

SUMMARIES

BARBARITY, SAVAGERY?

THE DARKNESS OF BARBARITY

Sylviane Leoni : « Barbarities and Violence: A Selfish History »

The term “barbarity”, as is well known, is inseparable from the idea of violence. In the eighteenth century such violence was, however, perceived and judged in a different way whether one applied it to remote Barbarians (Iroquois, Hottentots, etc.) or to the barbarians of times past, Franks and Germans, the proud and brave ancestors of the French nobility. Furthermore, as a synonym of impoliteness and ignorance, barbarity, in this instance, caused confusion and disgrace which, in the France of the Ancien Régime, intensified the exclusion of all those who were victims of violence in a non-egalitarian society. Finally, from the middle of the eighteenth century, in the field of arts and letters, barbarity was also the word used to designate a creative energy opposed to the ideal of temperance and balance inherited from classical poetry. Thus, dislocated between these different violences, barbarity, far from being just the one, multiplied in the age of Enlightenment.

Sylviane Albertan Coppola : « Barbarity and Savagery: A Matter of Apologetics in the Age of Enlightenment »

The ideological import of the notion of barbarity, which, with its flexible meaning, could lend itself to many uses in eighteenth-century debates can be gauged thanks to the *Traité historique et dogmatique de la vraie religion* (1780) and *Dictionnaire de théologie* (1784-1785), published in abbé Bergier’s *Encyclopédie méthodique*. If Bergier at first agreed with the same definition of barbarity inherited from Antiquity as his philosophical antagonists, it is clear that in the apologist’s mind, the Barbarians

were non-believers whereas, for philosophers, because of the bad treatment inflicted to those people named “savages” they were the Europeans themselves. And above all the two camps were opposed in their conception of the future: in spite of this history, the philosophers do not doubt the final triumph of reason over barbarities, while Christians nourish the hope that the progress of Christianity will one day enable the triumph of good over evil represented by barbarity, whether it be Northern barbarians in the Middle Ages or latterday Enlightenment philosophers in the modern age.

Hélène Cussac : « Barbarians and Savages in European Travelogues to Africa (from 1687 till 1832) »

This article is concerned with the lexical investigation of some twenty travel diaries in Western Africa written by European authors between the end of the seventeenth century with Cavazzi until the first quarter of the nineteenth century with geographer Douville. The article highlights the frequent use of the words barbarian and savage, and other related words, their interconnections, the evolution of their usage and their relative synonymy. Their extension is also examined and the context in which they are used is compared to the semantic figures which emerge out of the entries “BARBARE” and “SAUVAGE” in contemporary dictionaries and encyclopedias.

Jean-Luc Martine : « At the Beginning were the Barbarians: A Reading of *Essai sur le mérite et la vertu* »

The seeds of Diderot’s usage of the word and the idea of barbarity can be found as soon as Shaftesbury’s *Essai sur le mérite et la vertu* was translated. With Shaftesbury linking the barbarian and the enthusiast, and his creative construct of enthusiasm, Diderot found food for thought which helped him, if not to rehabilitate, at least to reassess barbarity. Associated with enthusiasm, barbarity directed Diderot towards a conception of perverted sociability, which was to constitute a political and anthropological enquiry throughout his career, as well as towards an aesthetics where the notions of genius and sublime were to play an essential role.

**EMBODIED SAVAGERY:
THE CRUCIBLE OF THE AMERICAS**

Dominique Deslandres : « French Intimacy with Savagery in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Montreal »

The benefit of a combined reading of colonial writings and verbatim records of trial proceedings implying French and indigenous people in Montreal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is to confront those who speak from below with those who speak from above. The litigants think their arguments take on extra tokens of truth, which reveals a cognitive connivance by witnesses, native and French protagonists, as well as the judge and the clerk. Such records point to the ordinariness of commonly accepted attitudes and representations, which contrast with the reactions penned by the authors of missionary accounts, travel diaries and official correspondences. The exercise highlights microsites of intimacy between the French and indigenous people: these experiences, within their everyday life, evoke a well-known normality to people below and an exotic abnormality to people above, in particular regarding the temperaments that are considered disgusting, violent, intemperate and unchecked.

Marie-Christine Pioffet : « Adario and Antoine: Emblematic Figures of Enlightenment Hurons »

This survey focuses on the imaginary Hurons Adario and Antoine Schenraguetton which feature respectively in the *Suite du voyage de l'Amérique ou Dialogues de Lahontan* (1703) and the *Avantures du sieur Claude Le Beau, avocat en parlement. Voyage curieux et nouveau, parmi les Sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale* (1738). These two figures reveal in their conversations that they embody Enlightenment contestatory ideas such as freedom of speech as well cultural and religious relativism. Far from being polite and acquiescing to the Europeans's doctrine as is customary, these two characters overshadow their interlocutor with their wit. With a quick mind and versed in metaphysical disquisitions, they introduced themselves as "naked philosophers", devoid of any shen but also any prejudice, going so far as to incriminate white men's knowledge and their core beliefs.

Luc Vaillancourt : « Representations and Constructions of Identity in the Works of Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix »

In the third chapter of the 1744 edition of *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix wrote an epistolary account of “a journey commissioned by the king to Northern America”. It is an opportunity for the historian to pose momentarily as essayist and revisit received opinion on Savages taking the singular focus of their eloquence. But instead of providing an impartial account of observed practices, Charlevoix opted for an epideictic register and took it upon himself to eulogize the natives’s oratorical talents in a comparative criticism. This pitted the identities of savages against those of Europeans through a rhetorical construct enlightened by written sources which answered less of a descriptive and anthropological use, than a prescriptive and moral ambition.

Charles Doutrelepont : « The Savage as Allied Fighter: the Sung Diptych of Father Baron at Fort Duquesne, July 13th 1755 »

On July 13th 1755, at Fort Duquesne, the traces of which remain at Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), two pieces of verse saw the light of day: a canticle addressed to the Virgin Mary and a ferocious “turlute”. Written up by the local chaplain to celebrate the imposing defeat the British had just suffered in the area, these poetics were sung *in situ* prior to their larger diffusion throughout Nouvelle-France. In so doing, a rare figure was circulated, that of the indigenous person as a fighting ally, represented on the one hand as the auxiliary of the mother of Christ and, on the other, as the scalper of heretics. This article presents this diptych in both its pastoral and its propagandist features; at the crossroads of historical incident and song, this double portrait weaves together the study of artistic forms and cultural history, including that of the violence of warfare.

Edmond Dziembowski : « “The air breathed here is contagious”: Savagery and “Becoming Savage” during the Seven Years’ War

In its North American episode, the Seven Years’ War, the first resolutely global conflict, turned out to be a brutal encounter, for fighters coming from Europe, with a warring reality that was alien

to their military culture. Beyond the censure of the soldiers headed by Moncalm or by Wolfe of combat techniques used by the indigenous people, the war confronts, as much for North America as for its European counterpart, contemporaries with the enigma of savagery and raises the larger issue of the foundations of civilization. Is savagery inherent to the indigenous? Could it not rather be a contagious evil, as Bougainville, horrified, suggested when confronted by the mores of Amerindians? And is this evil circumscribed to the New World? The Seven Years War is highly revelatory of the dark side of human nature and ultimately raises the question of people thought to have been civilised who “became savage”.

Sébastien Côté, Maxime Gohier et Jean-François Lozier : *edition of anonymous Avis aux personnes de piété, followed by the presentation and annotation of a letter by Algonquin chief, Louis Atienon, to King Louis XVth (1724).*

An extremely rare piece of ephemera kept in the Mazarine Library (shelfmark 2° 2652 U-30/35), this is one of the numerous petitions addressed to the King of France by the indigenous people of Nouvelle-France, in this case allied Algonquins (the Anishinabes).

THE REVOLUTIONARY TURN

Jean-Luc Chappey et Pierre Serna : « **The Invention of the Savage Barbarian and the Barbarian Savage: a Semantic Coup against the Revolution** »

From 1789 onwards, whilst new utopian schemes linked to the ideal of regeneration were based on the “savage”, the figure of the “barbarian” was quickly used in the name of reason to stigmatize enemies or to exclude protagonists, practices and discourses deemed illegitimate. From the depravity of Ancien Régime nobility, to the popular violences of the peasantry, the Barbarian thus took on several faces. Working in parallel, the counter-revolutionaries also seized on these notions. Mallet du Pan went further self-consciously and linguistically in conflating the two terms and thereby creating a remarkably effective analogical confusion which, after 1795, was terrifyingly efficient, especially

when it came to finding a powerful rhetoric that, during the long nineteenth century, excluded the people from their history, and removed the Revolution from the Civilization of “decent folk”.

Jean-Jacques Tatin-Gourier : « The Trial of the Barbarian: a Leitmotif in the Work of André Chénier »

It is often thought that in André Chénier's oeuvre the denunciation of barbarity features essentially in the poems (odes and iambs) written when in prison. Taking into account the works written prior to incarceration (the first three years of the Revolution and the previous ten years) sheds light, however, on the way barbarity was a recurring, haunting presence, which can be found in the press articles and in the poems of the earlier years of the Revolution that extend to the vast historical panoramas of the epic sketches (“Hermès”, “Amérique” and “Invention”) and on to the denunciations of aristocratic arrogance in his epigrams, and even to the “Bucoliques” which cannot be simply reduced to their pastoral and antiquarian dimensions.

Anne Rolland : « The New Barbarians of the late Eighteenth Century: the Vendéens Storming the République »

In March 1793, there emerged an insurrection against the République in a territory located at the junction of Vendée, Maine-et-Loire, Loire-Atlantique and the Deux-Sèvres. Refusing the laws on conscription and the religious reforms, the “military Vendée”, improperly identified with just one “département”, became the “inexplicable Vendée” as hammered out by Barère when he spoke at the bar of the Convention. A “small war”, far from the military codes being taught in the schools at the end of the eighteenth century broke out in the copses and marshes. The Republican officers were soon overwhelmed by this type of conflict and they branded the Vendéens at best as Savages, or at worst as Barbarians. Considered as being beyond the pale of civilization or as declared enemies of the nation, they had to be “exterminated” – yet another Revolutionary phrase – in order to save the Revolution. Yet, between 1793 and 1796, the Republicans gradually modified their views of their enemies of yesterday: “savages” were, bit by bit, “civilized and called to citizenship”.

GENERAL SUMMARY

Barbarity and savagery are trans-historical categories which also have a history of their own in the eighteenth century. They fall within a history of the many faces of Otherness, both remote and near, and the history which has seen the dividing lines between “us” and “them” fade away. On lands where Europeans, who are said to have become barbarous, rubbed shoulders with the indigenous, and in an age when barbarity and savagery were used to legitimize the aspirations of an anti-absolutist aristocracy, such categories also symbolized the energy that revitalized the fine arts and the belles lettres. The revolutionary turn disrupted the old political boundaries and reshuffled the cards, including those of the terms “barbarity” and “savagery” which were once clearly distinguishable. Was this good, or was this evil? And since opinion rules the world, who was to get hold of the two categories, considered first ambiguous, and then useful for stigmatization? Eventually, in blurring the lines again between barbarity and savagery, the century ended in a confusion laden with heavy consequences for later generations in the nineteenth century.

VARIA

Erwan Aidat : « Thinking out the Sea in Political Economy: The “Altercolonial” Horizon of *Histoire des deux Indes*. Towards an Intellectual History of Eighteenth-Century Maritime Facts »

Is *Histoire des deux Indes* a literary monument of eighteenth-century anticolonialism? This article refutes the paradigm of anticolonialism which has long prevailed in the historiography and highlights a measured colonialism tempered by reformist thinking. It analyses the way in which the promotion of a vision of political economy is served by the historical account and by the description of economic and commercial maritime activities and agents in Europe, as well as in European colonies. The general rules of such political vision, more generally pragmatic than dogmatic, are those of a nascent economic science, as it was developing among the encyclopedists and physiocratic writers. Natural law, agrarianism, and free-market economy, which are the principal basis of its “altercolonialism” (inspired by the history of colonization and Veron de Forbonnais’s alternative theory) serve to contest British hegemony for the reciprocal, beneficial support of European nations, and their colonies.

Emmanuel Boussuge : « The Chronology of the Forbidden *Encyclopédie*. Of the Last Ten Volumes (vol. VIII to vol. XVII, 1762-1765) »

Given that the last ten volumes of the *Encyclopédie* were published in one go at the end of 1765, when and how were they worked out? The article sets out to provide an answer by gathering together all available elements for the making of a relatively finely tuned chronology of the progressive composition of the texts (as opposed to the volumes of plates). These were worked on between 1762 and September 1765, during the regime of tacit permission after the 1758-1759 crisis that had jeopardized the existence of the whole venture. The sequence of

the ten forbidden volumes has been obscured to the point of becoming a blind spot in the overall chronology of the enterprise. Leaving aside a few disconcerting objections which were impeding further research, the article takes up the whole file again and examines for the first time the basic facts. New questions can now emerge, and a possible conclusion to the *Encyclopédie* may be envisaged on the basis of several strategic entries which were drafted towards the end of the editorial adventure.

Pierre Dubois : « The Invention of the Organized Piano-forte: Claude Balbastre and the Audible Imagination of the Enlightenment »

Claude Balbastre (1724-1799) is known primarily as one of the most famous organists and harpsichord players of his time, but his contribution to the rise of the pianoforte in France is often neglected. A careful study of his works (his *Noëls* dedicated to the *Duchesse de Choiseul*, notably, but also various other pieces in manuscript sources) reveals that he was not hostile to the new instrument. Drawn to innovation, he adopted on his harpsichord the *jeu de buffle* invented by Pascal Taskin to improve “expression”, and then designed, with the organ-builder François-Henri Clicquot, a new hybrid instrument, the “organised pianoforte”, which combined the string instrument with organ-pipes. Balbastre readily blurred the generic frontiers between repertoires and would adapt his pieces from one instrument to another. The short-lived organised pianoforte represented a much dreamed-of sound and an ideal of stylistic synthesis and expressive polyvalence which were characteristic of the very spirit of the Enlightenment.

Yoshihi Iida : « A “Vicious Circle” in Diderot’s NATURAL RIGHTS Article. Two Principles of Justice Questioned »

The point of this article is to highlight how the argument is worked out in the first two paragraphs of NATURAL RIGHTS written by Diderot (*Enc.*, t. V): to question the discourses of the jusnaturalists which alternately rely either on *on lex scripta in corde*, or on *sum cuique tribuere*. These two classical principles of natural justice raise two types of questions: can one generalize what conscience dictates to each individual? Can one have the

idea of property in a natural state where everything belongs to everyone? The analysis of the two paragraphs also sheds light on the impact of reading this article on those attentive readers, who are keen to base justice on natural rights, and whose trajectory is to be brought into the questioning of the issue as presented in the first two paragraphs; the path they are to take is akin to a “vicious circle” to use Diderot’s phrase. After outlining the structure of the two paragraphs, I examine the two contentious issues that lie behind the two principles of natural justice.

Christine Lehman : « *Eulogies of Pierre Joseph Macquer (1718-1784) : An Insight into Eighteenth-Century Chemistry* »

The article sets out to analyse the two eulogies, which, following Pierre Joseph Macquer’s death on Feb 15th 1784, were read out by Condorcet and Vicq d’Azir, secretaries of the Royal Academy of sciences and the Royal Society of Medecine. In his encomium, Condorcet, who found that chemistry lacked rigour, provided a partial account of Macquer’s various memoirs but still praised his role in diffusing chemistry to a wider audience. Whilst recognizing the importance of such a science, he allowed his disapproval of the secrecy, which often surrounded chemistry’s working procedures, to emerge. Extending his praise to other chemist Academicians, the eulogy on Macquer reveals Condorcet’s own vision of the chemistry of his century. Conversely, Vicq d’Azyr developed his colleague’s work and provided it with updates through a long series of very informative footnotes which readers often appreciated. The article concludes with thoughts on the constraints of writing “eulogies” as also on the expectations and criticism of those who read them.

Véronique Meyer : « *Laurent Cars, an Engraver-Editor Entrepreneur under Louis XV* »

Using the example of Laurent Cars, one the most famous engravers of his time, a better understanding of the organization of the print market in the second half of the eighteenth century can be gleaned. The article studies the distribution of his own prints as well as those he commissioned from members of his workshop, the various collaborations occasioned by print making and Cars’s

contacts with patrons and collectors. Finally, it examines the role he played in running the workshop he had inherited from his father, and which he continued to exploit by enriching the specialized holdings of thesis illustrations.

Élise Pavy-Guilbert : « Language as Currency in the Eighteenth Century »

There often remains, from the first civilisations, only their language and currency, their inscriptions on temples and on burial places, on tablets and records, principally account books, and also on medals and items used for exchange. Language and currency function as sophisticated signs which involve power and belief, and are related to transaction but also to creation. This study aims to explore the comparisons and the economic metaphors which underpin the eighteenth-century linguistic imaginary. More than ever before, perhaps, the eighteenth century illustrates that language and currency experience similar swings between rationality and myth, figuration and abstraction, and evolve towards a growing semiotization, as well as shifting from the fiscal to the scriptural and the fictional. And yet the fictive currencies and languages invented throughout the century are always inclined to what cannot be exchanged or expressed by any sign. The Enlightenment imagined ideal economies and a generalizing glossing and occupy that “ulogy” which could still be our own one.

Philippe Rabaté : « Generic Reappropriations and National Rhetoric in Eighteenth-Century Spain »

This article studies the persistence and re-appropriations of Menippean satire in the work of two major Spanish eighteenth-century authors – a genre greatly sought after in Europe by humanists and baroque writers. Whereas Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699-1781)'s *Rhetoric* focused on the constitution of a canon of Spanish authors, Juan Pablo Forner (1756-1797)'s *Exequias* cast light, through the Menippean genre, on the cultural identity and politics of Castilian. In both cases, one may see a line of continuity in the making of a national literature and taste which goes beyond the contrast often drawn between the dynasty of the Habsburgs (which ended in 1700) and that of the Bourbons.

Yuka Saito : « Taste and Social Origin: The Ambivalence of the Terroir in the Works of Grimod de la Reynière »

This article sets out to analyse the notion of *terroir* which is central to French gastronomic culture, in the works of Grimod de la Reynière, one of the founding fathers of modern criticism on gastronomy. Having published theatre criticism at the turn of the eighteenth century, this author mixes in his writings aesthetic and culinary taste. In attempting to understand the historical, socio-political and cultural basis of foodstuffs, this article examines first the geographic charting of the gourmand, the association in the works of Grimod between the foodstuff's qualities of taste and its provenance. Then, it takes stock of the singular place accorded to Paris, being in opposition to the provinces. Finally, it analyses the evolution of ideas and sensibilities around the *terroir* which prevailed at the time of Grimod's gastronomical works. Under his pen the notion of *terroir* presents an ambiguity as it encompasses the contempt of Parisian élites towards the inhabitants of the provinces, the image of the wealth of the land fashioned under Bourbon absolutism and the foreshadowing of today's promotion of the products of *terroir*.

Gerhardt Stenger : « In the Footsteps of Chevalier de Jaucourt's *Lexicon Medicum Universale* »

In keeping with what he himself declared, it has always been thought that the chevalier de Jaucourt had addressed himself to the editors of the *Encyclopédie* after the loss in a shipwreck of the complete manuscript of his six-volume *Lexicon Medicum*. In fact, the discovery of an advertisement in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, as well as a Prospectus for the *Lexicon* dated 1732, casts doubt on the existence of the lost manuscript. Consequently, one may show that most probably the concurrent publication of a six-volume *Lexicon Medicum Universale* by a German medical doctor named Burggrave (with the first volume out in 1733), spelt the end of the project for its two protagonists, Jaucourt and his friend Théodore Tronchin. One extant copy of the Prospectus is kept in Oxford and contains eleven articles, none of which were re-used, even by Jaucourt, in the *Encyclopédie*.

Jan Synowiecki : « Of Plants like Men. Thinking out Vegetal Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century »

The discovery of vegetal sexuality was one of the greatest scientific steps of the end of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. It henceforth made it possible to contemplate continuities between the realms of nature, and according to the theory of the great chain of being, revisit the links between minerals, plants, animals and men. The growing number of analogies between plant sexuality and human sexuality increasingly enabled naturalists to understand social organizations from the point of view of natural determinations. The article shows how the numerous vegetal anthropomorphisms used by Enlightenment naturalists, when reinserted into their social and scholarly contexts, refocus the anthropological gaze of contemporaries onto nature and society at one and the same time.

Benoît Walraevens : « Castel de Saint-Pierre as a Utilitarian Critic of Mandeville »

The aim of this article is to present and analyse Castel de Saint Pierre's critique of Mandeville in his pamphlet entitled *Contre l'opinion de Mandeville que toutes les passions sont injustes et que les passions injustes sont néanmoins plus utiles que nuisibles à l'augmentation des richesses et au bonheur de la société, parce qu'il n'y a que les passions injustes qui excitent les hommes au travail*. The critique is all the more original as it is based on utilitarian ethics and as Castel de Saint Pierre distinguishes three distinct forms of passion and self-love (including one that is virtuous), according to their consequences for public utility. What will be shown is that beyond Mandeville, his criticism targeted the Augustinians and in particular Pascal and La Rochefoucauld.