesność i Zagłada" in 2009), Zygmunt Bauman (1925–2017) says that the Shoah is a common problem of western civilisation. Its roots lie in modernity. If we think of the Holocaust as a problem of Germans, not of others, not of civilisation, then this perspective implies the existence of THEM, who are evil and somewhere far from us. The enemy is presented as an isolated thing. It is a closed problem. The problem of evil vanishes pressed into the substance of the radically other. Instead, Bauman asks us to look at the Holocaust differently. The Holocaust is a problem of modernity whose roots touch the Enlightenment. In his contemplations, he invokes Richard Rubenstein and John Roth. The Holocaust is a problem in Western civilisation because many of its instruments have been used in the process of destruction and liquidation. It is not just an issue of using tools in the literal sense that Nazi Germany used trains and engineering and gas chambers, which would not be possible without the advances in contemporary chemistry. The railway, steam locomotives, and killing gas all required the development of civilisation, science, and culture.

Nonetheless, in this context, it is striking that Bauman comments on the institutions of modern contemporary bureaucracy, which is a fundamental concept because the SS Main Economic and Administrative Office was responsible for the Holocaust, responsible for the "Final Solution." Therefore, modern management thinking and economic reason are partially responsible for the criminal nature of actions taken by Hitler's Germany. Such perception does not lie far from that of other people who, e.g. blamed (blame) IBM for collaborating with the Third Reich because they sold them the technology of punched cards used by Nazis, e.g. to segregate prisoners in camps.

(In fact, IBM leased this technology, cf. Black, 2001 et seq.) Thus, if Enlightenment thought, otherwise now called modern thought, is re-

sponsible for such a tragic development in the history of humanity, is it still possible to defend the Enlightenment?

How, then, should we defend the Enlightenment? Todorov and Foucault

Tzvetan Todorov said that the foundations of the Enlightenment project comprise three ideas that cause their unpredictable consequences: autonomy of the subject, the human goal of our actions, and universality. (Todorov, 2009, 4–5). He writes that attacks on the Enlightenment and its legacy will never cease and can even escalate. It is, therefore, even more, necessary to keep the spirit of the Enlightenment alive:

> The age of maturity that past authors were hoping would come seems not to be the destiny of humankind: humanity is condemned to seek truth rather than possess it. Asked if we were already living 'in an enlightened age,' Kant wrote, 'the answer is No, but we do live in an age of enlightenment.' (91). This would be the vocation of our species: to pick up the task of Enlightenment with each new day, knowing that it is interminable.[1]

In this way, Todorov seems to follow the footsteps of Michel Foucault, who, in his sketch about defining the Enlightenment (Foucault, 2000), defined the Enlightenment as an attitude of criticism, not as an age of maturity, which is unattainable; the road to maturity passes through criticism. It is a defence of the values of the Enlightenment from the point of view of the philosophy of history and social philosophy. The main subject of this defence is the solidarity of human beings against the ubiquitous spirit of prison (with its principle of "Supervise and Punish" and with the economic and utilitarian invention of Bentham's Panopticon) and the so-called Gardening State, according to which everything that grows unintentionally must be weeded out. The Gardening State is a metaphor dominated by other conceptualisations, e.g., the flower–weed opposition. The Gardening State is a subject of criticism; nonetheless, we should know that it also has its parallels in both IBM's digital technology and the management models of the SS Main Economic and Administrative Office. How then can we defend the Enlightenment outside a philosophical attitude devoted to criticism?

A satisfying answer can be the approach of Susan Neiman. She presents Abraham as a modern protagonist comparable to Ulysses. According to Neiman, an individual approach to the idea of justice can be found in the mythical Ulysses and the Bible's Abraham, when he

[1] Todorov, 2009, pp. 150–151.

participates in lengthy negotiations with God prior to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. According to Neimann, for the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, twentieth century philosophy's most important critique of the Enlightenment, *The Odyssey* was the beginning of the end. Its authors, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer saw the epic as commencing the slow descent of the human spirit. Odysseus, the authors argue, was the prototype of the Enlightenment. "The first modern novel showed the first modern man: uprooted, cool, and dispassionate, driven to seek the world and find everything but his soul. His wiles always work, but the cost is immense. Premodern heroes, they wrote, try to control the world through the relatively harmless ritual murder of bulls and goats. Modern heroes sacrifice themselves. Premodern heroes were subject to the tyranny of superstition and brute force; with internalised repression, modern heroes invented something even cruder. Odysseus blinds the Cyclops, but in calling himself Nobody he negates not only his name, but his essence. And the captain who stops up his sailors' ears and binds himself to the mast to get past the Sirens foreshadows the modern capitalist, driving himself and his workers relentlessly through a denatured world. As compensation, he treats himself to an occasional opera ticket; the workers are denied even that." (Neiman, p. 318). And earlier, she says: "Reason is a way of fighting back against contingencies, from injustice to illness, that stand in the way of satisfaction and sense. Will it always win? Of course not. But do you really want to give up the contest from the start? (Neiman, p. 225). Abraham is a person during negotiations, dialogue, and who dares to ask God questions.

Steven Pinker's apologia of the Enlightenment

However, the most interesting recent defence of the Enlightenment must be Steven Pinker's *Enlightenment Now*. The English title seems much clearer (compared to the Polish one) and can be seen as an imperative: Enlightenment now! Pinker, a philosopher of history, cognitivist, cultural anthropologist, but also a kind of a sociologist using "big data," reviews specific ideas of the Enlightenment and perceives not just humanism and discourses on human rights as universally valuable but also tracks certain religious roots of values characteristic of the Enlightenment. He sees the secular foundation of morality in the idea of impartiality — in the realisation that there is nothing magic about the pronouns "I" and "me" (they are interchangeable) that could justify privileging my interests over yours or anyone else's. "If I object to being raped, maimed, starved, or killed, I can't very well rape, maim, starve, or kill you. Impartiality underlies many attempts to construct

morality on rational grounds: Spinoza's viewpoint of eternity, Hobbes's social contract, Kant's categorical imperative, Rawls's veil of ignorance, Nagel's view from nowhere, Locke and Jefferson's self-evident truth that all people are created equal, and of course the Golden Rule and its precious-metallic variants, rediscovered in hundreds of moral traditions." (Pinker, p. 412). Pinker also very characteristically invokes the value of the American Constitution as the main result of the Enlightenment process. It is compatible with the historical view that the American state is indeed the first modern state because philosophers of the Enlightenment established it. The Constitution contains the idea of separating the three powers and numerous mechanisms of balance and mutual control of various institutions.

We must admit that Pinker's approach deserves admiration and respect because — on the one hand — he is particularly humanistic while — on the other hand — using complex statistical "big data," promoting crowdsourced research and teamwork.

One of the main points of his approach to the philosophy of humanism is that he argues that philosophers should abandon the thought that began with the pre-eminent thinker, humanist and anti-humanist at the same time, i.e., Friedrich Nietzsche; according to Pinker, he is responsible for subjectivism which can be found not only among leftist thinkers but also among populist politicians who won numerous elections in many states. The Enlightenment enables us to display impartiality comparable to rationality, as understood by Richard Rorty. It can be understood as impartiality but also as intersubjectivity.

In this context, we should emphasise that defending the Enlightenment by crossing out Nietzsche's perspectivism and extreme subjectivity is a defence of the idea of truth, which is not necessarily a static and instantaneous revelation, enlightenment, but the truth as a process of investigation and abandoning a singular point of view. Such a defence of the idea of truth is easier for a cognitivist with a humanist bent than for pure humanists who do not lean toward social researchers. It seems natural. Nevertheless, in his use of current social research (thus paying tribute to his masters in this respect), Pinker is masterful; however, the main point of his books, not just the last one, is exceptionally humanistic and socially engaged. It is this engagement that results in him being accused of Romanticism.

"It is humanism that identifies what we should try to achieve with our knowledge. It provides the ought that supplements the is. It distinguishes true progress from mere mastery." Steven Pinker. Enlightenment Now (Pinker, Kindle Locations 8361–8362).

"As for accusations of romanticism, I can reply with some confidence. I am also the author of the staunchly unromantic, anti-utopian *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature*, in which I argued that human beings are fitted by evolution with a number of destructive motives such as greed, lust, dominance, vengeance, and self-deception. But I believe that people are also fitted with a sense of sympathy, an ability to reflect on their predicament, and faculties to think up and share new ideas." Steven Pinker. Enlightenment Now (Pinker, Kindle Locations 946–950).

The "better angels" metaphor and universalism

Humanist Romanticism is best evidenced by the title of Pinker's previous book, *The Better Angels of Our Nature*. Pinker writes about the sources of this reflection and this metaphor in his latest book. Its Polish translation does not reflect (*Zmierzch przemocy. Lepsza strona naszej natury*, 2015) the intertextual associations of the English title. However, the cover of the Polish edition presents this angel in the human head quite literally, as if identifying this angel with the human brain, reason, and thought. Sources, however, in Lincoln's speech, i.e., the American context, tell us to think about other dimensions of this metaphor. In the *Enlightenment Now*, Steven Pinker writes that "the better angels of our nature, in the words of Abraham Lincoln. Only by looking at the facts can we tell to what extent our better angels have prevailed over our inner demons at a given time and place." (Pinker, Kindle Locations 950–951).

This metaphor came from the speech inaugurating Lincoln's presidency at the time — oh, the irony! — shortly before the civil war broke out, on 4 March 1861. That was a powerful speech because it was primarily aimed at the South, to the 7 seven states that seceded as the Confederacy, one day before the Confederate attack on the federal army. In this context, it is also significant that Lincoln defended the integrity of states, guaranteed by the Constitution in his First Inaugural Address, Monday, March 4, 1861:

> I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.[2]

[2] „Abraham Lincoln: First Inaugural Address. U.S. Inaugural Addresses. 1989", Accessed 18.05.2022: https://www.bartleby.com/124/pres31.html.

This metaphor of the better side of our nature is intended to present the very universality of the Unionists (or, in this case, limited universality, but still), so it is equivalent to the thing so beautifully described by Pinker when he writes about the Enlightenment humanism; it is a golden moral principle used for the politics of the Unionists and abolitionists. American patriotism must conform to the constitutional principle of equality before the law of all American citizens. We could say that the Confederates did not listen quite well to Lincoln's voice if the civil war broke out on the next day, which — according to Lincoln's speech — was pure anarchy, incompatible with the Constitution.

In this case, we should notice that parts of the Enlightenment's humanist message are occasionally called Romanticism, by the same principle that depicts sentimentalism as pre-Romanticism. Sentimentalism should not be called pre-Romanticism because it is the most fully-developed expression of the Enlightenment. In this light, the French Revolution is only an amplification of the Enlightenment principles, like human rights and their definitions by John Lock and later by Thomas Paine constituted a foundation for the constitutional thought of the United States.

Popular culture and metaphors of the Enlightenment

We can also find such a reaction in the so-called "contemporary popular culture". In 2018, Barbra Streisand published *Walls*, an album containing the song *Better Angels*. (Cf. Morris, 2018)

Angry words and bitterness
'Cause love to fade away
What happened to the dreams
And hopes that we shared yesterday?
Mystic chords of memory that stir within in our soul
Lead us to forgiveness so that we can be made whole

We are not enemies, there is no good in that
There are better angels that surround us all
And we will find a way through all our differences
Hear the better angels, listen to their call

Hatred only breeds more hate and darkness in our heart
May we find compassion in a world so torn apart
A symphony of what could be
Says this where we start

We are not enemies, there is no good in that
There are better angels that surround us all

And we will find a way through all our differences
Hear the better angels, listen to their call

Let the better angels be our guide
Yes, there are better angels walk beside
Can you catch us all?
'Cause we just about to fall
Rise up and find better angels in us all
Yes, rise up, it's time, oh it's time

Here is a fascinating intertextual relationship that enables us to invoke the entire context of contemporary times, with populism, the domination of lies (fake news) over truth, and erecting walls to divide ourselves. This Barbra Streisand album also contains the titular Walls, which — as an image and metaphor — evoke in us that which runs entirely contrary to the "better angels of our nature," but they also embody the very idea of particularism over universality.

These are walls that we don't see
That we built between the you and me
Made of broken dreams and wounded feelings that go on
Like walls we wish to go away
Could we have ourselves that better day
If we took the chance to simply say that we forgive
And then we'd forget they'd be gone

The principle of universality, "I" is equal to "you," "you" is equal to "I," ale means the equality of all citizens from the United States Constitution.

Jean Baudrillard's postmodern reflection on the Enlightenment principle of universalism is very interesting in this context.

Indeed, Baudrillard has also produced some provocative reflections on globalisation. In *The Violence of the Global*, he distinguishes between the global and the universal, linking globalisation with technology, the market, tourism, and information contrasted to identification of the universal with "human rights, liberty, culture, and democracy." (Baudrillard, p. 15) While "globalisation appears to be irreversible, … universalisation is likely to be on its way out." Elsewhere, Baudrillard writes that "the idea of freedom, a new and recent idea, is already fading from the minds and mores, and liberal globalisation is coming about in precisely the opposite form — a police-state globalisation, a total control, a terror based on 'law-and-order' measures. Deregulation ends up in a maximum of constraints and restrictions, akin to those of a fundamentalist society." (Kellner, p. 16)

We should listen to these words because today they sound like a prophecy: "globalisation appears to be irreversible," and "already, the idea of freedom … is being erased from everyday lives and conscious-

ness, and liberal globalisation". Today's form of globalisation involves police states, total control, terror based on internal resources of the police, which is intended to serve the public good. Deregulation ends in limitations like those in a fundamentalist society.

In other words, Baudrillard would probably agree here with the messages of both Michel Foucault and critics of the Frankfurt School; however, he would stand out with his explicit pessimism when it comes to the ideas of freedom and democracy, which can be identified with the Enlightenment legacy as well. According to Kellner, Baudrillard is here the ally of anti-globalisation movements that stood against neoliberal globalisation to protect the rights of individuals and democracy. Nevertheless, it is also interesting that Baudrillard's reflection paved the way with its symmetric of sorts for the populists of the 21st century.

Steven Pinker, invoking Lincoln with the title of his book, demonstrates the power of humanism within the idea of universalism. This idea can naturally have its roots in Christianity, especially the one inspired by the teachings of St. Paul (Badiou), but the Enlightenment indeed made this idea one of its primary principles.

In this respect, another critical issue is the history of the contemporary reception of the main symbol of the Enlightenment existing in the popular imagination: the Statue of Liberty, whose original title also directly references the Enlightenment: *Liberty Enlightening the World*. Of course, the word "enlightening" can be rephrased as "casting light," but this removes the etymological connection to the Enlightenment; furthermore, its French title is *La liberté éclairant le monde*. Casting aside the complex origin of this symbol, which also references American-French friendship, it is worth analysing the final chord in the long history of the Enlightenment: the dispute concerning the poem *The New Colossus*:

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Lately, a change made to this poem has proved very controversial; made consciously by Kenneth Thomas Cuccinelli, a lawyer and former prosecutor, currently working as the Director of the Citizenship and Immigration Services in Donald Trump's administration. "Give me your tired and your poor who can stand on their own two feet and who will not become a public charge." The word "charge" has multiple meanings, be it "allegation" or "accusation," which has its connotations in the context of racial biases against immigrants and their alleged criminal activities.

An essential thing in the whole affair around this intentional change of Emma Lazarus' sonnet is that it reveals a particular transformation in the concept of the United States as a state of the Enlightenment. The famous couplet from Lazarus' sonnet: "Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," whose original text invokes the Biblical idea of justice contained, among other places, in the Gospel of Matthew 11:28, but can also be found in the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The change here consists of the idea that universalism can appear as passive equality before the law, but it can also express itself as an active force introducing this equality in a deeper, not just formal, sense. Therefore, there were many discussions about this perversion of the "sacred text" on the "sacred symbol of liberty" and the United States; this controversy has been noted worldwide. It indicated a political change that transformed the legacy of the Enlightenment once more into a libertarian, extremely individualistic call to implement the American Dream by oneself without the state's assistance. No wonder that in 2018, even before the Cuccinelli scandal, the socially engaged album *Walls* included a powerful song titled *Lady Liberty*, referencing both Lazarus' poem and the popular perception of the symbol of liberty.

Oh, Lady Liberty
Show us how to stand and feel a little prouder
As the anthem plays let's sing
And raise our voices even louder
Since the real danger lies in the sound of silence

This simple song demonstrates that being an enlightened citizen means being an active citizen, a citizen voicing their opinion.

Neiman, a Jew and philosopher of the Enlightenment, learns from the Germans

I would like to prepare my conclusion to my exploration of how to study the Enlightenment and defend its ideas with a brief analysis of a recent book by Susan Neiman, as mentioned earlier. She writes that

most of her recent philosophical works were devoted to the defence of the much-maligned Enlightenment, "that eighteenth-century movement which created the foundations for universal human rights." (Neiman, p. 18) Thus, even she sees universalism as the key to the teachings of the Enlightenment. On page 28, she admits not just to be inspired by the theory of John Rawls (the idea of justice and political liberalism), but also by the teachings of Hannah Arendt and Jean Améry. Neiman states that she wrote the abstract, but she wanted to be very particular, so she recorded hundreds of hours of interviews. Later, she invokes Arendt and Jean Améry, after whom the Prize for European Essay Writing was named.

Neiman is subjective and does not avoid assessing the present; she directly states that she will argue that the "2016 election resulted, in large part, from America's failure to confront its own history." (Neiman, p. 27). In other words, from its failure to go through its past, which postwar Germany did quite meticulously.

The most powerful fragment of the writings by Neiman is this:

> I do my best to follow Tzvetan Todorov's wise injunction: Germans should talk about the singularity of the Holocaust, Jews should talk about its universality. You can derive the principle from Kant, but it's also a variation on an idea we should have learned in kindergarten: if everyone cleans up her own mess, we won't have to worry about anyone else's. Todorov's claim will only be problematic for those who think statements are exhausted by their truth value. In fact, as ordinary language philosophy has taught us, statements are often forms of action. A German who talks about the singularity of the Holocaust is taking responsibility; a German who talks of its universality is denying it. Germans insisting on universality are seeking exoneration; if everyone commits mass murder one way or another, how could they help doing it too? Germans were not the only ones to compare their own racist crimes with those of others.[3](

Another interesting reflection can be found concerning Adorno:

> As the returning émigré philosopher Theodor Adorno later argued, the most important part of *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* affects the unconscious. The Frankfurt School theorists emphasised the importance of psychoanalysis, and if raking through the past was going to heal anything, individually or nationally, it had to come from within. Reproaches from others are only likely to create resistance. "Whatever happens as propaganda remains ambivalent," Adorno insisted. That's just how we're built: attack us from the outside, we'll be quick to defend our ground.[4]

Neiman also mentions another researcher and translator of the Enlightenment who, due to historical necessity, transformed into a scrupulous reviewer of the

[3] Neiman, *Learning from the Germans*, p. 30.
[4] Neiman, *Learning from the Germans*, p. 48.

language of the Third Reich, Victor Klemperer. Like many today who are continuously inspired by Hannah Arendt, Victor Klemperer can become a great patron of research on hate speech in state propaganda. Of many contemporary states. (Klemperer, 1992)

Conclusions

This article begins with the ascertainment that there have been many critics of the legacy of the Enlightenment lately. However, it also points out its expressive defenders. Both are often inextricably tied to each other. One of the primary assumptions of this article is that it is not possible today to narrow such reflection to the historical period of the Enlightenment. That is because its legacy is still alive, while thought and ideational trends which began in that period are still being debated; they are continuously recurring motifs in the human culture and civilisation. Thus, the Enlightenment should be studied as a "long durée" and unconsciousness of history.

According to Zygmunt Bauman, one of the most significant problems created by the Enlightenment legacy is the Holocaust. Then I briefly discuss the political reflection of Tzvetan Todorov and Michel Foucault to arrive at one of the more original defences of modernity in the work of Susan Neiman, presenting two mythical figures of modernity, prefigurated in dim and distant ancient times: Odysseus and Abraham negotiating with God.

Then, the paper also points out the main foundational idea of the Enlightenment, which is best shown by the metaphor of "better angels"; it is the idea of universalism. It demonstrates how strong a determinant it is in moral messages of the Enlightenment and contemporary popular culture. It also shows the movement from the passive idea of universalism to active universalism.

My contemplations are concluded by a reflection on the latest book of Susan Neiman, an apologist of the Enlightenment, who states that we can learn much from the Germans who, in the spirit of working on the past, popularised the Enlightenment, which is a ceaseless effort.

In a sense, this image of passive and active universalisms can correspond to the image of two individualisms: "forest" and "gardening". The gardening one is conservative and maintains very significant rights to property; the other, the forest one, is generous and open to the world.

We must think of the Enlightenment not just as a source of instrumental reason in categories of Habermas but also as a source of social care; we cultivate specific values because we would like to care about other values. The Enlightenment can stand in opposition to religion, but

it also enables specific moderate versions of religion, which we can follow, e.g., in Kant's thought. I attempted to demonstrate that mythical sources of the Enlightenment are unavoidable. We are condemned to our own experience-based, emotional nature. It does not, however, mean we agree to irrationalism. As evidenced even by a cursory reading of, e.g., Susan Neiman, the fascination of Enlightenment and its ideas is inescapably a criticism of irrationality, often very strong and currently prevailing.

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REVIEWS

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Orientalizm Wschodnioeuropejski

Rec.: Larry Wolff, *Wynalezienie Europy Wschodniej. Mapa cywilizacji w dobie Oświecenia*, tłum. Tomasz Bieruń, Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, Kraków 2020, 748 s.

29 czerwca 2005 roku na łamach *Europy. Tygodnika Idei*, podówczas weekendowego dodatku do tabloidu *Fakt* (później został on przeniesiony do gazety *Dziennik Polska-Europa-Świat*) ukazał się artykuł prof. Ewy Thompson, literaturoznawczyni z Uniwersytetu Rice'a w Houston, pod prowokacyjnym tytułem *Said a sprawa polska*1. Autorka przeprowadziła w nim odkrywczą na owe czasy paralelę między postkolonializmem a postkomunizmem, dodając, że narody państw postkomunistycznych, takich jak Polska, powinny się uczyć od Edwarda Saida, amerykańskiego intelektualisty pochodzenia palestyńskiego, autora słynnego Orientalizmu (1978). Główną ideę tej książki Thompson streściła w kilku zdaniach:

> Said zanalizował „proces narzucania przez intelektualistów narodów zwycięskich tożsamości narodom podbitym". To proces niełatwy do opisania w swej złożoności, ale dający się bez trudu, wręcz intuicyjnie rozpoznać przez tych, którzy 'orientalizacji' doświadczyli. Dwa główne jego elementy to konstruowanie wizerunku danego narodu i jego internalizacja przez członków zniewolonej narodowości. Nietrudno zgadnąć, że wizerunek ten podkreśla słabość, pasywność, zapóźnienie oraz brak sił twórczych i oryginalności w podbitym narodzie[2].

Wszystko to są rzeczy dziś już dobrze znane literaturoznawcom i politologom, głównie za sprawą nurtu badań postkolonialnych (*postcolonial studies*). Znacznie oryginalniejsza jest teza Thompson, że to, co Said uczynił dla postkolonialnych krajów arabskiego Bliskiego Wschodu (stąd „orientalizm"), można i należy uczynić również dla postkomunistycznych krajów Europy Wschodniej lub Środkowo-Wschodniej. Także i one zostały swego czasu opisane przez intelektualistów Zachodu i także wobec nich Zachód używał dyskursu „orientalizującego", w najlepszym razie paternalistycznego, w najgorszym jawnie rasistowskiego. Używając kategorii bliższych polonistom, można powiedzieć za Gombrowiczem, że

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[1] Tekst dostępny online: http://www.owlnet.rice.edu/~ethomp/SAID%20A%20SPRAWA%20POLSKA-29%20June%202005.pdf.

[2] Ibidem.

Zachód od wieków Europę Wschodnią upupiał, względnie, że przyprawiał jej różne gęby. Zawsze był to opis spłycony, tendencyjny i nigdy obiektywny. Głównym postulatem, a wręcz płomiennym apelem Ewy Thompson było to, by intelektualiści Europy Wschodniej wykonali wreszcie robotę Saida, to znaczy zaczęli demaskować i prostować „orientalistyczne" uprzedzenia intelektualistów Zachodu na swój temat.

Po piętnastu latach wypada niestety uznać efekty działalności przynajmniej polskich autorów na tym polu za mizerne. Nie wydaje się też, by dużo większe sukcesy odnieśli w tym czasie Czesi, Słowacy, Węgrzy czy Rumuni. Z tym większym zadowoleniem należy przyjąć ukazanie się po polsku książki Larry'ego Wolffa *Wynalezienie Europy Wschodniej. Mapa cywilizacji w dobie Oświecenia.*

Larry Wolff nie jest Europejczykiem, tylko Amerykaninem, profesorem historii na New York University, specjalizującym się w dziejach Europy Wschodniej. Jest też, co ważne, absolwentem Harvardu, wychowankiem Wiktora Weintrauba, u którego uczył się m.in. języka polskiego, ale też dzięki któremu przeczytał swoje pierwsze wschodnioeuropejskie książki, *Rodzinną Europę* Miłosza i *Znasz-li ten kraj* Boya-Żeleńskiego. Na marginesie można zauważyć z satysfakcją, że polska powojenna emigracja wydała owoce.

O Wolffie można powiedzieć, że wykonuje postulowaną przez Ewę Thompson pracę niejako za nas. Choć widać w jego książce wpływy Miłosza, Kundery i wielu innych pisarzy wschodnioeuropejskich, to jednak zdecydowanie najwięcej zawdzięcza ona Saidowi, cała jest wręcz napisana w saidowskim duchu[3]. Charakterystyczne, że Wolff, choć powołuje się m.in. na sławny esej Kundery *Zachód porwany albo tragedia Europy Środkowej*, sam prawie w ogóle nie stosuje określenia „Europa Środkowa" czy choćby „Środkowo-Wschodnia". Pisze niemal wyłącznie o „Europie Wschodniej". Zauważa przy tym, że źródła francuskie aż do pierwszej wojny światowej określały ten region wymiennie jako *l'Europe orientale* lub *l'Orient européen*[4]. W oczach Zachodu byliśmy zatem Orien-

[3] W tym miejscu warto może przypomnieć, że pierwszą książką Saida było studium o Conradzie, *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography* (1966). Amerykański historyk James Clifford pisał na ten temat, że „Palestyna jest być może dwudziestowieczną Polską, krajem poddanym rozbiorom, który wymaga powtórnego wynalezienia. Said, podobnie jak polsko-angielski autor, którego podziwiał i często cytował, rozpoznaje, że osobista i kulturowa tożsamość nigdy nie jest dana, lecz zawsze musi być negocjowana". *Orientalizm* Saida byłby zatem „palestyńskim odpowiednikiem" *W oczach Zachodu* Conrada. Jeśli tak, to można powiedzieć, że Larry Wolff wykorzystując dzisiaj metodę Saida do opisu Europy Wschodniej, zatacza niejako pełne koło i wraca do punktu wyjścia. Zob. J. Clifford, *Kłopoty z kulturą*, tłum. Ewa Dżurak, Wydawnictwo KR, Warszawa 2000, s. 296.

[4] L. Wolff, *Wynalezienie Europy Wschodniej. Mapa cywilizacji w dobie Oświecenia*, przeł. Tomasz Bieruń, Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, Kraków 2020, s. 31.

tem, nie tak znów bardzo odległym od bliskowschodniego Orientu Saida. Ta pierwsza konstatacja nadaje kierunek całej dalszej analizie.

Drugą, równie ważną, konstatacją jest stwierdzenie, kto jest temu winien. A odpowiedzialność za taki stan rzeczy ponosi zdaniem Wolffa oświecenie, przede wszystkim francuskie, choć nie tylko. Na przeszło sześciuset stronach Wolff nader przekonująco dowodzi, że to filozofowie francuskiego oświecenia „wynaleźli" Europę Wschodnią. Zdaniem amerykańskiego autora, tak fundamentalny dla nas obecnie podział na Wschód i Zachód, aż do XVIII wieku w świadomości przeciętnego Europejczyka właściwie nie istniał. Na jego mapie mentalnej jedyny ważny podział przebiegał na linii północ–południe. Taka na przykład Polska była zatem państwem północnym na równi z Rosją, ale też ze Szwecją, z Prusami, a może nawet i z Anglią. Bardzo dużo musiało się wydarzyć w historii i w kulturze, żeby ta mapa mentalna uległa przeorientowaniu i żeby Francja zaczęła samą siebie postrzegać jako część Zachodu, w opozycji do Wschodu. Przede wszystkim trzeba było „wymyślić" Wschód. Oczywiście był to złożony proces.

Gdyby chcieć pokusić się o wskazanie głównych przyczyn tego procesu, byłyby to zapewne, po pierwsze, siłowe „ucywilizowanie" i „okcydentalizacja" Rosji przez Piotra Wielkiego. W wyniku działań tego monarchy wielka Rosja stała się nagle na mapie mentalnej ludzi XVIII wieku częścią Europy. Ale jakiej Europy? Trochę przecież innej niż ta, której częścią były Francja czy Anglia, trochę bardziej dzikiej, bardziej orientalnej i fantastycznej, krótko mówiąc — Europy Wschodniej.

Drugą, równoległą przyczyną owego geopolitycznego wynalazku mogły być powolna dekadencja i dekompozycja imperium osmańskiego, jego stopniowe wypychanie z południowych kresów Europy przez armie Rosji i Austrii. W efekcie całe chrześcijańskie kraje i narody, wyzwolone spod władzy sułtana, stawały się ponownie częścią Europy. Ale jakiej Europy? I tu znów padała ta sama odpowiedź — Europy Wschodniej.

Wreszcie jako trzecią przyczynę można by wymienić dekadencję i upadek Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Zniknięcie wielkiego i potężnego niegdyś państwa, od wieków będącego pełnoprawną częścią Europy, spowodowało z jednej strony przesunięcie granic Prus i Austrii na Wschód, a z drugiej przesunięcie granic Rosji na Zachód. I to drugie zjawisko było ważniejsze. Dzięki polityce Katarzyny II Wschód rozrósł się gwałtownie, połknął kawał ziemi, który dotąd był zachodni. Po czymś takim Europy Wschodniej nie dało się już nie zauważać. Stała się czymś zbyt realnie i blisko istniejącym.

O tych wielkich przemianach geopolitycznych Wolff pisze jednak stosunkowo mało. Co więcej, i to może zaskakiwać u amerykańskiego autora, Wolff traktuje wszystkie te wojny i zmiany granic jako doskonale

znane i nie widzi najwyraźniej potrzeby, by choćby pobieżnie streścić przebieg najważniejszych wydarzeń swoim amerykańskim czytelnikom. Można zadać pytanie, czy aby nie przecenia ich historycznej erudycji. Wolff uznaje, że wiedzę o podstawowych faktach z historii Europy XVIII wieku jego czytelnik zdobył już sam z innych źródeł, a jego rolą jako autora jest teraz tylko pokazanie mu jak, w wyniku wspomnianych wydarzeń, narodził się mit tej „gorszej" wschodniej Europy, stopniowo współtworzony przez podróżników, kartografów, antropologów, badaczy, ale też filozofów i pisarzy.

„Saidowskie" podejście do tematu powoduje, że autor bardzo rzadko, jeśli w ogóle, odnosi się do autorów wschodnioeuropejskich. To jest historia orientalizmu, a więc historia dyskursów autorów zachodnich o Europie Wschodniej. Mamy tu Voltaire'a, Rousseau, Diderota i encyklopedystów, hrabiego de Ségur i panią Geoffrin, a także Mozarta i Casanovę, i jeszcze wielu, wielu innych. Wolff umiejętnie pokazuje ich przekonanie o własnej wyższości i lekceważący, „orientalizujący" stosunek do opisywanych krajów, a także gorące pragnienie ich „ucywilizowania". Pewnym wyjątkiem jest tu być może tylko Rousseau, który w 1755 roku napisał *Uwagi nad rządem Polski*, na zamówienie przedstawiciela konfederacji barskiej w Paryżu, Michała Wielhorskiego, a w nich dał wyraz szczerego podziwu dla polskiego republikanizmu. Dostrzegał wprawdzie konieczność reform, ale przestrzegał stanowczo Polaków przed kopiowaniem obcych, choćby i francuskich rozwiązań: „Niechaj żaden Polak nie ośmieli się pokazać u dworu ubrany z francuska"[5]. Głos Rousseau był jednak zdecydowanie odosobniony. Znakomita większość francuskich *philosophes* marzyła o „ucywilizowaniu" krajów Europy Wschodniej, na swój obraz i podobieństwo, przede wszystkim przez rozwój efektywnej i nowoczesnej, wzorowanej na rozwiązaniach zachodnich, gospodarki rolnej. W tym celu Diderot wysłał do Rosji fizjokratę Lemerciera de la Rivière, by ten pouczył Katarzynę II, jak zreformować rolnictwo. Jednak uczony bardzo nie spodobał się carycy, która odesłała go do Francji. „Lemercier — powiedziała — wbił sobie do głowy, że wezwałam go, aby pomógł mi rządzić imperium, wyciągnął nas z mroku barbarzyństwa potęgą swoich *lumières*"[6]. Szybko dano mu odczuć, że Rosja nie potrzebuje takiej „misji cywilizacyjnej".

W tym miejscu trzeba zauważyć, że odnośnie do Rosji oświeceniowy dyskurs nie zawsze był orientalizujący. Na to Rosja była zbyt potężna. Dlatego obok opisów barbarzyństwa można znaleźć opisy nader czołobitne, pisane zresztą często na zamówienie. Był to zwłaszcza przypadek Voltaire'a, który został nawet członkiem korespondentem Akademii

[5] Ibidem, s. 388.
[6] Ibidem, s. 361.

w Petersburgu, a potem napisał historię Piotra Wielkiego, dla jego wnuczki, carycy Elżbiety. W tej książce, będącej jednym wielkim panegirykiem na cześć cara, Voltaire pisał z uznaniem nawet o bestialskim zamordowaniu przezeń własnego syna: „Aleksy chciał powrotu dawnej Rosji, chciał znowu pogrążyć ją w ciemnościach, w związku z czym Piotr nie miał innego wyjścia jak tylko poświęcić własnego syna dla bezpieczeństwa imperium”[7]. D'Alembert stwierdził, że książka o Piotrze „przyprawia o wymioty uniżonością i banalnością zawartych tam peanów”[8], a sam Larry Wolff przyznał we wstępie, że pokazał Voltaire'a „z jego najmniej sympatycznej strony”[9]. Warto jednak zauważyć, że nawet te odpychające zachwyty dla rosyjskiego satrapy Voltaire uzasadniał tym, że Piotr zmieniał i „cywilizował” Rosję na wzór zachodni.

Jednak to nie lizusostwo Voltaire'a najbardziej oburzy współczesnego czytelnika. Nie będzie to też ów dyskurs „wyższościowy”, który Larry Wolff niezmordowanie piętnuje na przeszło sześciuset stronach swojej książki, a do którego zresztą mieszkaniec Europy Wschodniej jest przyzwyczajony również i w dzisiejszych czasach. Najbardziej szokuje niebywała ignorancja tuzów oświecenia odnośnie do nieodległego przecież regionu świata. Niewiedza autorów piętnowanych przez Edwarda Saida w *Orientalizmie* nie dziwi aż tak bardzo właśnie dlatego, że w książce tej jest mowa o zupełnie obcej i egzotycznej kulturze. Jeszcze i dziś my, Wschodnioeuropejczycy, możemy zrozumieć i zaakceptować naiwne zdumienie zawarte w pytaniu: *„Jak to możliwe, aby ktoś był Persem*?”. Zarazem jednak uważamy, że przecież my jesteśmy „od zawsze” częścią chrześcijańskiej Europy, że daliśmy jej choćby Kopernika, i że przecież oni tam we Francji czy Anglii powinni coś niecoś o nas wiedzieć. Nie wiedzieli. Louis de Jaucourt, autor wszystkich haseł o krajach Europy Wschodniej w *Encyklopedii* Diderota i d'Alemberta, stwierdził na przykład, że Węgrzy są narodem słowiańskim, a ich język jest całkiem podobny do czeskiego, polskiego i rosyjskiego[10]. I w całej oświeconej Francji nie znalazł się nikt dość kompetentny, by sprostować oczywistą brednię. A mowa była przecież o jednym z narodów współtworzących monarchię Habsburgów, z którą Francję od wieków łączyły ścisłe związki, również dynastyczne. Jak widać niewiele to dało.

Książka Larry'ego Wolffa jest oskarżeniem pod adresem oświeconych elit osiemnastowiecznej Europy Zachodniej. Pewne znaczenie mógł mieć moment jej publikacji. Amerykańskie wydanie ukazało się po raz pierwszy w 1994 roku, a więc krótko po upadku berlińskiego muru

[7] Ibidem, s. 338.
[8] Ibidem, s. 336.
[9] Ibidem, s. 22.
[10] Ibidem, s. 304.

i zerwaniu „żelaznej kurtyny", która w sztuczny sposób podzieliła Europę na Wschód i Zachód. Wolff zwrócił uwagę, że ten dwudziestowieczny (pojałtański) podział niemal idealnie odwzorowywał podział kulturowy wymyślony i zadekretowany przez filozofów oświecenia. Amerykański historyk niedwuznacznie zasugerował, że kiedy Churchill, Roosevelt i Stalin kreślili mapę nowych stref wpływów w Europie po drugiej wojnie światowej, mieli w głowie właśnie te schematy myślowe i stereotypy sformułowane po raz pierwszy w XVIII wieku. Dlatego na przykład Grecja, ze swoją starożytną kulturą, pozostała na Zachodzie, gdyż Churchill za żadne skarby nie chciał jej oddać Stalinowi[11]. Dlatego też Austria pozostała zachodnia, a Czechosłowacja wschodnia, mimo że Praga leży na Zachód od Wiednia, co można stwierdzić jednym rzutem oka na mapę[12].

Wynalezienie Europy Wschodniej jest naprawdę fascynującą książką, a dla polskiego czytelnika może stanowić doskonałe uzupełnienie na przykład *Drogi do Rosji* profesora Remigiusza Foryckiego[13]. Na koniec jednak trzeba do beczki miodu dorzucić łyżkę dziegciu. Otóż pewną słabością tej znakomitej pracy jest to, co stanowi zarazem jej główną siłę, to jest przyjęcie przez autora „saidowskiej", demaskatorskiej perspektywy, mającej obnażyć uprzedzenia, imperializm i wreszcie zwykły rasizm, intelektualistów zachodnich piszących o wschodzie. Dlatego książka ta ma tę samą słabość, co klasyczne dzieło Saida i w ogóle większość prac postmodernistycznych autorów z nurtu badań postkolonialnych. James Clifford dokładnie zanalizował *Orientalizm* i wykazał, że inspiracje palestyńskiego intelektualisty były w zasadzie wyłącznie europejskie, że można w tej książce odnaleźć fascynacje Nietzschem, do pewnego stopnia Marksem, a zwłaszcza Foucaultem[14]. Tylko prawdziwego Orientu w tej książce nie ma. Zamiast niego mamy dyskursy autorów zachodnich o nim, dekonstruowane przez Saida przy użyciu metodologii wypracowanych przez innych autorów zachodnich.

O Wolffie można by powiedzieć to samo. Oto zachodni (amerykański) autor pisze o zachodnich (europejskich) autorach piszących o Europie Wschodniej i dekonstruuje ich teksty w duchu postmodernizmu i hermeneutyki podejrzeń. A jest to o tyle łatwiejsze, że pracuje głównie nad tekstami autorów francuskich, którzy na ogół już wcześniej byli analizowani przez francuskich postmodernistów, Foucaulta, Derridę itp.

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[11] Ibidem, s. 25.

[12] Ibidem, s. 33.

[13] R. Forycki, *Droga do Rosji. Spór o imperium carów (1761–1839)*, Wydawnictwa UW, Warszawa 2013.

[14] „*Orientalizm* pozostaje pionierską próbą systematycznego wykorzystania Foucaulta do szeroko zakrojonej analizy kultury. [...] Said rozszerza analizy Foucaulta, by objąć sposoby, dzięki którym porządek kulturowy definiowany jest z zewnątrz, w odniesieniu do egzotycznych »innych«". J. Clifford, op. cit., s. 284–285.

Problem w tym, że — podobnie jak Said w przypadku opisów Bliskiego Wschodu — Wolff traktuje opisy Europy Wschodniej zostawione przez autorów XVIII wieku wyłącznie jako wyraz ich opinii i uprzedzeń, a zupełnie ignoruje fakt, że przecież opisy te odnosiły się do jakiejś rzeczywistości obiektywnej, którą osiemnastowieczni podróżnicy poznali wprawdzie powierzchownie, ale którą widzieli na własne oczy i którą na ogół starali się opisać wiernie. Bez wątpienia dokonywali projekcji swoich wyobrażeń na to, co widzieli, ale nie zmienia to faktu, że ich opisy zawierały całkiem sporą dawkę prawdy. Przykładowo Wolff cytuje obficie *Historię mojego życia* Casanovy, w której opisał on swój pobyt w Rosji, w tym historię swojej niewolnicy, trzynastoletniej córki rosyjskiego chłopa, którą kupił od jej ojca za sto rubli. Nazwał ją Zaire, imieniem zaczerpniętym z „orientalnej" tragedii Voltaire'a (o prawdziwe imię dziewczyny nie zapytał)[15]. Od tego momentu Wolff traktuje poddaństwo, a właściwie niewolnictwo chłopów w Rosji, jako obsesyjny motyw powracający w pismach wszystkich przybyszów z Zachodu podróżujących po Rosji i ich koronny argument mający uzasadnić tezę o rzekomym barbarzyństwie Rosji i Europy Wschodniej w ogóle. Byłby to, zdaniem Wolffa, element dyskursu orientalizującego, a zarazem przejaw hipokryzji, autorzy ci bowiem nie chcieli pamiętać, że niewolnictwo istniało przez cały ten czas we francuskich, brytyjskich i hiszpańskich koloniach w Ameryce. Na czym zatem miałaby polegać rzekoma wyższość Zachodu? Tylko że tak stawiając sprawę Wolff nie chce dostrzec rzeczywistych, a nie tylko imaginowanych przez oświeceniowych filozofów stosunków społecznych na wschodzie Europy i najzupełniej realnie istniejących różnic między sytuacją chłopa we Francji i w Rosji. Zaira Casanovy nie była żadnym „elementem dyskursu". Była kobietą z krwi i kości, sprzedaną w niewolę przez własnego ojca, bo takie były stosunki społeczne w carskiej Rosji. Dyskurs orientalizujący pozwolił Europie Zachodniej „wymyślić" Europę Wschodnią, a następnie zdefiniować siebie samą w opozycji do niej. Tu bez wątpienia Wolff ma rację. Niemniej, jakkolwiek uproszczony, pełen uprzedzeń i często krzywdzący byłby ów dyskurs, bazował jednak na pewnych obserwacjach faktycznych.

To nie usprawiedliwia oczywiście siły negatywnego stereotypu, który przetrwał trzy stulecia i miał — i wciąż ma — rozliczne fatalne konsekwencje, nawet w całkowicie zmienionej sytuacji geopolitycznej. Przy wszystkich zastrzeżeniach prześledzenie historii narodzin owego stereotypu jest największą zasługą książki Wolffa.

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[15] L. Wolff, op.cit., s. 100.

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O sztuce jako nośniku idei rewolucyjnych

Rec.: Marek Mosakowski, *Sztuki w służbie terroru. O rewolucji w kulturze francuskiej w latach 1792–1794*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2021, 318 s.

Marek Mosakowski z Instytutu Filologii Romańskiej Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego postanowił dołożyć własną cegiełkę do badań nad historią sztuki okresu rewolucji francuskiej. Szczególny nacisk w swoich rozważaniach położył, co prawda, na okres rewolucyjnego terroru, ale — wbrew temu, co czytamy w podtytule — Autor chętnie wypuszcza się także poza narzucone sobie ramy czasowe, poświęcając wiele miejsca przypomnieniu oświeceniowego kontekstu i korzeni rewolucyjnej polityki kulturalnej albo projektując na przyszłość skutki rewolucyjnych działań w zakresie kultury i sztuki. Warto podkreślić, że publikacji na ten temat w języku polskim dotychczas brakowało, a krajowi badacze chcący głębiej rozeznać się w tej tematyce musieli sięgać albo po publikacje anglojęzyczne, albo — rzadziej, ze względu głównie na barierę językową — po opracowania francuskojęzyczne[16]. W samej Francji temat wzajemnych relacji

[16] Najbliższą chyba tej tematyce książkę w języku polskim napisał Jan Baszkiewicz; nosi ona tytuł *Nowy człowiek, nowy naród, nowy świat. Mitologia i rzeczywistość rewolucji francuskiej* (PIW, Warszawa 1993). Nieco nowszą pozycją jest wydane pierwotnie po francusku w roku 2008 i przełożone na polski opracowanie Bronisława Baczki pt. *Rewolucja. Władza, nadzieje, rozterki* (słowo/obraz terytoria, Gdańsk 2010). Jednak w obu publikacjach temat sztuki stanowi jedynie jeden z wielu podejmowanych tam wątków. W ostatnich latach z kolei w zakresie twórczości rewolucyjnej najwięcej opublikowała Regina Bochenek-Franczkowa. W jej bogatym dorobku na temat francuskiego powieściopisarstwa rewolucyjnego na szczególną uwagę zasługuje monografia pt. *W cieniu gilotyny. Studia o narracjach z czasów rewolucji francuskiej (1789–1800)* (Wydawnictwo UJ, Kraków 2019). Pozostałe publikacje to zasadniczo artykuły i rozdziały, które dają polskiemu odbiorcy możliwość wglądu w wybrane zagadnienia związane z rewolucyjną twórczością artystyczną, szczególnie w zakresie sztuk scenicznych i twórczości literackiej. Tworzą one jednak niekompletną i nieusystematyzowaną mozaikę tematów i różnorodnych tematyk, np.: M. Mosakowski, *Podróż sentymentalna do Francji za czasów Robespierre'a* [w:] D. Krawczyk, M. Kulesza, D. Szeliga (red.), *Podróż, ucieczka, wygnanie w dawnych literaturach romańskich*, Wydawnictwa UW, Warszawa 2020, s. 259–269; Ł. Szkopiński, *Od skrajności w skrajność, czyli powieść gotycka od kuchni na przykładzie François Guillaume'a Ducray-Duminila*, [w:] *Literatura od kuchni. W kręgu dawnej kultury krajów romańskich*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2017; T. Wysłobocki, *Umrzeć z miłości (do ojczyzny). Teatr jako narzędzie patriotycznej edukacji w latach 1793–1794,* [w:] *Miłość, przyjaźń, pożądanie w dawnych literaturach romańskich*, J. Pietrzak-Thébault, B. Spieralska-Kasprzyk (red.), Warszawa, Wydaw-

sztuki i polityki w okresie rewolucji wydaje się wciąż polem do nowych dyskusji i polemik. Powstają kolejne opracowania z tego zakresu, przy czym tematyczne i chronologiczne zakresy sytuują się różnie[17]. W swojej książce Mosakowski dokonał bardzo ciekawej i wielowątkowej analizy ideologicznych, społecznych i politycznych przemian związanych z prowadzeniem działalności artystycznej w okresie jakobińskiego przesilenia. Swoje rozważania poparł licznymi, nierzadko obszernymi wyimkami z rewolucyjnej prasy, fragmentami ustaw i administracyjnych raportów tudzież dzieł natury literackiej; wszystkie je również zechciał przełożyć na język polski, co dla krajowych badaczy — historyków, filologów, historyków sztuki, kulturoznawców czy socjologów — jest z pewnością nie do przecenienia. Książka składa się zasadniczo z czterech rozdziałów podobnej długości, które poprzedza *Wstęp*, a wieńczy *Zakończenie*.

We *Wstępie* zatytułowanym *O harmonizacji dzieł sztuki z instytucjami republiki jakobińskiej* Mosakowski od razu wprowadza czytelnika w rewolucyjne arkana. Nie jest to jednak klasyczny wstęp naukowy, w którym omawia się metodologię, korpus źródłowy czy stan badań w zakresie podejmowanego tematu. Autor rzuca czytelnika na głęboką wodę i trzeba przyznać, że robi to umiejętnie, od początku przykuwając jego uwagę. Przedstawiona zostaje tu charakterystyka jakobińskich rządów w zakresie polityki kulturalnej w kontekście realizowanego przez nich zapalczywie projektu „regeneracji moralnej" narodu, której celem było wyrugowanie dawnych przesądów i zerwanie z tradycjami *ancien régime'u*; wszystkie je uważali bowiem za przeszkody w dziele stworzenia „nowego człowieka" i nowej, republikańskiej rzeczywistości opartej na swoiście pojmowanej cnocie. Wiele miejsca poświęca we wstępie Autor kwestii oświaty publicznej w duchu rewolucyjnym, wobec której sztuka miała wówczas pełnić funkcję służebną, a także zagadnieniu poszukiwania przez jakobińskich doktrynerów odpowiednich wzorców etycznych i estetycznych, szczególnie w antycznej przeszłości Sparty i Republiki

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nictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2021, s. 95–114; *idem*, *W cieniu gilotyny. O estetycznych, obyczajowych i społecznych uwarunkowaniach powstania melodramatu*, *Rocznik Komparatystyczny*, nr 11, 2020, s. 47–64; *idem*, *Rewolucja francuska na deskach teatru, rewolucja w teatrze*, [w:] *Literatura od kuchni, op. cit.*, s. 191–206.

[17] W ostatnich latach ukazały się m.in.: S.J. Bérard, *Le théâtre révolutionnaire de 1789 à 1794. La déchristianisation sur les planches*, Presses Universitaires de Paris-Ouest, Paryż 2009; P. Berthier, *Le théâtre en France de 1791 à 1828. Le Sourd et la Muette*, Honoré Champion, Paryż 2014; Ph. Bourdin, *Aux origines du théâtre patriotique*, CNRS Éditions, Paryż 2017; Th. Julian, V. De Santis (red.) *Fièvre et vie du théâtre sous la Révolution française et l'Empire*, Classiques Garnier, Paryż 2019; H. Krief, *Entre terreur et vertu. Et la fiction se fit politique... (1789–1800)*, Honoré Champion, Paryż 2010; M. Poirson (red.) *Le théâtre sous la Révolution. Politique du répertoire (1789–1799)*, Desjonquères, Paris 2008.

Rzymskiej. Aby zobrazować swoje tezy, Mosakowski opisuje zawiłe losy opery autorstwa Étienne-Nicolasa Méhula i Antoine-Vincenta Arnaulta pt. *Horatius Coclès*, której premiera odbyła się 8 lutego 1794 roku, a która została stworzona w odpowiedzi na szykany ze strony jakobińskiej cenzury podejrzliwie patrzącej na poprzednie spektakle tego duetu i twierdzącej, że nie były one wystarczająco republikańskie i rewolucyjne w swej wymowie. Przykład ten już na wstępie świetnie pokazuje, na jakie kompromisy godzić się musieli ówcześni artyści, jeśli chcieli żyć ze swojej twórczości i jeśli w ogóle chcieli żyć. Perypetie Méhula i Arnaulta dają czytelnikowi przedsmak tego, co czeka go na kolejnych stronach.

Rozdział pierwszy nosi tytuł *O Rousseau, jego „Liście do d'Alemberta o widowiskach" i rewolucyjnym świętowaniu*. Mosakowski przypomina tu jakże ważne dla rewolucji i Republiki poglądy genewskiego filozofa, które w kontekście publicznych świąt będących „jednym z najbardziej skutecznych elementów rewolucyjnej propagandy" (str. 23) stanowiły punkt odniesienia dla polityków jakobińskich, a szczególnie dla Robespierre'a uważającego się za ideologicznego spadkobiercę Rousseau. W rozdziale tym przypomina Autor ostrą krytykę, jaką na temat przedstawień teatralnych wyrażał w swoich utworach genewski myśliciel — zmanierowanym i sztucznym przedstawieniom wieku oświecenia, budzącym w widzach niezaspokajalne żądze i wpędzającym ich w kompleksy, przeciwstawiał on wiejskie, publiczne święta ludowe, pełne naturalnej radości i spontaniczności. Mosakowski rozciąga krytykę Rousseau również na inne aspekty życia w czasach *ancien régime'u*, przyglądając się szczególnie teatralizacji życia dworskiego, która dokonała się za rządów Ludwika XIV, i wypływających z niej sztuczności i powierzchowności, jakie cechowały wyższe warstwy przedrewolucyjnego społeczeństwa. Opinie Rousseau zestawia następnie Autor z poglądami Robespierre'a, które ten zawarł w przywoływanym potem wielokrotnie, wygłoszonym 7 maja 1794 roku słynnym *Raporcie o związkach między ideami religijnymi i moralnymi a zasadami republikańskimi i o świętach narodowych* [*Rapport sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales*]. Mosakowski analizuje drobiazgowo poglądy moralne przywódcy jakobinów, podkreślając jego pogardę dla środowiska myślicieli skupionych wokół *Encyklopedii* i wyrażanych przez nich poglądów ateistycznych i materialistycznych. W obliczu wytracania przez rewolucję pierwotnego zapału i coraz słabszego przywiązania Francuzów do wypisanych na jej sztandarach cnót, lider jakobinów postanowił, że „od tej pory cała polityka, wszystko, co dotyczyć będzie dalszych losów rewolucji, miało zostać przeniesione na poziom moralny, czytaj: mistyczny" (str. 47). I właśnie rozważaniom na temat religijnych i moralnych poglądów Robespierre'a poświęca gdański badacz kolejne strony. Pisze

m.in. o organizacji święta Istoty Najwyższej (8 czerwca 1794), o zadekretowaniu nowego kalendarza republikańskiego i towarzyszącego mu ścisłego harmonogramu nowych świąt (np. wstydliwości, miłości, szczęścia, bezinteresowności, przyjaźni, szczerości). Jak zauważa Mosakowski, te święta abstrakcyjnych wartości „zakorzeniały [...] człowieka w mglistej metafizyce uniwersaliów i w mistycznych kontekstach wspólnoty". Co prowadzi go do stwierdzenia, że „człowiek Robespierre'a [...] to człowiek integralnie złączony z całością, człowiek biologiczny, człowiek cnoty pojmowanej jako swoisty panteistyczny imperatyw, człowiek abstrakcji i moralnej utopii" (str. 59); „dla takiego człowieka dobro czynione innym jest dobrem czynionym sobie" (str. 60). Dalej Autor wylicza obowiązki moralne, jakie według Robespierre'a ciążyły na każdym obywatelu: „obowiązek wobec bliźniego, obowiązek wobec Republiki, obowiązek wobec ludzkości i wreszcie obowiązek wobec Istoty Najwyższej" (str. 63). Na końcu rozdziału Autor podejmuje kwestie reorganizacji i przearanżowania rewolucyjnej przestrzeni publicznej, w tym na potrzeby republikańskich celebracji, z której rugowano — nierzadko w wandalski sposób — symbole dawnego ustroju, a w końcu także omawia przeobrażenia w zakresie muzyki, jaka towarzyszyć miała nowym świętom.

Centralnym elementem drugiego rozdziału zatytułowanego *Ponce-Denis Écouchard Lebrun (1792–1807). O piewcy rewolucji francuskiej, który sławił każdą władzę* jest biografia tytułowego, mało dziś znanego poety, który świetnie potrafił sobie radzić — choć nie bez przejściowych kłopotów — zarówno w czasach *ancien régime'u*, jak i w trakcie kolejnych faz rewolucji oraz po niej. Mosakowski podaje go jako przykład artystycznego i politycznego koniunkturalizmu i oportunizmu, odtwarzając drobiazgowo przebieg kariery literata i poddając analizie jego wybrane utwory. Zastanawia się dalej, dlaczego opiewające monarchów wiersze Lebruna czy jego politycznie zaangażowana twórczość sprzed roku 1789 nie przyczyniły się do wysłania poety na gilotynę. Otóż wygląda na to, że jakobini tak bardzo potrzebowali doświadczonych artystów na odpowiednim poziomie do prowadzenia efektywnej polityki kulturowej i ideowej, że byli w stanie — i to nawet w okresie najstraszliwszego terroru — przymknąć oko na wyrażane przez nich wcześniej poglądy polityczne. Najwyraźniej wartościowych artystów było wtedy tak niewielu, że postanowiono oszczędzić tych, którzy „zbłądzili w młodości". Oczywiście pod warunkiem, że odtąd będą reprezentowali i opiewali jakobiński system wartości i cnót. Lebrun to także przykład jednego z tych artystów, którego w czasie rewolucji — w wyniku masowej emigracji szlachty — opuścili wszyscy dawni protektorzy oraz sponsorzy i który musiał, jeśli chciał przeżyć, znaleźć nowych mocodawców i odbiorców dla swojej twórczości. Okazuje się, że poeta ten na rewolucji tylko zyskał — w okresie Dyrektoriatu stanął na czele sekcji

ds. poezji w utworzonym na zgliszczach Akademii Francuskiej Instytucie Narodowym i kierował nią z powodzeniem w kolejnych latach.

Rozdział trzeci zatytułowany został *Królowie w rewolucyjnym imaginarium Terroru* i najwięcej miejsca poświęca w nim Mosakowski sprawie sprofanowania przez rewolucjonistów królewskich grobowców w bazylice Saint-Denis, odnosząc się najpierw do opublikowanej w roku 1872 książki autorstwa Georges'a d'Heylliego pt. *Les Tombes royales de Saint-Denis* [*Królewskie grobowce z Saint-Denis*], w której opisane zostały burzliwe losy miejsca pochówku prochów władców Francji. Następnie Autor przywołuje ustawę Konwentu Narodowego z 31 lipca 1793 roku nakazującą m.in. oczyścić francuską ziemię z wszelkich pozostałości po haniebnych rządach monarchów, tyranów ludzkości. Zwraca jednocześnie uwagę, że kwestię tę poruszył już kilka miesięcy wcześniej na łamach radykalnej gazety *Révolutions de Paris* Sylvain Maréchal, który grzmiał: „Jak to się stało, że 22 września, nazajutrz po zniesieniu monarchii i ustanowieniu Republiki, sankiuloci z 10 sierpnia nie ruszyli na Saint-Denis, by ręką kata wydobyć z ziemi ohydne kości wszystkich tych pysznych monarchów, którzy nadal, jeszcze dziś, z głębi swoich grobowców, zdają się gardzić prawem równości?" (str. 155). Mosakowski dokonuje następnie szczegółowej analizy procesu likwidacji i profanacji królewskich krypt, który gorąco wspierał także Joseph-Marie Lequinio, deputowany do Konwentu, znany z akcji dechrystianizacyjnych, materialista i orędownik radykalnej równości. Autor poświęca przy tej okazji sporo uwagi jego twórczości. Szczególnie zaś interesuje go rozdział *Des tombeaux* [*O grobowcach*] stanowiący część bardzo obszernego i wielowątkowego dzieła pt. *Les préjugés détruits* [*Obalone przesądy*]. Lequinio przedstawił w nim mroczną wizję ogromnego cmentarzyska, gdzie spoczywały również skrzętnie zabalsamowane ciała dawnych królów, które — wbrew woli natury — nie chciały poddać się procesowi rozkładu. W swojej wizji Lequinio wyraża nadzieję, że naród francuski w końcu „unicestwi kruche podstawy monarszej pychy" i „przywróci błotu owe skażone trupy" (s. 177), nawołując tym samym — jak Maréchal — do opróżnienia królewskiego mauzoleum z ciał niedawnych ciemiężców ludu i zakopania ich, w duchu równości, razem z innymi: „Niech królowie z Saint-Denis idą gnić u boku nieszczęśników, których ich królewski luksus doprowadził do śmierci w biedzie" (s. 177). W tym samym rozdziale Mosakowski wspomina także o Alexandrze Lenoirze, który nadzorował jeden z etapów prac ekshumacyjnych w bazylice, przy okazji ratując od zniszczenia wiele cennych zabytków kultury i sztuki, a także o Jacques-Louisie Davidzie, który zajął się z kolei sprawą likwidacji posągów królewskich zdobiących paryską katedrę Notre Dame. Działalności politycznej, a przede wszystkim artystycznej tego drugiego — chyba najbardziej znanego artysty w całym okresie

rewolucyjnym oraz napoleońskim — poświęca Autor książki więcej uwagi na kolejnych stronach, opisując jego zaangażowanie w organizację świąt publicznych oraz w akcję zastępowania paryskich pomników upadłych monarchów monumentalnymi rzeźbami na cześć Republiki i ludu. Działo się to na fali „defeudalizacji" tudzież „demonarchizacji" (str. 193) wszelkich aspektów życia publicznego, w tym literatury i sztuk scenicznych. Mosakowski przywołuje przy tej okazji *casus* Molierowskiego *Świętoszka*, z którego nakazano usunąć wszelki „element królewski". Rewolucja nie uznawała bowiem żadnych świętości i nawet zupełnie inny kontekst historyczny powstania dzieła nie był w stanie powstrzymać ostrza cenzorskiej gilotyny. Rozważania w tej części książki kończy gdański badacz krótką analizą sztuki teatralnej autorstwa wspomnianego wcześniej Maréchala pt. *Le jugement dernier des rois* [*Sąd ostateczny królów*], która swą premierę miała dwa dni po egzekucji Marii Antoniny, 18 października 1793 roku, na deskach sprzyjającego jakobinom Teatru Republiki. W przedstawieniu tym pojmani przez odważnych sankiulotów, zakuci w łańcuchy królowie i królowe europejskich krajów (w tym Stanisław August Poniatowski) przybywają na wyspę, gdzie mają dokonać żywota z dala od wyzwolonych spod ich jarzma ludów. Jednakże ich nieustanne kłótnie i swady o pierwszeństwo tudzież honory, z których nie są w stanie zrezygnować nawet w tak dramatycznych okolicznościach, budzą w końcu górujący nad wyspą wulkan, który gniewnie wybucha, a jego lawa pochłania owych wciąż pysznych niedawną wielkością monarchów.

Czwarty i ostatni rozdział zatytułowany *Teatr na scenie rewolucji i rewolucja na scenie teatru* poświęca Mosakowski zagadnieniom związanym z teatrem w okresie rewolucyjnym. Nie ogranicza się jednak tylko do zakreślonego w tytule książki okresu, przybliżając najpierw czytelnikowi przebieg procesu „emancypacji" instytucji scenicznych we Francji w pierwszych latach rewolucji. W tym kontekście głównymi osiami jego rozważań stają się: zniesienie przywilejów dla teatrów królewskich, przejście repertuaru klasycznego do domeny publicznej, a także ustawa z 13 stycznia 1791 roku zezwalająca każdemu obywatelowi na założenie własnej sceny i znosząca cenzurę (kilkanaście miesięcy później zostanie ona jednak przywrócona). Równolegle gdański badacz opisuje aferę związaną z wystawieniem sztuki *Charles IX* [*Karol IX*] autorstwa Marie-Josepha Chéniera, która utorowała drogę wielu przemianom w zakresie organizacji publicznych widowisk. Na fali tych reform, już w połowie 1791 roku zaczęły powstawać w Paryżu teatry zaangażowane politycznie, otwarcie jakobińskie (np. Le Théâtre Louvois oraz Le Théâtre Molière). Na ich scenach chętnie wystawiano sztuki atakujące monarchię oraz instytucje kościelne, co walnie przyczyniło się do radykalizacji nastrojów ludowych w tamtym okresie. Oczywiście najwięcej miejsca Autor książki poświęca

w tym rozdziale działalności paryskich teatrów w roku II Republiki (1793–1794), gdy stery władzy dzierżyli jakobini. Właśnie wtedy, pisze Mosakowski, „teatr rewolucyjny uległ najbardziej radykalnemu przeobrażeniu w całej swojej dotychczasowej historii, stając się metodycznym, oddziałującym doraźnie na społeczno-polityczne tu i teraz medium bezwzględnej indoktrynacji" (str. 242). Na kolejnych stronach Autor odnosi się do apelu Konwentu zachęcającego dramatopisarzy do tworzenia sztuk w duchu rewolucyjnych cnót i ideałów, do poszukiwania nowych wątków i bohaterów godnych naśladowania przez wolnych obywateli Republiki. Dalej omawia także losy sztuki wymierzonej bezpośrednio w Robespierre'a i jego akolitów autorstwa Jean-Louisa Layi pt. *L'Ami des lois* [*Przyjaciel praw*], której premiera odbyła się jeszcze zanim ugrupowanie Nieprzekupnego przejęło we Francji władzę i która natychmiast — jak tylko to się stało — została zakazana, by po jego upadku znów tryumfalnie powrócić na scenę. Na kolejnych stronach Mosakowski omawia toposy i ulubione motywy rewolucyjnego teatru, którymi były: satyra na europejskich monarchów, krytyka instytucji kościelnych, porównanie nowego i dawnego porządku, utopia, prawa naturalne, wolność i godność jednostki, sielskość wsi i prostota ludu. Podkreśla też naglącą wówczas potrzebę wystawiania na scenach teatralnych wydarzeń najnowszych, a nawet teraźniejszych, dzięki którym widzowie w całej Francji mogli niejako osobiście w nich uczestniczyć. Równolegle teatr stawał się wówczas nośnikiem wiedzy na temat aktualnych legislacyjnych reform i przeobrażeń socjalnych tudzież politycznych, ukazując widzom, jak winno funkcjonować nowe, zregenerowane w duchu jakobińskiej cnoty społeczeństwo.

Ostatnia część książki Mosakowskiego to *Zakończenie* zatytułowane *Święty legion artystów rewolucji*. Tych ostatnich stron nie poświęcił jednak Autor próbie syntetycznego podsumowania wcześniejszych rozważań. Tylu różnych wątków oraz rozmaitych aspektów podejmowanych i omawianych w książce zagadnień nie sposób łatwo streścić, żeby wysnuć z nich jedną spójną konkluzję. Zamiast tego czytelnik otrzymuje swoisty epilog, w którym centralną postać gra najbardziej chyba znany rewolucyjny dramatopisarz, wspomniany wcześniej Chénier. Mosakowski pozwala odbiorcy prześledzić jego rewolucyjną karierę oraz trudne relacje z władzami w czasach, kiedy użycie niewłaściwego słowa w sztuce mogło zaważyć na życiu. Paradoksalne jest w tym przypadku to, że wiele sztuk napisanych przez Chéniera przysporzyło mu kłopotów na przestrzeni kilku zaledwie lat, dlatego że realia polityczne tak szybko się wówczas zmieniały, że to samo zdanie, które w czasach monarchii konstytucyjnej było uznawane za politycznie wywrotowe, w okresie Republiki jakobińskiej wzbudzało podejrzenia o sympatyzowanie z wrogami rewolucji. Mosakowski unika ostatecznie ferowania wyroków, pozwalając

czytelnikowi dokonać własnej oceny politycznego zaangażowania ludzi kultury w tamtym trudnym dla sztuki czasie.

Należy podkreślić, że Autor opracowania to sprawny erudyta — z ogromną łatwością i płynnie porusza się po omawianych zagadnieniach. Książkę czyta się z prawdziwą przyjemnością, a jego sposób pisania jest wartki, sam styl zaś nosi wiele cech eseistycznych, co zdecydowanie jest zaletą w kontekście podejmowanej w książce, złożonej tematyki. Rewolucja francuska bowiem to tak skomplikowany, wieloetapowy ciąg wydarzeń rozgrywających się jednocześnie na wielu płaszczyznach, że z pewnością niełatwo opowiedzieć o nich czytelnikowi w sposób syntetyczny i chronologicznie linearny — co rusz pojawiają się nowe wątki, kolejne elementy, inne aspekty spraw już wcześniej poruszonych. Więc jeśli chce się dać odbiorcy jak najpełniejszy i najbardziej złożony obraz przemian w zakresie kultury w kontekście dziejów rewolucji, to należy *nolens volens* o nich wszystkich powiedzieć i je przypomnieć, choćby krótko. Mosakowskiemu z całą pewnością udało się tego dokonać.

Czasem jednak odnosiłem wrażenie, że elementów, które Autor chciał włączyć do swojego wywodu, było zbyt wiele. Niektórych czytelników może to rozpraszać, utrudniając lekturę. Wydaje się, że część wątków anegdotycznych czy biograficznych można było z powodzeniem zamieścić w przypisach, ażeby wywód uczynić bardziej przejrzystym. Mosakowski zawsze jednak wraca do przerwanych licznymi wtrętami rozważań w sposób systematyczny. Jego wywód przypomina nieco rewolucyjny wir, który ma swoją stałą, wysoką dynamikę i który zasysa kolejne elementy, lecz te, zanim znikną w jego odmętach, raz po raz wychylają się ponad powierzchnię, przypominając o sobie i ukazując różne swoje oblicza.

Mam także uwagę do czwartego rozdziału książki, poświęconego sztukom scenicznym. Wydaje mi się bowiem, że po jego lekturze czytelnik może odnieść wrażenie, iż w okresie rewolucyjnego terroru w teatrach wystawiano wyłącznie repertuar o zabarwieniu, jeśli nie *stricte* jakobińskim, to przynajmniej republikańskim. A przecież tak do końca nie było. Owszem, sztuki, które odnosiły się do bieżących lub niedawnych wydarzeń historycznych, musiały przejść przez cenzorskie sito i owszem, teatry publiczne zostały zobowiązane dekretem Konwentu do wystawiania za darmo pewnej puli spektakli patriotycznych, ale to wcale nie znaczy, że ich repertuary wypełniły same li tylko przedstawiania o Brutusach, Katonach czy sankiulotach rozprawiających się z tyranami wszelkiej maści. Co najmniej jedną trzecią sztuk napisanych i granych na paryskich scenach w realiach jakobińskiego terroru stanowiły spektakle niezaangażowane polityczne, przy czym wiele z nich to komedie czy farsy[18]. Nie

[18] W roku II Republiki (1793–1794) odbyło się ok. 160 premier nowych przedstawień, z czego ok. 30 proc. miało charakter czysto rozrywkowy. Ph. Bourdin, *Du théâtre*

należy też zapominać o repertuarze klasycznym, który — oczyszczony latem 1793 roku z elementów niegodnych republikańskich uszu i oczu — pozostawał wciąż popularny[19]. Nie powinno to jednak wcale dziwić — człowiek zmęczony trudami dnia codziennego, atakowany przez politykę na każdym kroku, podlegający ciągłej moralnej indoktrynacji, szukał w teatrze rozrywki i wytchnienia od krwawej rzeczywistości. Tej informacji — nieco może rozbijającej tok wywodu, ale jednak ważnej, bo niuansującej opisywane realia — nie wyraził Autor jasno i klarownie.

Drobne zastrzeżenia mógłbym mieć także do głównego tytułu publikacji: *Sztuki w służbie terroru*, który okazuje się nieco zwodniczy. Sięgając po książkę, byłem przekonany, że dowiem się z niej o różnych rodzajach sztuki i ich rewolucyjnych inklinacjach i zaangażowaniu. Po lekturze wiem już, że dużo trafniejszy jest podtytuł monografii: *O rewolucji w kulturze francuskiej w latach 1792–1794*, bo w istocie mamy w tym przypadku do czynienia z publikacją, która porusza bardzo rozległe spektrum zagadnień związanych z przemianami w sferze szeroko pojętej kultury w okresie rewolucji, głównie zaś w zakresie literatury, teatru i organizacji świąt publicznych.

Na sam koniec pragnę zauważyć, że Mosakowski dokonał ciekawego i wcale nieoczywistego doboru materiałów źródłowych (ponad osiemdziesiąt dokumentów) oraz opracowań (na uwagę zasługuje wykorzystanie publikacji zarówno polsko-, francusko-, jak i anglojęzycznych). Cztery zaproponowane przez niego rozdziały dają czytelnikowi wgląd w skomplikowane procesy rewolucyjne i wydobywają z cienia postaci i utwory nierzadko zapomniane czy marginalne. Tytuły każdej części zapowiadają, co prawda, bardzo konkretną i punktową tematykę, jaka będzie w nich poruszana, ale Autor tak prowadzi wywód, włączając do niego kolejne elementy wiedzy na temat rewolucji i panujących wówczas realiów polityczno-społecznych, że czytelnik otrzymuje naprawdę złożony, wieloaspektowy i wielowymiarowy obraz przemian w zakresie kultury w zawiłych czasach rewolucji francuskiej.

Tomasz Wysłobocki
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patriotique dans le Paris de l'An II, [w:] Th. Julian, V. De Santis (red.), *Fièvre et vie du théâtre sous la Révolution française et l'Empire*, *op. cit.*, s. 118.

[19] Na podstawie dekretu z 2 sierpnia 1793 roku nakazującego oczyszczenie spektakli publicznych z elementów niezgodnych z wartościami Republiki specjalna komisja cenzorska przebadała w sumie ok. 150 najpopularniejszych sztuk teatralnych. Do 60 proc. z nich nie zgłosiła żadnych zastrzeżeń, trzydziestu trzech (ok. 20 proc.) tytułów zakazała, a kolejnych 20 proc. utworów musiało zostać poprawionych zgodnie z jej wytycznymi. P. Berthier, *Le Théâtre en France de 1791 à 1828…*, *op. cit.*, s. 123.

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Między Sorboną a Goncourtem i Bookerem

Rec.: David Diop, *Rhétorique nègre au XVIIIe siècle. Des récits de voyage à la littérature abolitionniste*, Classiques Garnier, Paris 2018, 403 s. + 3 nlb.

Nieznany badacz z Uniwersytetu w Pau publikuje swoją rozprawę habilitacyjną pt. *Retoryka murzyńska w XVIII wieku. Od relacji z podróży do pism abolicjonistów* w kolekcji *L'Europe des Lumières*, której patronują Michel Delon, Jacques Berchtold i Christophe Martin. Pierwszy nakład zostaje wyczerpany w niecały rok. Powód? W tym samym 2018 roku wykładowca z Pau (z 25-letnim stażem, jak zaznacza w telefonicznym wywiadzie), za swoją (drugą) powieść, *Frère d'âme*[20], otrzymał tzw. Goncourta licealistów, czyli — podpięty do głównej francuskiej nagrody literackiej[21], do której został już nominowany — laur od młodych czytelników. Trzy lata później, czyli w 2021 roku, ta sama powieść, nie bez zasług tłumaczki, Anny Moschovakis, otrzymała nagrodę Międzynarodowego Bookera (tę samą, którą w 2018 roku uhonorowano *Biegunów* Olgi Tokarczuk)[22]. Nazwisko badacza jest rozpoznawalne, zadecydowały o tym jednak pozanaukowe zasługi.

Byłam świadkiem kolokwium habilitacyjnego Davida Diopa na paryskiej Sorbonie w grudniu 2013 roku. Michel Delon był, francuskim zwyczajem, „patronem" tej rozprawy, w jury zasiadali Jacques Berchtold, Sarga Moussa, Christophe Martin, Sylvain Menant i Romuald Foukoua. Powieść istniała wtedy chyba dopiero w zamyśle. Traktuje ona jednak, w sposób poetycki i w aspekcie psycho- i socjokulturowym, o tym, o czym w aspekcie historycznym i retorycznym, a także filozoficznym,

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[20] D. Diop, *Frère d'âme*, Editions du Seuil, Paris 2018.

[21] Nagroda Goncourtów przyznawana jest od 1903 roku za „najlepszy fikcyjny utwór prozą" wydany w ciągu ostatniego roku, wzbogaciła się (czego w 1892 roku nie przewidział testament Edmonda de Goncourt) m.in. o Goncourta licealistów, od 1988 roku przyznawanego przez dwa tysiące młodych jednej z nominowanych przez Akademię Goncourtów książek. Mają dwa miesiące na lekturę i werdykt.

[22] Przyznawana jest dopiero od 2005 roku pisarzom z całego świata (Stanisław Lem nominowany był w 2005 roku). David Diop jest pierwszym francuskim pisarzem na liście jej laureatów. Tytuł angielski (*At Night All Blood is Black*) nadto ukierunkowuje przesłanie, ale sądząc po owocach, była to słuszna strategia. Polski przekład Jacka Giszczaka (*Bratnia dusza* — tytuł bliższy oryginałowi niż angielski) ukazał się w oficynie Znak.

poprzez analizę w duchu Michela Foucaulta świadectw z bezpośrednich spotkań i propagandowego ich przetworzenia („od relacji z podróży po pisma abolicjonistyczne"), traktuje rozprawa: o relacjach między Europejczykami i Afrykańczykami, które ani w XVII–XVIII stuleciu, ani u progu XX nie były neutralne ani symetryczne. U korzeni była nie czysto bezinteresowna chęć poznania (acz tę niektórym podróżnym, jak Adansonowi, autor przyznaje), lecz pragnienie wpisania się w „system prawdomówności"[23], którego oczekują zarówno elity i władze, czyli wspierające wyprawy ośrodki władzy realnej i symbolicznej, jak i czytelnicy. Pamiętajmy, że od połowy XVII wieku we Francji relacje z podróży skutecznie rywalizują w popularności z powieściami (najpierw: romansami). Aby zostać uznanymi za wiarygodnych, podróżnicy-świadkowie widzą, że wskazane jest tak przedstawiać Innego, aby odbiorcy (w tym sponsorzy) uznali przekaz za wiarygodny. Wśród mobilizowanych środków poczesne miejsce zajmuje prozopopea, czyli „sztuka przytaczania czyichś słów we własnej wypowiedzi", którą, jak zaznacza autor, różni od innej figury retorycznej, etopei, to, że wkłada słowa w usta postaci zmyślonych („*personnes feintes qu'on fait parler*"), podczas gdy etopea (*alias* etologia) jest „opisem zachowania i uczuć [...] osób prawdziwych"[24]. Kluczowym pytaniem rozprawy jest bowiem: Czy i na jakich warunkach Afrykańczycy, spotykani przez europejskich podróżników (występujących także w roli agentów handlowych), przemawiają własnym głosem w relacjach z podróży, oraz w pismach abolicjonistycznych, które z nich czerpią? Poczynając od topo- i antroponimów, po przytoczenia krótsze lub dłuższe, wszechobecny komentarz — w postaci objaśnień czy tłumaczeń, czasem sądów — nie jest nigdy „niewinny". Włączenie Afrykańczyków w tok argumentacji broniącej ich praw do wolności poprzedza jeszcze zabieg fikcjonalizacji, przy czym autor świadomie pominął tu dwa nurty piśmiennictwa, które w XVIII wieku włączają się w „wyzwoleńcze" strategie, literaturę piękną, zwłaszcza powieść, oraz stricte naukowe dzieła, w tym wypadku skupione na badaniu przyczyny odmiennej pigmentacji. Na ten temat powstały już w ostatniej dekadzie dość wyczerpujące monografie[25].

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[23] W oryginale: *régime de véridiction*, tłumaczony przez Macieja Abramowicza jako «effet de sens construit par une stratégie rhétorique spécifique» («znaczenie wbudowane w specyficzną retoryczną strategię»), [w:] M. Abramowicz, „La véridiction dans la littérature médiévale et celle du XVIIIe siècle", *La Recherche dix-huitiémiste en France et en Pologne. Bilan et perspectives. Journée d'étude 21.04.2010 — Ewa Rzadkowska 1913–2009 In memoriam*, Zakład Graficzny UW, Varsovie 2012, s. 44.

[24] David Diop powołuje się tu na *Dictionnaire universel* Furetiere'a z 1690 r. (*op. cit.*, s. 92).

[25] Pierwszy nurt zapoczątkowała Youmna Charara, wydając *Fictions coloniales du XVIIIe siècle. Ziméo; Lettres africaines; Adonis, ou le bon nègre, anecdote coloniale* (L'Harmattan, Paris 2005, 354 s.), potem była sesja *Littérature et esclavage XVIIIe-XIXe*

Bardzo przejrzysta jest budowa rozprawy — Wstęp, trzy części, z których każda posiada własny wstęp i własną konkluzję, stosownie wyodrębnione, a także ogólne Podsumowanie — oraz obfita bibliografia (13 relacji z samej Afryki, większość z końca XVII i początku XVIII wieku[26]). Kilka wymownych ilustracji ukazuje stylizowaną obecność czarnoskórych „braci", jak ich zwą, z retorycznym znakiem zapytania, inskrypcje z końca XVIII wieku. Owe pytania retoryczne pojawiają się w pierwszej osobie, ewoluując od uładzonego napisu z medalionu na porcelanie z Sèvres: „Ne suis-je pas un homme: ton frère?" po „Moi égal à toi. Couleur n'est rien, le coeur est tout; n'est-tu pas mon frère [*sic*!]" na sztychu z 1794 roku. Ale wciąż jeszcze nie są to słowa sformułowane przez samych zainteresowanych. Na to potrzeba będzie we Francji poczekać prawie do połowy XIX wieku.

Izabella Zatorska

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siècles zorganizowana przez Sargę Moussę (Éditions Desjonquères, Paris 2010, 400 s.) oraz doktorat Rachel Danon, *Les Voix du marronnage dans la littérature française du XVIIIe siècle* (Classiques Garnier, Paris 2015, 421 s.). Drugi nurt ilustrują Andrew Curran z *L'Anatomie de la noirceur : Science et esclavage à l'âge des Lumières* (Classiques Garnier, Paris 2017, 333 s.) i *Les Savoirs des barbares, des primitifs et des sauvages. Lectures de l'Autre aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, edycja zbiorowa pod red. Françoise Le Borgne *et al.* (Classiques Ganier, Paris 2018, 329 s.). Pomiędzy nimi wypada umieścić Jeana Ehrarda z *Lumières et esclavage. L'Esclavage colonial et l'opinion publique en France au XVIIIe siècle* (André Versaille éditeur, Bruxelles 2008, 239 s.).

[26] Z drugiej połowy wieku XVIII tylko kilka relacji: wspomniany Adanson (1757, wyd. 1996), następnie kawaler de Boufflers (korespondencja gubernatora Senegalu i chrześniaka Stanisława Leszczyńskiego z hrabiną de Sabran z lat 1778–1788, wyd. w 1875), Isert (1793). Na liście autorów są prefekt apostolski i handlarze niewolników.

ZASADY RECENZOWANIA

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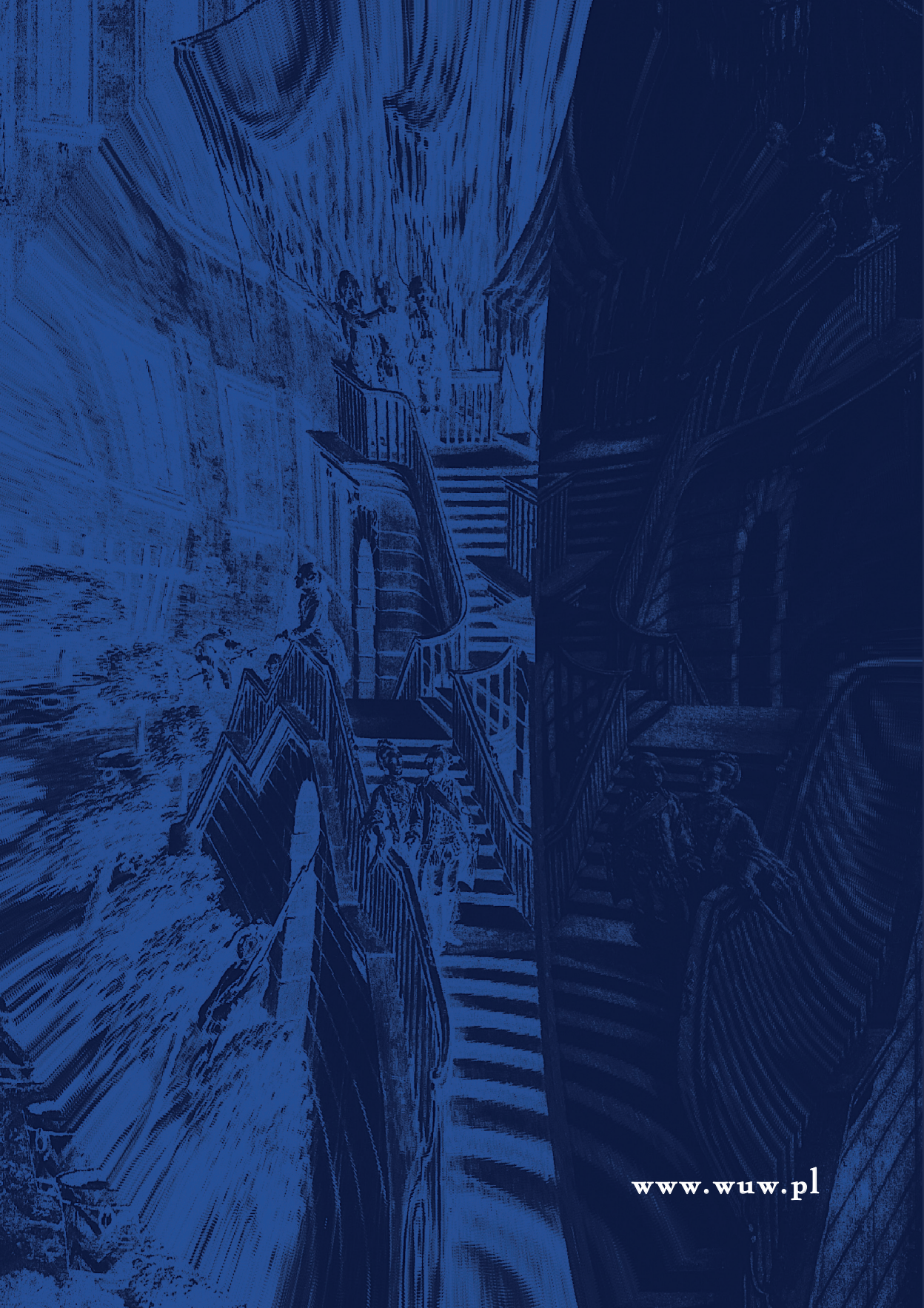

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