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ed. by David Do Paço and Giovanni Tarantino

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Tasting Clay, Testing Clay. Medicinal Earths, Bucarophagy and Experiential Knowledge in Lorenzo Legati's Museo Cospiano *(1677)*

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Ch'egli è vero che il Bucchero è poi terra.
Ma una terra tale,
Che più di tutte l'altre terre vale,
E che in sé Impero, ed istupor rinserra.

LORENZO BELLINI, *La Bucchereide*, ca. 1699

Introduction: an unexpected encounter

A showcase at the Museo Civico Medievale of Bologna displays a small group of reddish ceramics. The labels drawing on Lorenzo Legati's *Museo Cospiano* (1677) – an inventory of the famous *Wunderkammer* like Bolognese collection assembled by Marquis Ferdinando Cospi – attribute the vessels to Armenia and the island of Elba. Nevertheless, the ceramics can be identified as *búcaros*, the famous "scented clays" that enjoyed a huge popularity in early modern Europe. In the following, besides providing a brief synthesis of their collection history, I will focus my analysis on Legati's texts in order to ascertain how the conjoining of textual sources and direct observation of the objects underwent a typically antiquarian discourse on the ceramics and their medicinal properties. I will specifically stress how Legati's texts call our attention to two different but sensorially related forms of engagement with the vase clays: bucarophagy (the actual consumption of *búcaro* clay) and tongue-testing, a practice that Legati employed to identify the constituent material of the vases. Even if this method often led to wrong identifications, it is nonetheless a clear example of the value that Legati attributed to the empirical, sensory engagement with material culture in order to produce a body of experiential knowledge that could be matched, and often contrasted, with the one transmitted by traditional textual sources.

The *búcaros* of the Museo Civico Medievale: a collection history

The reddish clay vessels that we identify here as *búcaros* have been part of the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale since its opening in 1985. Before that date, they had been part of the collection of the Museo Civico since 1881 and, prior to that, of the Museo delle Antichità della Regia Università di Bologna (1810-1881). Not explicitly

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mentioned in the guide of the former,[1] the *búcaros* are probably to be recognized among the "various tools of clay, and coloured earths, and gilded, of various shapes, times, and nations, most of them Oriental, some ultramontane" recorded by Filippo Schiassi in the *Guida del forestiere al Museo delle Antichità della Regia Università di Bologna* (1814).[2] Like many other artefacts of the museum, the ceramics had been previously preserved in the Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna, whose collection had been described in the various editions of Gaetano Bolletti's *Dell'origine e dei progressi dell'Instituto delle Scienze di Bologna*, first published in 1751, as well as in its later rewriting by Giuseppe Angelelli, *Notizie dell'origine e Progressi dell' Instituto delle Scienze di Bologna*… (1780). Unfortunately, their descriptions are so scanty that it is impossible to identify the red clay vessels securely, probably included among the "many and very ancient vases" held in the Stanza delle Antichità.[3] Nevertheless, the existence of the vessels in the collection is witnessed by an unpublished manuscript list of objects in the Stanza delle Antichità, dated 16 March 1763, and penned by an anonymous author whose handwriting has been convincingly identified by Samuele Tacconi as that of Giacomo Biancani Tazzi, then Professor of Antiquities at the Istituto.[4] One of the entries records "N. 5 Big clay cups from Guadalaxara with a very pleasant scent, which the Mexicans use at table for drinking water; for they rarely drink wine, and then only in moderation. They are filled with smaller vessels of the same kind in various shapes, in which they serve the water".[5] This is a key piece of information, since it not only allows us to clearly recognize the red ceramics within the collection of the Istituto delle Scienze but also represents the only, and so far unknown, correct identification of them as *búcaros de Indias*, produced in the Mexican city of Guadalajara according to the author.

It is well known that between 1742 and 1749 the collection of the Istituto delle Scienze incorporated the famous Bolognese collections of Ulisse Aldrovandi and Ferdinando Cospi. A reading of the various inventories of the Museo Cospiano clearly

[1] PERICLE DUCATI, *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* (Bologna: Fratelli Merlani, 1923). Since the *búcaros* are not explicitly mentioned in the guide, it is not clear if they were on display or preserved in the museum storage rooms.

[2] FILIPPO SCHIASSI, *Guida del forestiere al Museo delle Antichità della Regia Università di Bologna* (Bologna: Giuseppe Lucchesini, 1814), 144. In a footnote, Schiassi noticed that some of the vases had been "not always accurately" described by Lorenzo Legati in his *Museo Cospiano* (1677); FILIPPO SCHIASSI, *Guida del forestiere*, 144, n. 1. Cfr. also: "53 Pezzi di terraglie diverse colorite, e dorate di varie forme, varj tempi, e varie Nazioni, la maggior parte Orientali, alcune oltramontane" (manuscript note, *Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Fondo Speciale Filippo Schiassi*, busta XXXVIII, fascicolo 8).

[3] GAETANO BOLLETTI, *Dell'origine e dei progressi dell'Instituto delle Scienze di Bologna* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe 1751), 59.

[4] SAMUELE TACCONI, *A Jesuit in the Amazon. An 18th century collection of Amazonian objects* (University of Bologna: unpublished M.A. thesis, 2019), 6, 21. I thank Samuele Tacconi for letting me know about the existence of the manuscript and for sharing his identification of the author.

[5] "n°5 Grandi pocula ex argilla Guadalaxarensio doris gratissimi, quibus Mexicani ad hauriendama quam in mensa utuntur; raro enim et nonnisimo dicoutuntur vino. Plena suntistiusmo di vasa aliis minoribus varia e figurae, quibusa dornans reddunta quam." (*Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Fondo Speciale Filippo Schiassi*, busta XXXVIII, fascicolo 8).

shows that the red ceramics had been part of its collection, as we shall see in detail below. But before that, it is useful to provide some information on the *búcaros*, their transatlantic circulation, and their multiple uses in the early modern world.

Tasting clays: bucaromania and bucarophagy in early modern Europe

The Spanish term *búcaro* was originally employed to refer to Portuguese red ware ceramics (*púcaros*), also produced in various Spanish towns, renowned for cooling and scenting water, as well as being a refreshing remedy in Galenic medicine. Around the middle of the seventeenth century, similar burnished red (and black) wares started to be produced in the Americas, conjoining indigenous technological practices and European formal canons, ultimately deriving from the famous late-Hellenistic and Roman red ware today known as *terra sigillata*.[6] The main loci of production of the so-called *búcaros de Indias* were Tonalá, near Guadalajara, in the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia (today in Jalisco, Mexico), Natá (also spelled Nata, or Natán) in Panama, and the convents of Santiago de Chile; minor centres of production existed in New Spain and other Spanish American territories. The different kinds of *búcaros* can be distinguished by formal details and surface finish. The Portuguese ones usually display a poorly burnished red surface, often decorated by small punctured dots. American *búcaros*, on the other hand, display a surface covered by a highly polished red or black slip. The Guadalajara ones often have a red dimpled surface; the ones from Natá are mostly black; those from Chile, of a deep red or black colour, usually show complex appliqués, bas-reliefs, and painted decorations.[7]

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[6] Ironically enough, the name *terra sigillata* was not employed in antiquity; it became common precisely in early modern times when clays imported for medicinal purposes from regions of the Ottoman empire (Greek islands, Armenia, etc.) arrived in Europe impressed with various seals, as also noticed by Legati himself; cfr. Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, 271-272; see also Aldrovandi, *Museum Metallicum*, 263-67, with engravings of a variety of seals. On *terra sigillata* see ARTHUR MACGREGOR, "Medicinal *terra sigillata*: a historical, geographical and typological review," in *A History of Geology and Medicine*, ed. CHRISTOPHER J. DUFFIN, RICHARD T.J. MOODY, CHRISTOPHER GARDNER-THORPE (London: Geological Society, 2013), 113-36.

[7] On Portuguese *búcaros*, see: SARAH NEWSTEAD and TÂNIA MANUEL CASIMIRO, "Strange Adventures in a City Made of Marble: Exploring Pottery Production in Estremoz, Portugal," *Medieval Ceramics* 2018: 37-45, and references there. On Spanish American ones, see MARÍA CONCEPCIÓN GARCÍA SÁIZ and JOSÉ LUIS BARRIO MOYA, "Presencia de cerámica colonial mexicana en España," *Anales Instituto Investigaciones Estéticas* 58 (1987): 103-110; MITCHELL CODDING, "The Decorative Arts in Latin America 1492-1820," in *The Arts of Latin America 1492-1820*, ed. JOSEPH J. RISHEL and SUZANNE STRATTON PRUITT (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006, 98-113); BEATRIZ E. ROVIRA and FELIPE GAITÁN, "Los búcaros de las Indias para el mundo," *Canto Rodado* 55 (2010): 39-70; CATHERINE E. BURDICK, "Lo que vio Dombey: las cerámicas perfumadas de las Monjas Clarisas de Santiago de Chile y su contexto en la edad moderna," in *Mujer y literatura femenina en la América virreinal*, ed. MIGUEL DONOSO RODRÍGUEZ (New York: IDEA, 2015, 233-45); the excellent and lavishly illustrated catalogue by Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos, *La hija del Virrey. El mundo femenino novohispano en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica, Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes, 2018, 134-54, 410-11, 431-52, 466-68) contains what is by far the best and most updated information on *búcaros* production, typology, use and collecting; on scientific analyses of *búcaros*, see MARÍA LUISA FRANQUELO, JOSÉ LUIS PÉREZ-RODRÍGUEZ and NATACHA SESEÑA, "Caracterización de materias primas y muestras cocidas de utilidad domo búcaros," in *III Congreso Nacional de Arqueometría*, ed. BLANCA M. GÓMEZ TUBIO et al. (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2001, 315-24).

Búcaros de Indias gained an enormous popularity in Southern Europe, where they became a common item in well-to-do households. The most important literary source on their use are the eight *Lettere sopra le terre odorose d'Europa e d'America dette volgarmente buccheri* (1695) that Lorenzo Magalotti addressed to Marquise Ottavia Strozzi, a noblewoman who owned a collection of around three hundred pieces.[8] Magalotti's letters also inspired the dithyrambic poem *La Bucchereide* by the physician and poet Lorenzo Bellini, who first read some of its verses during a *cicalata*, or burlesque speech, presented at the Accademia del Cimento in 1699.[9] From these sources we learn that *búcaros* were employed as water containers, both to produce a scented drinking water and to diffuse their fragrance to the spaces where they were held (properties at times enhanced by adding ground aromatic herbs to the slip): their porous surface absorbed water and then, through evaporation, infused the air with a characteristic scent. Small containers (called *castañas* or *huevos*) were held in the hands or worn as scent-producing pendants; *búcaro* fragments were also worn as pendants, sewn within clothes, or employed to transmit their fragrance to gloves, tobacco or tea. According to Magalotti, the difference between Portuguese and American *búcaros* was as marked as the one between European and American mines, the richness of the latter being almost legendary: Portuguese *búcaros* had the most tenuous scent, similar to the one that "every sun-heated earth exhales when comes the first rain";[10] the same scent was also typical of the *búcaros de Indias* which, in addition, also had an aromatic note, "mellow, which comforts without being too strong".[11] Among them, those of Chile were the less aromatic, while those of Guadalajara were usually the most; the quality of those of Natá was uneven, with some of them being the most fragrant of all.[12] Magalotti even described the procedure that the Carmelite nuns in Madrid employed to deprive the *búcaros* of the sea smell they acquired during the transatlantic voyage.

Búcaros – so fashionable that "everywhere the curious, the erudite, the philosopher observes them, studies them, reasons about them"[13] – were often represented in paintings, as in Diego Velázquez's *Las meninas* (1656) or Franscisco de Zurbarán's *Christ and the Virgin in the House at Nazareth* (1635-40). Among the still life

[8] Magalotti's letters, despite being well known in literary circles, remained unpublished until 1825. The 1943 edition, by Enrico Falqui, also contains a series of letters on the scented clays which Magalotti addressed to Leone Strozzi, Giovanbattista d'Ambra and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as well as a series of anacreontic verses on the *buccheri*; see LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Lettere odorose (1693-1705)* (Milano: Bompiani, 1943).

[9] Both the *cicalata* and *La Bucchereide* were published in 1729 in LORENZO BELLINI, *La Bucchereide* (Firenze: Gaetano Tartini e Santi Franchi, 1729).

[10] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette del Conte Lorenzo Magalotti, con giunta di otto lettere sulle terre odorose d'Europa e d'America volgarmente dette buccheri e ora pubblicate per la prima volta* (Milano: Giovanni Silvestrini, 1825), Lettera ottava, 455.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*, Lettera ottava, 413.

[13] *Ibid.*, Lettera ottava, 412.

genre, especially notable are *Still life with servant* by the Neapolitan artist Giuseppe Recco (1679) and Antonio de Pereda's *Still life with ebony desk* (1652) and *Still life with clock* (1652), all of them displaying the typically dimpled Guadalajaran *búcaros*. In the *Still Life with Silvergilt Salvers* (1624) by Juan Bautista Espinosa, one can even appreciate two red *búcaros* literally "sweating" their watery content.[14]

A most curious aspect of the veritable *búcaro* craze that affected early modern Europe is the practice of bucarophagy. Even if the ingestion of clays was traditionally implied by their medicinal use since antiquity, the term bucarophagy refers to a specific phenomenon that gained high popularity in the Iberian peninsula during the seventeenth century, in coincidence with the peak of imports of *búcaros de Indias* from various Spanish American domains.[15] A famous account is that of the French noblewoman Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy who, in her *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691), recorded the visit paid in 1679 to Princess Monteleón in Madrid: "[women] have a great passion for this earth, which usually causes them an obstruction; the stomach and the belly inflate and become hard as stone, and they are as yellow as quinces. I wanted to taste that so much esteemed and so little estimable food; I would prefer to eat sandstone. If one wants to please them, he should donate them some *búcaros*, which they call *barros*, and often their confessors do not impose on them any other penitence than to spend a day without eating them".[16] This passage became so popular in France that a century later the *Encyclopédie* recorded the practice, attributing it to contemporary Iberian women. Even if probably simply drawing on Madame d'Aulnoy's testimony, the mention was not completely anachronistic: still in 1845, Théophile Gautier recorded with disgust the practice of bucarophagy in Madrid.[17]

Spanish women ate *búcaros* to obtain a pale yellowish skin, to lose weight, or out of simple greed, as attested by literary sources such as Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), Francisco de Quevedo, *Casa de locos de amor* (1606-1623), Lope de Vega, *El acero de Madrid* (1608), and Juan de Zabaleta, *El día de fiesta por la tarde* (1659).[18]According to some, the ingestion of *búcaros* could even have psychotropic effects and could have stopped menstruation, thus functioning as a contraceptive. The best source on bucarophagy, at times assuming the character of a veritable pathological

[14] NATACHA SESEÑA, "El búcaro de Las Meninas," in *Velázquez y el Arte de su tiempo* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1991, 38-49); ALFONSO PLEGUEZUELO, "Cerámicas para agua en el barroco español: Una primera aproximación des de la literatura y la pintura," *Ars longa: Cuadernos de arte* 9-10 (2000): 123-38; BYRON ELLSWORTH HAMANN, "The Mirrors of Las Meninas: Cochineal, Silver, and Clay," *Art Bulletin* 92.1-2 (2010): 6-35; PATRICIA PADGET LEA, "Clay treasure: the búcaro in Francisco de Zurbarán's Christ and the Virgin in the house of Nazareth", unpublished manuscript, downloadable at the author's Academia.edu page; Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos, *La hija de Virrey*, 151-153, 438-45.

[15] Apart from Magalotti's letters and most of the texts cited in note 36, on bucharophagy see also ALFRED MOREL-FATIO, "Comer barro", in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à Carl Wahlund* (Maçon: Protat Frères, 1896); NATACHA SESEÑA, *Elvicio del barro* (Madrid: El Viso, 2009).

[16] MARIE-CATHERINE D'AULNOY, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 1699) II, 273.

[17] THEOPHILE GAUTIER, *Voyage en Espagne, 1840-1845* (Paris, Charpentier, 1845).

[18] ALFRED MOREL-FATIO, "Comer barro".

addiction,[19] is again Lorenzo Magalotti who, as a diplomat, had the opportunity to observe Spanish customs. Stating that the *búcaros* from Guadalajara were the tastiest, Magalotti mentioned the preparation of a scented water through a process of distillation of *búcaro* fragments (at times added with musk), the addition of powdered *búcaros* to freezing water in order to obtain a sorbet-like preparation (which could have been enriched with sugar, musk, or floral infusions), the sucking of *búcaro* fragments, and the preparation of candies with sugar, musk and ambergris; finely ground *búcaros* were also added to any kind of food.[20] Unfired or poorly fired *búcaros*, at times containing minute and fragile "spaghetti-like" pottery filaments, were specifically produced to be eaten.

Bucarophagy epitomizes the new patterns of consumption which transformed the habits of early modern European élites, inhabiting a material landscape replete with new goods of colonial origin. *Búcaros de Indias* are "eloquent testimonies of the globalization of consumption which derived from the colonial enterprise", as well as "magnificent examples of cosmopolitan artefacts typical of modernity".[21]As Magalotti brilliantly put it, "in Spain everyone wants them, from Mexico everyone sends them".[22]

Fashionable *búcaros* of various provenances were also eagerly collected both in America and Europe, often kept in boxes of resinous, scented woods: the most important European collections were in Spain, foremost among them that of Catalina Vélez de Guevara, Countess of Oñate, today held at the Museo de América in Madrid.[23] In Italy, *búcaros* could be found in the Roman collection of Ottavia Renzi Strozzi, in that of the Jesuit Collegio Romano assembled by Athanasius Kircher, as well as "in many cabinets of Italian Prelates and Princes".[24] To these collections we

[19] ANDRÉS GUTIÉRREZ USILLOS, *La hija del Virrey*, 137, 446.
[20] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera quinta, 334-37.
[21] BEATRIZ E. ROVIRA and FELIPE GAITÁN, "Los búcaros de las Indias para el mundo", 44-45. See FELIPE PEREDA, "Response: The Invisible? New World," *Art Bulletin* 92 (1-2), 2010: 47-52, with interesting observations on the processes of redefinition and resignification that governed European reception of colonial goods.
[22] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera ottava, 411.
[23] See MARÍA CONCEPCIÓN GARCÍA SÁIZ and JOSÉ LUIS BARRIO MOYA, "Presencia de cerámica colonial mexicana en España"; PAZ CABELLO CARRO, "Spanish Collections of Americana in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern World*, ed. DANIELA BLEICHMAR and PETER C. MANCALL (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, 218-35); ANDRÉS GUTIÉRREZ USILLOS, *La hija del Virrey*, contains highly interesting information on the collection of the Museo de América, as well as on the collection once held by María Luisa de Toledo (1656-1707), daughter of Antonio Sebastián de Toledo, Viceroy of New Spain between 1664 and 1673.
[24] Cited in Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos, "Algumas palavras a respeito de púcaros de Portugal," *Bulletin Hispanique* 7, no. 2 (1905), 159. Specimens of *búcaros* can be found today at the Quirinale Palace in Rome, at the Royal Palace in Turin, as well as in various Florentine collections such as those of Palazzo Ginori, the Uffizi and Palazzo Pitti; I myself identified American *búcaros* in the collections of the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana and of the Museo delle Culture (MUDEC) in Milan; see DAVIDE DOMENICI, "2242-2247. Coppe e vasetto" and "2250. Bottiglia", in *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. Tomo Sesto: Collezioni Settala e Litta Modignani* (Milano: Electa, 2011), 192-93.

can now add that of the Museo Cospiano, today at the Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna. Identifying the specific provenance of the Bolognese items by simple visual inspection is not an easy task, but it seems that at least two of them – two low and wide vessels with handles (MCMB, inv. 1179, 1190) – are Portuguese, as suggested by their dull surface and by the decoration consisting of linear arrangements of punched dots. Five specimens – a pitcher and four flasks or small jars, one of them with a semi-circular handle on top (MCMB, inv. 1183-1185, 1187, 1189, figs. 1, 2) – display a distinctive dimpled body that strongly suggests a provenance from Guadalajara, thus confirming the early identification by Giacomo Biancani Tazzi. Five poorly fired items (MCMB, inv. 1188, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198) could also proceed from Guadalajara. Regarding the other specimens in the collection, I am unable to provide a reliable identification.

As said, before entering the Istituto delle Scienze the Bolognese *búcaros* were originally part of the Museo Cospiano, to whose descriptions we can now turn our attention.

The Museo Cospiano, Lorenzo Legati and the scented clays

After having being raised in Florence at the court of the Grand Dukes Cosimo II and Ferdinand I de' Medici, in 1624 Ferdinando Cospi moved back to Bologna (where he had been born in 1606) as local representative of the Grand Duke. There Cospi assembled a collection of *naturalia* and *artificialia*, which was donated in 1660 to the Senate, to be displayed in Palazzo Pubblico alongside the other important Bolognese collection of Ulisse Aldrovandi.[25] Three different inventories of the Cospi collection were compiled by Lorenzo Legati, a Cremonese physician who taught Greek literature at the University of Bologna.[26] The most complex and lengthy description of the vases was provided by Legati in Book 3, Chapter XXII ("De' Vasidelle Terre Medicinali") of the *Museo Cospiano* (1677), where *búcaros* are listed together with other ceramics with medicinal properties. A precise matching of the often vague chapter entries with the actual specimens at the Museo Civico Medievale is difficult, but in a few instances the matching is quite straight forward. For example, entries 2-8, devoted to three vessels

[25] On Ferdinando Cospi and his museum, see LAURA LAURENCICH MINELLI, "Museography and ethnographical collections in Bologna during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *The Origin of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosity in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe*, OLIVER IMPEY and ARTHUR MACGREGOR (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, 17-23); Giuseppe Olmi, "Il collezionismo enciclopedico italiano da Ulisse Aldrovandi a Ferdinando Cospi," in *Wunderkammer. Arte, Natura, Meraviglia ieri e oggi*, ed. LAVINIA GALLI MICHERO, MARTINA MAZZOTTA (Milano: Edizioni Skira/Mazzotta, 2013), 24-38, and references there.

[26] LORENZO LEGATI, *Breve descrizione del museo dell'Illustriss. Sig. Cav. Commend. dell'Ordine di S. Stefano Ferdinando Cospi ... donato dal medesimo all'Illustriss. Senato, & ora annesso al famoso cimeliarchio del celebre Aldrovandi* (Bologna: Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1667); LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e donato alla sua patria dall'illustrissimo signor Ferdinando Cospi* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1677); LORENZO LEGATI, *Inventario semplice di tutte le materie esattamente descritte che si trovano nel Museo Cospiano non solo le notate nel libro già stampato, e composto dal sig. dottore Lorenzo Legati mà ancora le aggiuntevi in copia dopo la fabrica* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1680). On Legati, see GIOVANNI FANTUZZI, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1789), t. VII, 357.

of *Terra Samia* and accompanied by an engraving of a vase with huge "openwork" handles (also appearing in the engraving of the Museo Cospiano by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli) are easily identifiable as Hispano-Moresque golden lusterwares from Manises (Spain) still in the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale.[27] Despite recognizing their modern manufacture,[28] Legati wrongly identified them as Greek due to the use of what he thought to be clay from the island of Samos and to the style of the decoration, which "being Greek, combines with the material to authenticate them as Samian Vases".[29] In a lengthy description of the medicinal properties of the two kinds of *Terra Samia*, (*Astere* and *Collirio*) Legati stressed their "sweet flavour" and refreshing medicinal qualities, referring (besides many poets who mentioned the Samian vases) to Dioscorides, Galen, and Ovidio Montalbani (1601-1671), Dean of the Medical College of Bologna and author of the *Indizi dell'arte dello Speziale Medicinalista*.

If in the initial entries the ancient term *Terra Samia* was explicitly used to describe modern "Greek" productions, thus assuming that the very same material had been used in different epochs, entry no. 9 represents a further step, since it records four vases of "Indian earth, white, similar to Samian, and maybe of the same kind and probably akin in its properties", so that *Terra Samia* is now transformed into a general category of earths, found both in Greece and in the (East?) Indies. A similar process is at work in entry no. 10, devoted to two Brazilian pipes made of an "Indian earth, white, very light" which Legati equates with the "Hicatlalli" collected in the Lake of Mexico according to Joannes de Laet and Ole Worm, thus transporting the reader to the West Indies. Even if Legati repeated almost verbatim the words employed by de Laet in the *Novus Orbis seu descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis* (1633),[30] his usage of the wrong Náhuatl term *Hicatlalli* (instead of *tizatlalli*) shows that he had no access to de Laet's original Latin text[31] but depended on the version given by Ole Worm (actually, by his son Willum) in the *Museum Wormianum* (1655),[32] as is also shown by the erroneous attribution to Worm of opinions that had been actually previously expressed by de Laet himself. This is the case of the *Hicatlalli/Tizatlalli* earth, to which "Vormio assigns the virtues of Cerussa [lead white] saying that it is cold, and dry, with astringent but not too mordant properties, and adds that artisans use it to clean silver, so that he

[27] MCMB, inv. 2782-2784; see MARK GREGORY D'APUZZO, *La vocazione museale della città: le Collezioni Aldrovandi e Cospi dal Palazzo Pubblico ai musei* (Bologna: Edisai, 2018), fig. 18. See also PERICLE DUCATI, *Guida del Museo*, 186-87.
[28] LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 267.
[29] *Ibid.*, 267.
[30] JOANNES DE LAET, *Novus Orbis seu descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis. Libri XVII* (Leiden: Johannes Elsevirius, 1633, Book V, Chapter 6, 235).
[31] An Italian compendium of de Laet's work, entitled *Descrittione dell'India Occidentale* had been published as the twelfth book of LUCA DI LINDA, *Le Relationi et Descrittioni Universali Et Particolari del Mondo* (Venezia: Combi & La Noú, 1672); nevertheless, the Italian text does not contain the passage about the Mexican white earth.
[32] OLE WORM, *Museum Wormianum seu Historia Rerum Rariorum* (Leiden: Johannes Elsevirius, 1655, 4).

thinks is a clay".[33] So, drawing on Worm and de Laet, Legati further develops the comparison between Old World and New World earths, stating that he "would believe that it could be of the kind of the Terra Eretria, or white Cimolia of the ancients, having the very same qualities".[34] This identification between classical names and earths used in modern productions leads to ambiguous entries such as no. 11, where another pipe of unspecified origin is said to be made of *Terra Chia*, a white clay "much praised by ancient and modern physicians".[35] We are left guessing whether it was another American pipe whose constitutive clay was not only compared but totally identified with the clay from the Greek island of Chios.

The following entries are devoted to items of a white kind of "Terra Lennia not observed by the ancients". A red kind of Terra Lennia is then identified as the constituent material of a "Small flask of Oriental red clay, or, let us say, of red Terra Lennia" (no. 17), while a similar white or red clay from the island of Elba is described as the constituent matter of four vessels (no. 14), two cups (no. 15), two vases (no. 18), two small flasks (no. 19), two cups (no. 20), a mug (no. 21), and two bowls (no. 22). Another red earth, called "Armenian clay" (*bolo armeno*), is associated with a cup (no. 24) and a globular vase (no. 26). It is in these entries dealing with red clays purportedly from Lemnos, Elba, and Armenia that we must recognize the Guadalajaran *búcaros de Indias* today at the Museo Civico Medievale.[36] Despite being unable to identify the American *búcaros*, Legati was not unaware of these scented clays, since in entry no. 16 he described two unprovenanced cups of "terra odorata, so called because it emits a gentle scent".[37] Moreover, describing two vessels of "buccaro odoroso" (no. 23),[38] Legati states that their clay is extracted in Portugal and that its properties had been described in the *Museum Metallicum* (1648), the posthumous work of Ulisse Aldrovandi who owned two such Portuguese bowls and also illustrated them in the book.[39] Beside their medicinal properties as antidotes, the scented clays are said to be refreshing and thus used to contain beverages. Then, not without irony, Legati introduces the curious practice of bucarophagy in a passage that deserves to be cited in its entirety: "The fragments of these vases do not lack virtue, since their dust is used to clean the teeth, as a cleaner without mordacity. The same fragments are also eaten by someone. This seems to me an appetite apt to a pregnant woman, as stated by Aldrovandi. And some time ago, a Person well known to me, while in Naples, observed a Princess who used to eat them as others would eat pastas from Genoa. Offering some to him, she even invited him to taste them. Showing him various Cabinets full of similar Vases, she said

33 LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 269.
34 *Ibid*, 269.
35 *Ibid.*
36 MCMB inv. 1179, 1180, 1183-1191; As said a one-to-one correspondence with Legati's descriptions is rarely feasible; anyway, the two flasks of entry no. 19 clearly correspond to MCMB inv. 1186-1187; the flask of entry n. 17 could be MCMB inv. 1185.
37 LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 271.
38 MCMB (inv. 1179, 1190) could correspond to this entry or to entry 16.
39 See ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum* (Bologna: Marcus Antonius Bernia, 1648), 229.

that she was planning to eat them all in a few months. The same happens with the Earth of the Field of Damascus (where the Orientals believe that the first man Adam was created), which Turkish Merchants bring and sell at high prices in Egypt, where it is eaten by the principals as a very savoury thing".[40] Legati's passage, so far overlooked by the scholars who have studied the practice of bucarophagy, is an almost unique source testifying the practice of bucarophagy in Italy (not incidentally in the Spain-related Kingdom of Naples), also anticipating the ironic tone that almost twenty years later was to mark the writings of Magalotti and Bellini.

Testing clay: tongue-testing, between erudition and experiential knowledge

In Chapter XXII of the *Museo Cospiano* Legati drew, either directly or indirectly, on a substantial corpus of textual sources mainly including – beside a host of poets – ancient and modern physicians, naturalists and antiquaries, such as Dioscorides, Pliny, Galen, Abraham Ortelius, Pietro Andrea Mattioli, Ferrante Imperato, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Ovidio Montalbani, Lodovico Moscardo, Ulisse Aldrovandi, Ole Worm, and Giuseppe Donzelli. From this corpus, Legati borrowed a typology of medicinal earths ultimately deriving from Dioscordes, Pliny and Galen, whose observations had been repeatedly reproduced and commented on by modern authors.[41] At first sight, Legati's work simply falls within this textual tradition; nevertheless, a relevant difference can be observed: all the modern authors he cites – including collectors such as Imperato, Moscardo and Aldrovandi – described medicinal earths in a systematic manner, often devoting a paragraph to each of them ("Terra Lemnia", "Terra Samia", etc.).[42] Even in cases where actual objects were in the hands of writers/collectors, the engravings of the objects served to illustrate those different categories of medicinal earth, which enjoyed conceptual primacy. This is the case, for example, of Lodovico Moscardo's vases of Terra Lemnia, as well as of Aldrovandi's Portuguese *búcaros*.[43] Following a strikingly different procedure, Legati always set out from the actual objects; accordingly, the title "De' Vasi delle Terre Medicinali" gives conceptual primacy to the vases rather than to the different earths. Thus, rather than simply reproducing the textual corpus he drew on, Legati used it as an authoritative body of knowledge useful

[40] LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 272. For the source of the references to pregnant women and the Field of Damascus see Aldrovandi, *Museum Metallicum*, 230, 247.
[41] On the uses of medicinal earths, their typology, geographic provenance and often-loose patterns of naming in early modern Europe, see the excellent ARTHUR MACGREGOR, "Medicinal *terra sigillata*".
[42] See PIETRO ANDREA MATTIOLI, *I Discorsi di M. Pietro And. Matthioli* (Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1559), 728-30; FERRANTE IMPERATO, *Dell'Historia naturale* (Napoli: Costantino Vitale, 1599), 126-57; ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum*, 239-272; OLE WORM, *Museum Wormianum*, 2-6; LODOVICO MOSCARDO, *Note overo memorie del Museo di Lodovico Moscardo* (Padova: Paolo Frambotto, 1656), 163-68; GIUSEPPE DONZELLI, *Teatro farmaceutico, dogmatico, e spagirico del Dottore Giuseppe Donzelli, Napoletano, Barone di Digliola* (Roma: Felice Cesaretti, 1677), 118-21.
[43] LODOVICO MOSCARDO, *Note overo memorie*, 162; ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum*, 229.

to properly describe and study the actual vases collected by Ferdinando Cospi. In other words, the textual corpus provided him with a taxonomical framework useful to investigate and classify material objects from different epochs and places. This experimental method, as well as the choice of the inventory as the literary genre in which to infuse his erudition, can be understood as symptoms of Legati's participation in the antiquarian sensibility so typical of early modern European culture. Indeed, Legati's antiquarian stance is evident in various passages of Chapter XXII. As proofs of the abundance of ceramic workshops in ancient Rome, for example, he mentioned the existence of tangible evidence such as Mount Testaccio and the inscription on the door of a villa on the Via Tiburtina, whose existence he learnt from the *Roma subterranea novissima* (1671) by Paolo Aringhi, an expanded version of the *Roma sotterranea* (1632) previously published by the famous antiquarian Antonio Bosio.[44] Following a typically antiquarian method, Legati also used direct experience to criticize information transmitted by authoritative literary sources: to affirm the existence of white Terra Samia – a fact denied by Mattioli, Brasavola, Falloppio and Aldrovandi – he invokes "the experience of some eyewitnesses" like the physician Stefano Albucario (whose voyage to Samos had been reported by Pietro Andrea Mattioli and then repeated by authors such as Ferrante Imperato and Giuseppe Donzelli) and Carlo Bellonio. Similar appreciations of experiential knowledge can be found in other sections of the *Museo Cospiano*: when telling the story of an unnamed African who maintained that Maldivian coconuts had the capacity to repel iron, Legati wrote that, when presented to Francesco Redi, this conviction "met Experience in the hands of such a great man, thus showing that the stranger was a joker".[45] Or, to counter the assertion that – as written on the wooden box painted by Michelangelo Colonna – Cospi's Greenlandic sealskin clothing was an item of priestly attire, Legati cited not only the historical texts of Olaus Magnus and Herodotus, but also Ole Worm's detailed description of the actual specimen he had in his collection.[46]

From his sources, Legati even borrowed more experimental methods. To prove that the "Armenian" (actually Guadalajaran) clay of a cup in the Cospi collection was not to be identified with Terra Lennia, he states that it stains the hands when touched, a characteristic that he had previously reported not to be typical of Terra Lennia. Even more interesting is Legati's use of a second method that I would call tongue-testing. Writing about a "small flask of white Oriental clay which is said to be a kind of Terra Lennia not observed by the ancients" he added that "touched with the tongue,

[44] Mount Testaccio is also mentioned in Magalotti's letters when, playing on the chronicle of Antonio Solís (who had used the term *búcaro* to describe Aztec pottery), he imagined that the whole of Moctezuma's daily tableware, whose astounding amount was a common trope in Spanish chronicles, could have been of black *búcaro*; if so, it would have been enough to build a "scented Mount Testaccio on the outskirts of Mexico"; LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera ottava, 434-35.

[45] LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 135.

[46] *Ibid.*, 298. The sealskin coat is today at the Museo Pigorini, in Rome, while the painted wooden box is at the Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna. Cfr. *Bologna e il Mondo Nuovo*, ed. LAURA LAURENCICH Minnelli (Bologna: Grafis, 1992), cat. no. 42-43, 144-45.

suddenly it sticks, but with no mordacity".[47] Similarly, writing about the "two vessels of scented earth", Legati noted that "when touched with the tongue, immediately it sticks";[48] of a "small flask of Oriental red clay" he wrote "when touched with the tongue immediately it sticks, as happens with the white one" (no. 17),[49] while the "two vessels of scented *búcaro*" (no. 23) are said to be made of a Portuguese earth that "sticks when touched with the tongue, so that it remains hanging. And so do the vessels produced with it".[50]

The source of information regarding the sticking quality of certain clays is the above-mentioned literary corpus, ultimately based on Dioscorides[51] but, again, in all Legati's sources this property is simply mentioned among the various qualities of the earths. In Legati's hands (or, more properly, mouth), it became a tongue-testing experimental method to investigate specific objects whose material constituents and origins he was trying to ascertain. The fact that Legati's experimental attempts were often ultimately fallacious – leading him to misidentify the Hispano-Moresque vases and the Guadalajaran *búcaros* – does not detract from his research method, involving a direct physical and sensorial engagement with the objects he was studying. In this respect, his sensory experience was not so different from that of the noblewomen who elegantly sipped fragrant water from *búcaros*, obviously noticing its tongue-sticking quality. In the words of Magalotti, *búcaros* produced a double delight: the first was the water's fragrance, while the second was "a certain pretty little joke that this moistened earth makes to the lips, gently sticking to them, without them noticing it before they break away. But whoever is used to it, to multiply these playful kisses, during a same drink detaches the mouth more than once from the rim of the Bucchero; the newer it is, the more sticky and tenacious; and the hand that wants to detach it from the mouth, before letting it go, pulls the lip more than a little, and in leaving it, it produces a smack that sounds like a farewell kiss".[52]

Concluding remarks: antiquarianism and the sensorial engagement with material culture

My physical encounter with the unrecognized *búcaro* vessels in the Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna ignited an antiquarian-like search on their collection history. This search, besides revealing that in a 1763 unpublished manuscript Giacomo Biancani Tazzi had recognized the correct identity of the vessels, led us back to the Museo

[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*, 271.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*, 272.
[51] See, for example, PIETRO ANDREA MATTIOLI, *Discorsi*, 728, 729; FERRANTE IMPERATO, *Dell'Historia naturale*, 141, 149; ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum*, 228, 239, 240, 243, 246, 247, 248, 263, etc.; OLE WORM, *Museum Wormianum*, 5, 6; GIUSEPPE DONZELLI, *Teatro farmaceutico*, 120.
[52] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera quinta, 330.

Cospiano and its textual description by Lorenzo Legati, a clear example of seventeenth-century antiquarian sensibility combining a mostly literary and medical erudition with novel forms of empirical inquiry of material evidence. The relevance of antiquarianism and the collecting of material culture in the shaping of early modern forms of knowledge has been stressed by a now flourishing scholarly tradition, mostly drawing on the pioneering works of Arnaldo Momigliano, which greatly expanded our understanding of this discipline, also exploring its non-Western manifestations as well as the unexpected connections linking different antiquarian traditions.[53] Even if Lorenzo Legati was not one of the leading figures of early modern antiquarianism, the reading of passages of the *Museo Cospiano* revealed a series of interesting phenomena. First of all, the difficult – and often failed – attempt to employ the received body of knowledge on medicinal earths not to compile their umpteenth systematic description but as a tool to enquire into the identity and properties of a set of physical objects, also including artefacts from the New World. Legati's analysis of Brazilian pipes and of (unrecognized) Mexican *búcaros* is thus a further example of the relevance that antiquarianism and evidential learning had in the European reception of the New World, in both its material and literary manifestations.[54]

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[53] E.g. ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950): 285-315; OLIVER IMPEY and ARTHUR MACGREGOR, eds, *The origin of museums*; JOHN ELSNER and ROGER CARDINAL (eds), *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994); PAULA FINDLEN, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); *Early Modern Things. Objects and their Histories*, ed. PAULA FINDLEN (London: Routledge, 2013); *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. MARGRETA DE GRAZIA, MAUREEN QUILLIGAN, and PETER STALLYBRASS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN, "Antiquarianism, the History of Objects, and the History of Art before Winckelmann," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62, no. 3 (2001): 523-41; PETER N. MILLER, "Taking Paganism Seriously. Anthropology and Antiquarianism in Early Seventeenth-century Histories of Religion," in *Das 17.Jahrhundert und die Ursprünge der Religionsgeschichte*, ed. JAN ASSMANN and GUY G. STROUMSA (München/Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2001), 183-209; Id., ed., *Momigliano and Antiquarianism. Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences* (Toronto: University of California, 2007); Id., *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Id., *History and Its Objects. Antiquarianism and Material Culture Since 1500* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2017); EDWARD Q. WANG, "Beyond East and West: Antiquarianism, Evidential Learning, and Global Trends in Historical Study," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 4 (2008), 489-519; DANIELA BLEICHMAR and PETER C. MANCALL, eds, *Collecting Across Cultures*; JESSIKA KEATING and LIA MARKEY, eds, *Captured Objects. Inventories of Early Modern Collections*, special issue of the *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (2011); SUSAN BRACKEN, ANDREA M. GÁLDY, ADRIANA TURPIN, eds, *Collecting East and West* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013); ALAIN SCHNAPP, ed., *World Antiquarianism. Comparative perspectives* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013); REBECCA GOULD, "Antiquarianism as Genealogy: Arnaldo Momigliano's Method," *History and Theory*, 53 (2014): 212-33; DANIELA BLEICHMAR and MEREDITH MARTIN, eds, *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*, special issue of *Art History*, 38, no. 4 (2015); BENJAMIN ANDERSON and FELIPE ROJAS, eds, *Antiquarianisms. Contact, Conflict, Comparison* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017); LYDIA JANSSEN, "Antiquarianism and national history. The emergence of a new scholarly paradigm in early modern historical studies," *History of European Ideas* 43, no. 8 (2017), 843-56.

[54] Besides many contributions to the works cited in the previous note, see, e.g., ANTHONY GRAFTON, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); STUART B. SCHWARTZ, ed., *Implicit Understandings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN, ed., *America in European Consciusness 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). Among more recent works, see ALAIN SCHNAPP,

In Legati's work, the physical interaction with material culture implied by most antiquarian enquiries assumed the unexpected form of "tongue-testing". Far from being a mere curiosity, this method – whose relationships with contemporary medical practices involving the testing/tasting of bodily fluids would be worth further inquiry – is an instance of a typically antiquarian attitude, that is, the transformation of a textually transmitted body of knowledge (where the tongue-sticking properties of some earths were described) into a practical research tool to investigate extant material evidence. In this way, the antiquarian research becomes a multisensory practice, involving the reading of texts, the visual inspection of images and objects, as well as their tactile exploration by touching and licking, thus also bringing into play the senses of taste and smell. At the very least, this multisensorial engagement with material culture defies an overly dichotomic view contrasting affective, indigenous forms of knowledge with a visually-biased modern Western one.[55] To a certain degree, this multisensorial engagement with pottery artefacts was induced by the clays themselves, whose medicinal properties had led to their ingestion for millennia, but in Legati's case it was also increased by the presence in the Museo Cospiano of the scented *búcaros de Indias*. Their presence in the collection mirrored the wide diffusion that these vessels had in early modern Europe, where their usage implied new, complex forms of sensorial interactions: indeed their shiny, lustrous surfaces were experienced through both sight and touch, while their flavour appealed to both smell and taste; when used to create huge, assembled water fountains where flows of scented water fell along a series of dish-like pottery stages, *búcaros* also called hearing into play, thus fully exploiting their potential to meet the multisensorial dimension of baroque aesthetic appreciation.[56] *Búcaros de Indias*, then, stand out as perfect examples of how early

"European antiquarianism and the discovery of the New World," in *Past presented. Archaeological illustration and the ancient Americas*, ed. JOANNE PILLSBURY (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2012), 49-67, ALESSANDRA RUSSO, "An artistic humanity. New positions on art and freedom in the context of the Iberian expansion, 1500-1600," *RES. Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 65/66 (2014/2015), 352-63; LIA MARKEY, *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2016); DAVIDE DOMENICI, "Missionary Gift Records of Mexican Objects in Early Modern Italy," in *The New World in Early Modern Italy, 1492–1750*, ed. ELIZABETH HORODOWICH and LIA MARKEY (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 86-102; GIUSEPPE MARCOCCI, "Inventing the Antiquities of New Spain: Motolinía and the Mexican Antiquarian Traditions," in BENJAMIN ANDERSON and FELIPE ROJAS, *Antiquarianisms*, 109-133.

[55] E.G. YANNIS HAMILAKIS, "Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece," in *Scramble for the Past: The Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire 1733-1914*, ed. ZAINAB BAHRANI, ZEYNEP CELIK, and EDHEM ELDEM (Istanbul: Salt, 2011), 49-69: 61.

[56] See ANDRÉS GUTIÉRREZ USILLOS, *La hija del Virrey*, 431-34, 453-68; on the role of senses other than sight in modern Europe see, among others, ANTHONY SYNNOTT, DAVID HOWES and CONSTANCE CLASSEN, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994); HOLLY DUGAN, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); DAVID HOWES and CONSTANCE CLASSEN, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the Senses in Society* (London: Routledge, 2014); JONATHAN REINARZ, *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014).

modern global trade channelled colonial goods, produced by the hands of often marginalized colonial indigenous subjects, that radically changed the European material landscape, inducing new lifestyles, new aesthetic and sensorial experiences, as well as new forms of academic enquiry. Lorenzo Bellini masterfully condensed all this in a single verse of his *Bucchereide* (1699) when he wrote that the *bucchero* is an earth that *in sé Impero, ed istupor rinserra*.

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Fig. 1. *Búcaros de Indias* from the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna (inv. 1183, 1184, 1185). Courtesy of Istituzione Bologna Musei – Musei Civici di Arte Antica.

Fig. 2. *Búcaros de Indias* from the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna (inv. 1186, 1187, 1188). Courtesy of Istituzione Bologna Musei – Musei Civici di Arte Antica.

Francesco Adami, a young Livornese merchant in London 1673-1674

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Introduction*

Explorers of the past have fewer and fewer opportunities nowadays to work on uncontaminated primary sources. It is even rarer to discover a whole archive in its original location in a city like Florence, where both public and private archive material was almost entirely mapped in the course of the twentieth century. Evidently, however, exceptions are still possible, and so it was that in 2014 a student of Early Modern History moved to Florence and went to live in a historic palazzo on the Lungarno Guicciardini after a long period of illness spent in the Tuscan countryside. The owner of the building proudly showed him a very singular room that she had recently restored. It was the first and possibly only example, in Florence, of a gallery-cum-library in the neo-Egyptian style, built between 1802 and 1804 for Giovan Lorenzo Lami, a Sienese nobleman (but of Livornese origin) who inherited the assets and the palazzo of Senator Alessandro Gaetano Adami, the customs director at the port of Livorno, who died with no direct heirs in 1799. Due to the alternating fortunes of the Adami family in the nineteenth century, the exotic gallery, together with its precious contents, was completed neglected and forgotten about during the twentieth century. This was still the case at the time of my visit in December 2014, when, at the end of the gallery, I noticed eight wall bookcases, four of which were packed with dusty documents, packets of letters, files and accounts books: I had discovered the Adami-Lami Archive.[1]

* The research project I am conducting at the European University Institute is called '*Hard times in the Levant. Livornese merchants and their family, social and commercial ties around the Early Modern Mediterranean (1680s-1720s)*'. Its aim is to understand, through a critical analysis of around 30,000 previously unseen documents from the Adami Archive, the vicissitudes and activities of Francesco and Domenico Adami in the eastern Mediterranean after their father Antonio ordered them to leave the family home in Livorno to seek their fortune elsewhere. It represents a peculiar case of social mobility within the Mediterranean. One of the things that makes the Adami Archive so unusual is not just that it is so complete, but that it offers similarly complete testimony of the not particularly successful careers of these two merchant brothers. So, on the basis of their not particularly successful careers, can we learn more about what did make a merchant successful in the Ottoman Empire in that particular period? The Adami brothers probably chose an unpropitious moment to move to the Middle East, because they had to deal with the plague, internal Ottoman rebellions and the competition of many small-scale merchants operating in the shadow of commercial giants such as the Levant Company in markets that no longer offered lucrative profits.

[1] The wording 'Archivio Adami-Lami' appears in the 'declaratory provision of particularly significant historic interest' of the archive collection, as per article 13 of the Code of the Cultural Heritage and

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At the time of the discovery I knew nothing about this family, its origins or the important role it played in the economic and political life of Livorno and Florence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I was just overwhelmed by what had happened. Unfortunately, nothing but the catalogues remained of the old book collection accumulated by Anton Filippo and Alessandro Gaetano Adami in the second half of the eighteenth century. The archive was just a mass of papers, with no inventory or coherent archival order. The first step towards being able to work on the documents was therefore to reorganize the substantial body of material in a functional manner. Over the following thirteen months, aided by Luca Faldi, an archive officer at the Soprintendenza Archivistica della Toscana, I drew up a preliminary inventory and arranged the archive documents in a more useable manner. The new and uniform organization of the documents, now numbered progressively, transformed the appearance of those dusty bookcases, to which a fifth one was added to house a significant proportion of the packets of correspondence previously heaped up at the bottom of the first bookcase.

The results of this necessary endeavour were truly surprising, because the Adami-Lami Archive now comprises 800 archive files (corresponding to several hundreds of thousands of documents), divided between miscellaneous envelopes, book-keeping registers, financial documents, written records, drafts of theatre pieces and packets of correspondence pertaining to three distinct families: the Adami and Lami families, and the documents of Antonio Matraini, a merchant from Lucca who had family ties with the Adamis, covering a time span ranging from 1650 to 1950. The Adami-Lami Archive also contains the majority of papers of Anton Filippo Adami (1710–1768), a politician and man of letters known for having produced the first Italian translation of Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* in 1756.

However, this eminent but forgotten man of letters was not the prime focus of my attention. While drawing up the inventory my curiosity had been aroused by the titles of some of the numerous archive items that read 'Pacco lettere Francesco Adami Acri 1697' (Bundle of letters, Francesco Adami, Acre 1697), 'Carteggio Domenico Adami Aleppo 1703' (Papers, Domenico Adami, Aleppo 1703), 'Ragione Adami & Gras in Acre 1699' (Adami & Gras Firm in Acre 1699) or 'Ragione Adami & Niccodemi in Aleppo 1707' (Adami & Niccodemi Firm in Aleppo 1707). I therefore set out to investigate whether there was a reference bibliography on the presence of Livornese merchants in the Middle East at the end of the seventeenth century. I immediately realized there was a gap, due above all to the scarcity of specific sources, which could be at least partially filled through an analysis of the lives

Landscape of the Ministry for the Cultural Heritage and Activities. The surname Lami, which fell into disuse from 1799, was reinstated and added in the 1920s by the last heir of the Adami family, thereby becoming Adami-Lami.

of two brothers, Francesco and Domenico Adami, active in the eastern Mediterranean between 1686 and 1715, first as clerks then as agents for the Levant Company, and finally as the owners of their own trading companies in Acre (Palestine) and Aleppo (Syria). Amongst other things, Francesco Adami was appointed vice consul of the English Nation in Palestine in 1699, an office he held until he died in 1702 after being struck down by the plague that was rife in the region.

The lives of Francesco and Domenico were very complicated, punctuated by unfortunate historic events that often contributed crucially to their personal failures, as I shall endeavour to illustrate in future research.

Training and apprenticeship

In this essay I will limit myself to describing the initial phase of the trading experience of Francesco Adami, the first of the two brothers, that is, his training in the trading company of Francesco Terriesi in London. I chose this early phase of international training not just because it was decisive for his subsequent career as a merchant, but also because the theme of how young people learnt the trade is of great historiographic interest.

Training, not apprenticeship. These terms, at least in the field of premodern economic and social history, might appear to overlap, but a distinction needs to be drawn. Training entailed professional work experience undertaken principally in a trading house[2] for at least a year, while apprenticeship was a period of professional training that involved the stipulation of a contract stating what duties the apprentice was to perform in a guild or corporation so as to repay his master for the investment.[3]

Unfortunately, due to the clear lack of primary sources, such as the private papers of young people entering the world of trade, and of case studies that can be used for comparative purposes, it is very complicated to adequately describe

[2] Although restricted to seventeenth-century Genoa, Giovanni Domenico Peri described the 'principiante' or trainee in great detail: 'When the young man wishing to enter the trading is expert in the aforementioned matters, he can be employed in a 'Scagno', that is, a trading company. Initially the most important trading houses, which employ young men from other companies, must be identified. Here in Genoa, the name 'Giovane di Scagno' is used to define all those who want to work in commerce. But in my view, this definition is appropriate above all for the trainee, who should be young and at the right age to learn. Employed in a firm to learn how to trade, he must carry on and obtain the favour of the mentor, a support and sure guide for reaching his objectives [...]'. GIOVANNI DOMENICO PERI, *Il Negoziante* (Genova: Pier Giovanni Calenzano, 1638), 64-69.

[3] Patrick Wallis proposed the following very effective definition of apprenticeship: 'Early modern apprenticeship was a system of training in which young men, and less often young women, entered contracts to work for established craftsmen and merchants for a lengthy period, generally of some years, in exchange for instruction in a craft or trade'. PATRICK WALLIS, "Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England," *The Journal of Economic History* 68, no. 3(2008): 832-61: 834.

mercantile training because, though it was common practice among traders, it was conducted more informally than the activities performed in guilds.

As far as apprenticeship is concerned, on the other hand, recent studies of young people's professional training in the early modern age coordinated respectively by Marteen Prak and Patrick Wallis, and by Anna Bellavitis, Martina Frank and Valentina Sapienza have revitalized the theme thanks to the contribution of multidisciplinary and transnational research groups, ranging from economic to gender history, even though the available resources have led them to concentrate mainly on training practices within corporations rather than on the professional training experiences of individual traders.[4]

Family background

Francesco Adami's youthful period of training was therefore one of professional training. But who was Francesco Adami, this obscure figure born into a family of flourishing Tuscan merchants, who, having set out from Livorno in 1686 as a simple economic migrant, held no lesser an office, between 1699 and 1702, than that of English vice consul in Palestine?

Francesco was born on 16 April 1654 in Empoli,[5] one of the most important freight hubs in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany,[6] and he was one of the ten children of Antonio Adami and Dianora Tronci. Although his direct descendants would be awarded the prestigious title of 'Patrician of Pistoia' in 1755,[7] Antonio Adami descended from a family of innkeepers that originally came from Monghidoro, a small town in the mountains of Emilia-Romagna, before moving to Empoli in the second half of the sixteenth century. As he was the fourth-born son, Antonio initially embarked on a military career, joining the Compagnia Colonella headquartered in Livorno,[8] while his wife Dianora was from a well-off family that managed a number of estates in and around Empoli.

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[4] MAARTEN PRAK and PATRICK WALLIS, eds., *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); ANNA BELLAVITIS, MARTINA FRANK, VALENTINA SAPIENZA, eds., *Garzoni. Apprendistato e formazione tra Venezia e l'Europa in età moderna* (Mantova: Universitas Studiorum, 2017).

[5] Archivio della Collegiata di Sant'Andrea di Empoli, Registro dei battezzati della Parrocchia di Sant'Andrea, vol. 42, 23.

[6] A recently published collection of essays focuses on the importance of Empoli as a strategic intermediate emporium between Livorno and Florence: GAETANO GRECO and GIULIANO PINTO, eds., *Empoli. Nove secoli di storia* (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 2019).

[7] Anxious to gain recognition of the social status they had acquired by the middle of the eighteenth century, in 1755 Anton Filippo and Alessandro Gaetano Adami presented 'evidence of nobility' demonstrating that they descended from a Pistoia family of the same name. Archivio Adami-Lami, 'Causa Provanze di nobiltà della famiglia Adami di Pistoia', archive piece no. 38. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Deputazione sopra la nobiltà e cittadinanza*, 'Filza XXXIII di Processi di Nobiltà dei Patrizi Pistoiesi', cc.123*v*-124*r*. MARCELLA AGLIETTI, *Le tre nobiltà. La legislazione nobiliare del granducato di Toscana (1750) tra magistrature civiche, Ordine di Santo Stefano e diplomi del principe* (Pisa: ETS, 2000), 56.

[8] '14 October 1663, Livorno. I attest to the truth for he who expects the truth, that Antonio di Alessandro Adami from Empoli, besides being a soldier of this garrison in the Company of Captain

Francesco's family did not have noble origins, then, but nor were they poor peasant folk. Instead, the family was part of the Tuscan merchant bourgeoisie that sought social betterment through public office, as happened to Antonio (appointed contractor of the 'Bottega del Sale Fino' in Livorno), his uncle Jacopo (the chamberlain, or treasurer, of Portoferraio), and his younger brother Pier Filippo (a notary employed in several public offices). Besides holding public offices, the Adamis also occupied many ecclesiastical posts.

Livorno became the base for the development of the branch of the family originating with his father Antonio, because, by the end of 1650, he had taken over from his elder brothers the management of the so-called 'chantina del portucciuolo', the tavern of the Colonnella military company based in Livorno. He steadily developed the opportunities offered by the wine trade, exploiting the trade route along the river Arno; a network of small vessels loaded goods and barrels at Porto di Mezzo, travelled downstream through Empoli and Pontedera and ended their journey in Pisa and, obviously, in Livorno. Moreover, in 1660, Antonio Adami entered into a long-term 'livello' contract to rent the Medici estates of Cerbaiola (in the hills above Empoli), Cigoli and Vicopisano. From Empoli and Livorno the Adami family periodically traded hundreds of barrels of Trebbiano, Montalcino and Chianti wine produced on holdings owned by the Medici, Antinori, Bardi, Pandolfini, De Nobili, Rucellai and Niccolini families, often with the support of agents such as Lorenzo Maria Lanfredini and Leonardo de' Frescobaldi, or of the trading company founded by the Florentine nobleman Onofrio Bracci.

Pier Antonio Possi, also serves as the cellarmaster [...] of the Company [...]of the Colonnella, and so as such enjoys all the customary rights and privileges; and so that he might be recognized as such we have prepared the present attestation, signed in person and surmounted by the seal of this military company. Donato Salamoni Cancelliere.' ('A dì 14 Ottobre 1663 Livorno, Attesto per la verità a chi si aspetta la verità, che Antonio di Alessandro Adami da Empoli, oltre ad esser descritto soldato di questo presidio nella Compagnia del capitano Pier Antonio Possi, serve anche per cantiniere [...] della Compagnia [...] della Colonnella, pertanto come tale gode tutte le facoltà e privilegi consueti, e perché sia riconosciuto come tale gli abbiamo fatto il presente attestato sottoscritto di prima mano, e sormontato con il sigillo di questa militare banca. Donato Salamoni Cancelliere.'), Archivio Adami-Lami, archival piece 383, pack no. 2, document no. 15, 14/10/1663.

In the early modern age, the family in Tuscany was largely viewed as an organic entity, in which individuals and their personal needs carried only relative weight. The interests of the group, of the house, as a compact multi-generational structure always prevailed. It was a complex unitary system, not immune to internal conflicts, comprising many individuals differing by gender, generation and kinship ties, but all systematically functional to each other.[9]

Knowledge of the family context is important for understanding Francesco Adami's initiation into a life of trade in a foreign country. Through his extensive family network, Francesco came into contact with some of the main drivers of change in his time: the expansion of the maritime powers before the outbreak of the Spanish War of Succession that sealed English supremacy of the seas, transcontinental trade, the feverish advance of knowledge and information and the growing pace of emigration.

Between London and Livorno

Antonio Adami's decision to send his twenty-year-old son Francesco to train in London was by no means coincidental. In London, Francesco stayed with and was watched over by Francesco Terriesi (1635–1715), a friend and trading partner of Antonio's. Terriesi was a prominent merchant and the most authoritative Tuscan figure in the English capital at the time, more so than the grand duke of Tuscany's official representative, Giovanni Antelminelli, whose place he took in 1680.[10] Antonio Adami, who was in close contact with Tuscany's economic elite, from who he purchased the wine that he then resold in Livorno, wanted to forge a profitable relationship with the community of English merchants that had become established in Livorno during the seventeenth century.

[9] ROBERTO BIZZOCCHI, *In famiglia. Storie di interessi e affetti nell'Italia moderna* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2001); MARZIO BARBAGLI, *Sotto lo stesso tetto. Mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984); CESARINA CASANOVA, *La famiglia italiana in età moderna. Ricerche e modelli* (Roma: Carocci, 1997); GUILLAUME CALAFAT, "Familles, réseaux et confiance dans l'économie de l'époque moderne. Diasporas marchandes et commerce interculturel", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 66/2 (2011): 513-31. On the intermingling of family and trade in Livorno, albeit from the perspective of a Sephardic group of merchants, see FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[10] Francesco Terriesi himself attested to his friendship with Antonio Adami, when he became head of customs at the port of Livorno: 'The present letter is to greet you, remembering our old friendship when the departed soul of the sergeant major, my brother, was still alive, and to wish to continue to employ myself in your service on every occasion [...]('La presente segue per salutarla ricordandole l'antica amicizia che passava fra di noi quando era viva la b[uona] a[nima] del signore sergente maggiore mio fratello, desiderando di continuar in ogni occasione d'impiegarmi in suo servizio [...]'), Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Terriesi to Antonio Adami, document 64, archival piece 473, Florence 19/10/1691. For a biographic profile of Francesco Terriesi, see STEFANO VILLANI, "Note su Francesco Terriesi (1635-1715) mercante, diplomatico e funzionario mediceo tra Londra e Livorno," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* 10 (2002/2003): 59-80.

A structured English community in Livorno can be identified from 1620 onwards, and the year 1621 – when Richard Allen was appointed consul of the English Nation – perhaps marked a turning point between an initial period of the English presence in Livorno, uncertain and ill-defined, and a new phase in which the presence of English trading companies in the city became gradually more important both for the economy of the port and for the English economic and political community. If in the decades around the end of the sixteenth century the English in Livorno were mainly sea captains – often the owners of their own ships – from 1620 onwards the English community essentially consisted of the commercial agents of London-based companies and rich merchants and shipowners. In the space of a few years it became the most important English community in Italy, overtaking those of Venice, Genoa and Naples. From 1640 the English community in Livorno included some the richest merchants in the city, who were surrounded by a large number of relatives, clerks and small traders, making the English presence on the streets of Livorno very evident.[11]

What made Livorno such an important trading hub was its excellent geographic position, the existing laws and the infrastructure that facilitated the growth of the warehousing and transit of goods. Livorno also managed to attract the peninsula's land routes, in particularly by replacing Genoa as a port for the northern region of Lombardy. This was decisive in making Livorno the linchpin for the import and export of goods to and from England. In 1667 Sir John Finch, an Englishman residing in Tuscany, described it as the'Magazine and Scale of the English Levant Trade', thanks also to the almost complete absence of customs duty on goods.[12]Analysing goods traffic in Livorno, Jean Pierre Filippini identified a triple function of the Tuscan port which, in the early modern age, was simultaneously a regional port, a peninsular port and an international port. English merchants dominated trade both with the Levant and the routes linking Tuscany with areas

11 MICHELA D'ANGELO, *Mercanti inglesi a Livorno 1573-1737. Alle origini di una 'British Factory'* (Messina: Istituto di Studi Storici Gaetano Salvemini, 2004), 68–69; A 1642 fiscal source shows us the presence of ten British merchants in Livorno out of a total of 171 (80 Jews, 33 French, 8 Flemish).The number of English merchants would rise during the seventeenth century to 20-25. For further information on the number of English people present in Livorno, STEFANO VILLANI, "'Una piccola epitome di Inghilterra". La comunità inglese di Livorno negli anni di Ferdinando II: questioni religiose e politiche', in STEFANO VILLANI, STEFANIA TUTINO, CHIARA FRANCESCHINI, eds., *Questioni di storia inglese tra Cinque e Seicento: cultura, politica e religione* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 2006 [2003]); and Id., "I consoli della nazione inglese a Livorno tra il 1665 e il 1673: Joseph Kent, Thomas Clutterbuck e Ephraim Skinner," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* 11 (2004): 12-15.

12 MICHELA D'ANGELO, *Mercanti inglesi a Livorno*, 54. Public Record Office, State Paper, 98/8, Livorno 4 and 11 April 1667, Finch to Arlington; quoted by GIGLIOLA PAGANO DE DIVITIIS, *Mercanti Inglesi nell'Italia del Seicento*, 140, and MICHELA D'ANGELO, *Mercanti inglesi a Livorno*, 109. Sir John Finch, an authoritative intellectual, studied in Cambridge and Padua and later became professor of anatomy at the University of Pisa between 1659 and 1664.

12 GIGLIOLA PAGANO DE DIVITIIS, "Il Mediterraneo nel XVII secolo: L'espansione commerciale inglese e l'Italia," *Studi Storici* 27/1 (1986).

where the English had a strong trading influence, for instance the particularly lucrative trade in caviar between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and Russia.[13]

It is understandable, then, that Antonio Adami felt the need to ensure that his son honed his professional skills in this merchant culture, in order to exploit the great opportunities offered by the vast English trading network, especially as Francesco was a young man and Antonio had to find a suitable role for him.

The training of Francesco Adami

In December 1672 Francesco Adami left Livorno for England, embarking on a long sea journey lasting 39 days. He disembarked in London on 22 January 1673, and arrived at Francesco Terriesi's house late that night. The following morning Francesco was woken by the songs of a Catholic Mass; Terriesi had arranged for Masses to be conducted at home in order to avoid any kind of political repercussion. The social climate in England in the 1670s was febrile because of the conflict with the Dutch Republic, while there was a growing fear of Catholicism among the population due to the pro-French policies of Charles II.

While reordering the Adami-Lami Archive I came upon some invaluable letters sent by the young Francesco Adami to his father Antonio during his stay in England between 1673 and 1674, written at intervals that ranged from 20 to 120 days. Acting as a counterpoint to these were other letters written by Francesco Terriesi to Antonio in the same period, which are also conserved in the archive.

Francesco's sojourn in London represented a significant investment on his father's part. A letter written by Francesco Terriesi in 1674, shortly before the young trainee returned to Livorno, shows that Terriesi had advanced some of those considerable costs. The content of the letter that the future resident of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in London sent to Antonio Adami is important, because it reveals the scale and nature of those costs. In fact, Terriesi listed every item of expense that he advanced.

One totally neglected aspect of historic research into seventeenth-century merchants is the quantification of the investment made in a young person's cultural formation. The historiography on commercial knowledge has not devoted much attention to studying what the schooling of traders actually comprised, that is to say, the skills and abilities that a trader was expected to acquire. With the exception of a

[13] JEAN-PIERRE FILIPPINI, *Il porto di Livorno e la Toscana (1676-1814)*, Vol. 1 (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998), 48-63. The same classificatory scheme was adopted by Lucia Frattarelli-Fischer, who describes Livorno as follows: 'It was a regional port of remarkable importance for Tuscan trade, a warehousing and trading port between northern Europe and the Mediterranean and also a market supplying various parts of Italy [...]', LUCIA FRATTARELLI-FISCHER, "Merci e mercanti nella Livorno seicentesca," in SILVANA BALBI DE CARO, ed., *Merci e monete a Livorno in età granducale* (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 1997), 88; COREY TAZZARA, *The Free Port of Livorno and the Transformation of the Mediterranean World 1574-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 134.

few works by French and English historians, reference must still be made to now classic studies about the economic training of traders in the late Middle Ages.[14]

What were the educational expenses for the trainee Francesco Adami? From Terriesi's letters we learn that the school year was divided intoquarterly periods; what the three-monthly fee was for Mr Gordon, Francesco's teacher, namely six pounds; or, and this is another significant aspect, what attire was required by the young Adami in order to be recognized and accepted by the business community as a credible trainee merchant:[15]

1673		
30 June	For a pair of silk stocking and a pair of gloves	£ -:22:-
16 July	Duty and various costs to ship 2 cases of wine and a small box of guitar chords to your house in Livorno	£ 4:18:-
14 August	To the school master for the first quarterly period and enrolment at the school	£ 7:-:-
- ditto	Costs to transfer Francesco and his belongings to the school	£ -:10:-
27 ditto	For stockings, gloves and [...] hats	£ 1:8:10
10 October	Paid the bills to repair clothing and to treat a certain ailment	£ 2:-:-
18 November	To the master of the school for the second quarterly period	£ 6:-:-
24 December	For two neckties, two hats, gloves and stockings	£ 1:05:-
	For 7 pairs of shoes	£ 1:11:6
1674		
13 January	Paid the cost (he says)of repairing clothing	£ -:10:-
20 ditto	Paid the bills for buying gloves and garters	£ -:5:-
24 ditto	Expenses for a new outfit	£ 3:10:-
31 ditto	Payment of the bills for debts accumulated by Francesco	£ [...]
10 February	Pay expenses to repay other debts and to buy gifts to take to his father, mother and sisters	£ 4:-:-

[14] For a pioneering study of mercantile training, see ARMANDO SAPORI, "La cultura del mercante medievale italiano", *Rivista di Storia economica* 2 (1937) [republished in the essay collections *Studi di Storia economica medievale* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1967)] and *Les marchands italien au moyen-âge: conferences et bibliografie* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1952).

[15] Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Terriesi to Antonio Adami, 9 March 1674, London, document 46, archival piece 547. Image no. 1.

18 ditto	For a pair of silk stockings and a pair of boots	£ -:15:6
21 ditto	For a hat, a sword with a baldric, a pair of shoes and a pair of boots, spurs and sundry	£ 2:10:-
	For 25 Louis d'ors, and £ 2, given to him in coin to make the return journey to Livorno	£ 23:17:6
		£ 70:12:4
Deducted the expenses for two cases of wine, deducting the cost of freight, duty and broken flasks		£ 3:-:-
Remaining		£ 67:12:4

The total expenses paid by Francesco Terriesi between 30 June 1673 and 21 February 1674 in order to maintain Adami, without considering the sum received by Francesco from his father when he left Livorno, amounted to over 67 pounds, that is, around 309 eight-real Spanish dollars, equivalent, just to give an idea, to 20 months of a reasonably well-paid employee of the explorer and philosopher William Penn,[16] to 120 barrels of wine[17], or to 13 years and 4 months of rent for a modest dwelling in Livorno.[18]Although in 1675 English merchants were paying between 350 and 400 pounds to send their children to train as agents in the Levant Company in Smirne,[19]for Antonio Adami, who had many other children to support, it was a considerable investment, from which he expected a financial return that was not just satisfactory for Francesco but also sufficient to consolidate the finances of his family business in Livorno.

Giovanni Domenico Peri (1590–1666) was one of the first writers to provide a general frame of reference regarding the professional training of young men: his *Negotiante,* published at the end of the 1630s, was produced in the cultural context of

[16] RICHARD S. DUNN and MARY MAPLES DUNN, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 40; JEREMY BOULTON, "Wage Labour in Seventeenth-Century London," *Economic History Review* 49 (1996), 268-90; NATASHA GLAISYER, *The Culture of Commerce in England, 1660-1720* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2006).

[17] Archivio Adami-Lami, archival piece 321, '*Havere a 20 aprile pezze 300 per barili 120 vino a lire 5 la soma*', 'Quaderno di conti della cantina del porticciolo di Livorno tenuto da Antonio Adami', 20 April 1677, 2.

[18] Archivio Adami-Lami, archival piece 289, 'On 15 July 1673, I, Giovanni Francesco Tesconi, declare that I have received from Signor Domenico Marzochini two eight-real dollars for a month spent in a room held in rent, and he pays me on behalf of Signor Andrea di Lorenzo Del Pace, in coin to me the aforementioned' ('A dì 15 luglio 1673, Io Giovanni Francesco Tesconi, ho ricevuto dal signore Domenico Marzochini pezze due di otto reali, quali sono per un mese trascorso di una stanza che tiene in affitto, e mi paga per conto del signore Andrea di Lorenzo Del Pace, in contanti a me suddetto in mano propria affermo'), Quaderno di Conti di Antonio Adami, 24.

[19] GWILYM AMBROSE, "English Traders at Aleppo (1658-1756)," *The Economic History Review* 3/2 (1931), 247.

the urban merchant oligarchies of central and northern Italy.[20] The work was conceived as a synthesis between the model of education widespread among aristocratic families and the learning of a practical knowledge of trade. Lying within this dual tradition was the requirement to be familiar with 'notary writing', considered essential for understanding contracts, and the importance of a good knowledge of Latin. The art of 'speaking well' (also in foreign languages) and of 'writing well' were not just a mark of social distinction, but also a fundamental requirement for the merchant's trade. Similar attention also had to be given to handwriting. These were abilities in which Italian merchant bankers were trained from the sixteenth century onwards.

Besides these basic learning components there was also 'complete understanding of arithmetic' – that is, a perfect mastery of the four operations – learnt from a tutor or in a specialist school.[21]

The 'Adami letters' exchanged between London and Livorno between 1673 and 1674 (the documentation is mutilated, however, as Antonio's letters in reply to his son are missing) describe a notion of training apparently informed by the prescriptions of manuals. In June 1673, six months after Adami's arrival in London, Francesco Terriesi wrote to Antonio about how he had welcomed Francesco into his home, probably in the Italian neighbourhood near Lombard Street, and then did everything to ensure Francesco was in the best possible position to acquire the skills expected of him:

> My dear sir,
>
> While I have not been punctual in acknowledging receipt of the kind letter that you wrote to me last December, I was however diligent in implementing the content of it, as I am sure your son Francesco will inform you. I welcomed him into my home upon his arrival, and accommodated him until I found a suitable arrangement for him with a Catholic gentleman, who runs a school of Latin, French and English; he [Francesco] thus has a great opportunity to improve in one of the three languages that he prefers, and to abide by the good and true religion that he received at birth and still maintains. I am however still pressing him to improve the English language, which is the sole purpose why you sent him here, and I am watching him so he does not yield to distractions whereby such a result would not be obtained. [...][22]

[20] GIOVANNI DOMENICO PERI, *Il Negotiante* (Genova: Nella stampa di Pier Giovanni Calenzano, 1638).

[21] GIAN PAOLO BRIZZI, "Le marchand italien à l'école entre Renaissance et Lumières," in FRANCO ANGIOLINI and DANIEL ROCHE, eds., *Cultures et formations négociantes dans l'Europe moderne* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1995), 205.

[22] 'Signor Mio, se non sono stato puntuale nel'acusarli la sua cortese scrittami di dicembre passato, fui però diligente nel esequire il contenuto come mi persuado resterà avvisata dal Francesco suo figlio, quale ricevei in mia casa al suo arrivo, e tenni sin tanto che gli trovai luogo in quelli di un galanthuomo cattolico che facendo scuola di latino, di francese e d'inglese tiene larga opportunità di profittarsi in quella delle tre lingue che gl'aggrada, e di mantenersi nella buona e vera religione, che dalli natali ha

The main reason for Francesco Adami's sojourn in England was therefore to improve his English, so that he could one day do business with the English community in Livorno with ease. Furthermore, Terriesi's programme, like the one earlier proposed by Peri, combined the study of the language of international trade with the study of the classics and of Latin.

To avoid the distractions of a large city like London, Terriesi took Francesco to Kensington, which in 1673 was still in open countryside and just three miles from the capital, where the young man seemed to have found the concentration required to learn English and the determination to make himself financially independent of his father:

> [...] I can stay here in London without you having to spend a single penny for me, if, with your help, you send me the following goods, because I now have the opportunity to do business, because I am in the country three miles away from London in this village called Chinsinton [Kensington], where many fine ladies live. And with many of these ladies I have established a friendship through a lady who resides in the same house as me. These ladies come and stroll around the school every day with this lady, because here there is the largest house with a garden in this village. With the help of the master who speaks good Italian, who is most fond of me and his name is Mr Turbeville, I have for some time now been able to make myself understood in English, because since I have been in the country I have learned more in a week that I did in a month in another school [in London]. I have now been approached by a lady who has asked me, on the occasion of me writing to you now, to bring from those parts [Italy] ten small bottles of orange blossom water from Lucca, and ten more for another lady. Send me also forty small bottles of Angels' water, because if a bottle is worth a scudo down there [in Italy], here it is worth two or three scudi [...].[23]

After having learnt the language of international trade, the second phase of training should consist, according to Peri, of a period of practical experience in a *banco,* or trading company, preferably one 'doing big transactions in all kinds of business'.

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intenuto. Io però lo stimolo solo al presente di rendersi possessore della lingua inglese, come ch'è l'unico fine per il quale l'ha qui vostra signoria mandato, e invigilo quant'esser puole che senza distrazioni vi arrivi prima che possibil sia [...].' Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Terriesi to Antonio Adami, London, 3 June 1673, document 56, archival piece 473.

[23] '[...] io posso stare qui in Londra senza volere darvi un quattrino di spesa se è con l'aiuto vostro di mandarmi questa seguente robba perché io hora ho l'occasione di potere fare questa cosa, perché io stando in campagna lontano dalla città 3 miglia che questo castello è nominato Chinsinton il quale ci sta una mana di signore grande et massimamente io havendo preso amicizia con di molte di queste signore per via di un miledi che sta nella medesima nostra casa che tutto il giorno vengano qui nella squola a spasso da questa signora che vi è il più gran giardino e casa che sia in questo castello e con l'aiuto del maestro che parla bene itagliano il quale ha di molto affetto a me et il nome si chiama mister Turbeville et da me stesso che io mi fo intendere da un inghilese perché da impò in qua che questo maestro qui che sto in campagna io ho imparato più in una settimane che se io fussi stato in un'altra squola un mese, hora in questo punto è stata qui da me una signora il quale mi dice che con l'occasione che io scrivo io li facessi venire di coteste parti 10 fiaschettini aqua di fior d'aranci di Lucca e 10 per un'altra signora aqua di angioli me ne manderete sino in 40 fiachettini perché se costagiù vagliano uno scudo il fiachetto qua vagliano 2 o 3 scudi [...].' Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Adami to Antonio Adami, Kensington, 21 August 1673, document 30, archival piece 530.

Being in a company with a broad and diverse range of operations would in fact permit the trainee to acquire a more complete technical training. The model proposed by Peri envisaged a programme of work that combined principles of education and basic rules of behaviour: the duty of the trainee (copying correspondence, sorting letters according to their origin and destination, helping with the bookkeeping) was to assimilate the fundamental notions through the repetition of trading practices.

Unfortunately for Francesco, it was precisely in 1673 that Charles II passed the Test Act prohibiting Catholics from occupying public offices. The political climate became so feverish that, as Francesco noted in a letter to his father, not even a merchant like Terriesi was able to find him a *sequola* (a seat, a figurative term denoting a job) in a trading company so he could gain some practical experience:

> [...] three or four days ago I heard some news that disturbed everyone in the house, as we are all Catholic; I saw the master enter the house and say, in a melancholy tone: 'My dear boys, you need to know that parliament has stripped me of my post and ordered me to leave. At this point, however, you can all go home to your friends and fathers and find another school, because I will have to leave if I don't want to die.' The master has gone to France, and I find myself a guest in the house of Signor Terresi until I find a work position, though it will be hard to find one because I am a Catholic in this country [...][24]

Following the thread of the first letters exchanged between London and Livorno, in which Francesco was trying to carve out a space for himself in an important foreign trading market that he did not adequately know, asking his father Antonio for luxury goods (wine, oil, violin string, silk hosiery) to trade and sell in England, one might imagine a trainee employed in a trading company as portrayed in a seventeenth-century manual. Francesco seemed in fact to be busy acquiring a mastery of the basics of company management in an international mercantile setting: on the one hand, learning to write letters and record commercial correspondence; on the other, learning to keep accounts books and ledgers. This was because, to be successful in business, it was necessary above all else to acquire a much more complex know-how through practical and real-life experience of the profession.[25]

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[24] '[...] è stato tre o quattro giorni sentendo una nuova che ha disturbato tutti di casa per essere tutti cattolici; che per vedere venire il maestro a casa malinconico e dicendosi in questa forma 'Cari figlioli voi haverete a sapere come il parlamento mi ha levato la sequola e dandomi hordine che io vagghi via in questo punto però tutti quanti potrete andare a casa tutti i vostri amici e padri e trovare un'altra sequola perché bisogna che io vadi via'. Se non voglio morire, et il maestro andatosene in Francia et io ritrovandomi a casa il signore Terresi allogiato tanto che mi trovi una sequola che si dura faticha a trovarle perché io son cattolico di questo paese [...].' Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Adami to Antonio Adami, London, 1 August 1673, archival piece 457, document 29.

[25] GIORGIO DORIA, "Conoscenza del mercato e sistema informativo: il know-how dei mercanti-finanzieri genovesi nei secoli XVI e XVII," in ALDO DE MADDALENA and HERMANN KELLENBENZ, eds., *La repubblica internazionale del denaro tra XV e XVII secolo* (Bologna: Annali dell'Istituto storico italo germanico, 1986), 57-121, now in Id., *Nobiltà e investimenti a Genova in Età moderna* (Genova: Istituto di

The hidden reality of Francesco's traineeship

The 'Adami letters' reveal how the inclinations and behaviour of Francesco Adami, which ran counter to the behaviour prescribed in seventeenth-century manuals, ultimately dashed all the expectations that his father Antonio and his mentor Francesco Terriesi had of him. During his year in London, despite the enthusiastic letter sent to his father, Francesco squandered all his money in parties and hunting trips in the English countryside, and he did not study and work as he should have done (or how his father hoped he would). The first alarming warning arrived six months after Francesco's arrival, from Terriesi himself, who attempted to tactfully inform his friend Antonio about his son's behaviour in London:

> [...] But to tell you the truth, I do not note the progress which, after all this time that he [Francesco] has been here, he should have made, and I begin to lend credence to the complaints about [his] lack of attention about which his master often informs me. I would like you to stimulate him to learn the language [English] with all speed by telling him that you are in need of his help, and summon him back [to Livorno] as soon as possible, because it seems to me that the indolence in which he lives in such a liberal country as this could relax him further and excessively, and what little he will learn will not outweigh the harm that ensues. At first, he did nothing other than ask me for money, but I reproached him harshly, while where he lives he lacks nothing regarding his board, and as for clothing I provide for all his requests [...][26]

Terriesi's advice was therefore to summon Francesco back home to Livorno as soon as possible, so he could better concentrate on the family business, away from the expensive pleasures in which he had frequently indulged in London. But in the four letters that Francesco sent to his father between January and September, excluding the first one in which he described the long voyage to England and the initial amazement at finding himself in a city so much bigger than Livorno (it was his first trip outside of Tuscany) during a terrible political campaign against the Catholic community and the war against the Dutch republic, he seemed to have developed a certain enthusiasm, not just for learning English but also for business affairs. As he demonstrated in his letter of 8 September 1673, in which he offered his father some trading opportunities involving the export of goods from London and the import of

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Storia Economica, 1995), 91–155. DONALD J. HARRELD, "An Education in Commerce: Transmitting Business Information in Early Modern Europe," in Jari Ojala and Leos Müller, eds., *Information flows. New Approaches in the Historical Study of Business Information* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007).

[26]'[...] Ma per dirli la verità, non scorgovi quel progresso che in tanto tempo che qui si ritrova, doveria havere fatto, e comincio a prestar credito alle querele di poc'attenzione che sovente me ne porge il suo maestro. Vorrei io, che vostra signoria lo stimolasse ad apprender la lingua con la celerità possibile figurandoli havere bisogno di servirsene, e che se lo ritirasse per subito ch'esser possa, perché parmi che l'ozio in che se ne vive, possa in questo paese di libertà relassarli in guisa il suo naturale, che non possi quello apprenderà, bilanciar lo scapito che facesse. Non mi faceva egli in principio che richiesta di danari, ma havendoneli io aspramente ripreso, mentre dove habita non gli manca la cosa minima attenente il vitto, e per quel'attien al vestito lo tengo io di tutto provisto, non m'inquieta più tanto [...].' Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Terriesi to Antonio Adami, London, 3 June 1673, Archival piece 473, letter no. 56.

foods, drinks and precious goods from Italy, including perfume and strings for musical instruments:

> [...] With my previous letters, you will have understood my desire that you send me all the goods I requested. These are things on which we can profit, and I can save you the expenses you are incurring to keep me here, learning how to trade, as you promised me before my departure; and I would like a detailed account of all the goods you send me in order to work out the earnings and send you the profit, so you can again send me what I order. It would be a pleasure then to hear that you have embarked the goods, that is, oil, wine, perfumed water of Lucca, thin guitar and violin chords, [...] hoping to acquit myself well during the period in which I will live away from home, if you give me the possibility to do so. And of all the goods requested, send me larger quantities of wine, oil, barrels of anchovies, because these goods sell better than other items. Conversely, if you need goods from this country, you can send me the order, because despite my little knowledge of the language I will be able to serve you[...][27]

Most of the letters Francesco wrote to his father in the first ten months of his stay in London had the same enthusiastic tone. It seemed as if, despite initial difficulties arising from his lack of knowledge of English and the completely different habits and customs, that he had managed to complete his traineeship abroad in accordance with the ideal model presented in manuals. In reality though, it was just an extended lie that lasted for ten months. Of the recommendations made by Peri in his manual for would-be merchants, Francesco had not followed a single one. His confession to his father arrived in Livorno two months after the letter of September 1673. Perhaps the truth was brought to light by Francesco Terriesi, after having received negative comments from the teachers about Francesco's moral and scholastic conduct, as the young man's whole focus was on enjoying life, sumptuous meals and other forms of entertainment. Or perhaps the truth emerged because Francesco was no longer able to keep up the lie. He was probably also put under pressure by Terriesi's Catholic acquaintances to confess the truth to his father about what he had done (or not done) in England during his long stay there:

[27]'[...] con altre mia haverà sentito il mio desiderio che vostra signoria mandi tutto quello li ho hordinato sendo cose che vi è da guadagniare, et risparmiarvi le spese che qui per me potessi fare, et apprendere il modo del negotio havendomi vostra signoria così promesso havanti la mia partenza e di tutto quello che mi manderà ne desiderò minutamente il conto per poter sapere l'utile et a vostra signoria rimettere il denaro acciò che di novo porsi mandare quello li hordinerò sentirò dunque volentieri le habbia caricate cioè l'olio, vino, acqua di Lucca di odore, corde di chitarra e violini sottile massimamente, [...] sperando darvi sengni di voler fare bene nel tempo che starò fuora di casa se mi darete animo di farlo e di tutte queste cose mandi la maggior parte vino, olio, barili di acciughe che questi si vendano meglio dell'altre cose, e all'incontro lì bisogna mercanzie di questo Paese hordini pure che con un poco di lingua che ho posso servirvi [...].' Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Adami to Antonio Adami, 8 September 1673, Archival piece 509, letter no. 33.

> My most dear Father,
>
> Wishing to conceal my faults would make you even more vexed with me; and with trembling hand and languishing spirit I must inform you that Signor Francesco Terresi is very angry with me, and he is right, not having obeyed his good advice because I allowed myself to be swayed by my tiny brain and I have attended more to pleasures than to the little money I had available, having spent, or it would be better to say, dissipated 55 [pieces of eight] which I spent in eating and drinking to excess, because I did not honestly content myself but yielded somewhat to the vice of gluttony and got into the habit of going hunting. These are all my shortcomings, and as an effect of these I neglected school, which has further angered Signor Terresi, and considering the errors I have made and the condition in which I find myself, it would be better for me, and for you, that you tell me to return because I do not love the country nor the customs and the qualities of the people, and not the language either. This is by way of saying that it is impossible to live in these parts, and I beg you to forgive me, and with the most heartfelt affection I ask for forgiveness, promising you that if I remain under your protective care I will be obedient to your smallest indication, regretting that I have not brought back any profit to you by having been in these parts, just incurring expenses. Here being all my grief, I ask for your patience and to excuse my youthful errors. The chords are unusable because they are still wet, so instruct me what I must do. Here I find no opportunity to make money, and if I said I had sold the goods you sent me I would be lying, this not being true either. I beg you, forgive me [...].[28]

Francesco's letter of confession, though structured according to well-worn epistolary conventions (with a greeting and introduction in a tone offering a foretaste of what was to come, alerting the reader what to expect, followed by a description of the facts, a plea for paternal indulgence and a final greeting[29]), provide a glimpse both of

[28] 'Carissimo signore Padre, il volere occultare i miei mancamenti sarebbe maggiormente iritarvi contro di me; e con la man tremante e con lo spirito languente li fo sapere come questo signore Francesco Terresi è molto addirato contro di me e con gran ragione non havendo io ubbidito a i suoi buoni documenti ma sì bene lasciatomi trasportare dal mio poco cervello e curato più li spassi che il poco denaro, havendo speso o per meglio dire mandato male da [...] 55 i quali ho speso in mangiare e bere di supelffluo non essendomi contentato dell'onesto ma tirato un poco al vizio di gola e presomi il passo nell'andare a caccia sendo questi tutti i miei mancamenti et a questo effetto ho tralasciato la scquola il che maggiormente ha messo in collera il signore Terresi e considerando io all'errore commesso e nel grado che mi trovo, meglio sarà per me e per voi che mi mandate a ripigliare non hamando il paese né i costumi ne le qualità delle persone ne tampoco il linguaggio, questo fa dire che impossibile il vivere in queste parti pregandovi a perdonarmi e con il più vivo affetto del quore vi domando perdoni promettendovi che se verrò sotto la vostra custodia sarò ubbidiente ad ogni vostro minimo cenno dolendomi il non avere riportato a voi frutto alcuno nel venire in queste parti ma sì bene aggravatovi in ispese sendo tutto il mio dolore che fa haver pazienza e condonare la gioventù, le corde sono ancora in essere per essere fradice, però ordinatemi quello che debbo fare non trovando qui denaro di sorte alcuna e se dissi averle vendute dissi male non sendo vero che anco in questo vi prego perdonarmi [...].' Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Adami to Antonio Adami, 27 November 1673, Archival piece 547, letter no. 3.

[29] CAROLYN P. JAMES and JESSICA O'LEARY, 'Letter-writing and emotions', in SUSAN BROOMHALL and ANDREW LYNCH, eds., *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100-1700* (London: Routledge, 2019), 256-268; GARY SCHNEIDER, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005); JAMES DAYBELL, *The Material Letter: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing in Early Modern England,*

the writer's emotive state – a mixture of shame, embarrassment and fear – but also his emotional strategy: to ensure that his father's indulgence outweighed his shock at being let down, his disappointment and resentment, by way of a marked, plaintive exhibition – albeit late, opportunistic and partial – of youthful worthlessness and irresponsibility and an undertaking to make amends in the future if his father forgave him. The rhetorical and almost theatrical stylistic features employed in this letter reveal familiarity with expressive and educative means of managing and manipulating the sense of guilt that were common in circles powerfully conditioned by clerical discipline,[30] like the small town of Empoli where he had grown up together with his aunts Maria Jacopa Adami, Margherita and Vittoria Fortunata Tronci, nuns in the convent of the Santissima Annunziata, and other relatives who had been in religious life since childhood.[31]

Francesco's period of training in England ended then with his confession and the deep disappointment of his mentor Francesco Terriesi, who would have liked to have seen greater diligence and constancy in his studies. Adami left London on 22 February 1675, feeling very relieved, as we learn from his last letter to his father:

> My most dear father,
>
> In compliance with your orders I am preparing to return home, and my departure is due next Thursday, which will be the first of March in the Gregorian calendar, but I don't know whether I will arrive in time to attend my sister's taking of monastic vows, unless she postpones them. I depart very willingly, not so much to see you all as to leave this country, which I consider to be intrinsically contrary to me; and if I have not made the progress you would have expected of me, I attribute it above all to the poverty of my spirit, which has not granted me greater talents[...][32]

1580–1635 (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2012); CAROL POSTER and LINDA C. MITCHELL, eds., *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instructions from Antiquity to the Present* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007); JAMES DAYBELL and PETER HINDS, eds., *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture, 1580-1730: Texts and Social Practices* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2010).

[30] WOLFGANG REINHARD, "Disciplinamento sociale, confessionalizzazione, modernizzazione. Un discorso storiografico," in PAOLO PRODI, ed., *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1994), 101-123.

[31] Francesco grew up with various brothers, sisters and cousins who entered religious life, including his brother Fra Anton Francesco, his sisters Rosalba, Felice Costante and Costanza Maria, all nuns in the convent of the Santissima Annunziata in Empoli, and his cousins Anna Fortunata Adami (also a nun in the convent of the Santissima Annunziata), Orazio Maria Adami and Jacopo Antonio Adami (an observant Minim friar, who also died from the plague in Acre in 1702). These cousins were three children of Antonio Adami's elder brother and partner, Jacopo (1618-1676), the chamberlain of Portoferraio.

[32] 'Carissimo signore padre, in ordine a suoi comandi mi vado allestendo per far ritorno alla patria, e giovedì prossimo che saremo al primo di marzo a codesto stile seguirà la mia partenza, ma non so se sarò in tempo opportuno per vedere il vestimento di mia sorella mentre però da lei non ne venga rattenuto resecutione, io mi parto volentierissimo non tanto per rivedere lor signori quanto per escire di questo paese totalmente a me contrario del genio, se non averò fatto quei progressi che erano dediti della sua volontà l'attribuisco alla povertà del mio spirito che non mi ha reso valevole di talenti

Antonio Adami forgave the prodigal son and allowed him to return to Livorno and to work in the family businesses. Between 1674 and 1685 Francesco assisted his father in running the vineyards on the rented Medici estates, and held the post of deputy superintendent of the Misericordia di Livorno, until the family's fluctuating economic fortunes forced him to leave home and his father's business in order to seek fortune abroad. His long journey towards the Levant, from which he would never return, began in Venice in 1686, without money or protection.

Concluding remarks

Francesco Adami's traineeship in London is just one example taken from a network of young traders about which we still do not know enough. His first formative experience was also unusual in a context, that of seventeenth-century Livorno, that saw a large influx of traders, but where the professional training of young men took place above all 'on site', and was conducted either in the family business or in another company operating in the same commercial market, as happened a few years later to his young brother Domenico, who became a trainee in the trading company of Pier Antonio Guadagni.

Obviously, his social condition and relative lack of cultural capital prevented him from accessing the kind of knowledge outlined in teaching materials like Peri's, directed at the Genoese merchant aristocracy. Tuscan traders viewed training as a period of technical instruction, a necessarily progressive absorbing of professional knowledge that involved the trainee in the business affairs of the company that took him in and trained him. This initial phase was necessary in order to start to build a professional reputation, and an opportunity to meet potential trading partners, become familiar with local business customs and the urban topography. The exchanges – both cultural and of people – between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and England, exemplified by the traineeship of Francesco Adami, is just one example from a dense network attributable to the greater mobility of traders during the early modern age.[33]

The subsequent events in the extraordinary life of this obscure Tuscan merchant – initiated into the arts of trade due to his father's ambitions for social ascent – and his younger brother Domenico, who also became involved in trade with the Levant, will be analysed in later studies, as the perusal and deciphering of the Adami-Lami Archive continues. On the basis of a preliminary reading of many private documents, it can already be anticipated that, despite the failure of his experience in London and his impatience with English culture and customs,

maggiori[...].' Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Adami to Antonio Adami, Archival piece 547, letter no. 43.

[33] MARIA FUSARO, BERNARD ALLAIRE, RICHARD J. BLAKEMORE, TIJL VANNESTE, eds., *Law, Labour and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c. 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015); RICHARD J. BLAKEMORE, "Pieces of Eight, Pieces of Eight: Seafarers' Earnings and the Venture Economy of Early Modern Seafaring," *Economic History Review* 70/4 (2017): 1153-84.

Francesco Adami ended up being appointed vice-consul of the English Nation in 'Sidon, Acre, Haifa, Jaffa' by Henry Hastings[34] in 1699 and pursued his career on the fringes of, but still as a part of, the Levant Company.[35]

The position appeared to be a prestigious one, perhaps offered to him as a result of fortuitous circumstances more than because of any particular merits.[36] Indeed, the Levant Company did not have any representatives in that part of Palestine (the closest was in Tripoli, Lebanon) due to a heavy presence of French traders.[37] The only merchant in that area who had close dealings with English traders based in Aleppo, and especially with the Vernon firm – run by George, Henry and Thomas Vernon,[38] and one of the most important trading companies in the city – was Francesco Adami, who, having worked for the Vernons for a long time, established a small trading company together with a French partner. Francesco accepted the post imagining that there would be great financial benefits, given that one percent of the consular tax levied on goods loaded onto English ships was due to the vice-consul.

His expectations were soon dashed, because, to avoid paying the taxes, foreign traders preferred to load their goods onto French ships or under a different name. Francesco was left with the institutional obligations entailed by his position, such as implementing directives from Aleppo or paying from his own pocket for

[34] The merchant Henry Hastings was the English consul in Aleppo between 1689 and 1701. See ALFRED C. WOOD, *A History of the Levant Company* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1964), 218.

[35] The Levant Company was established in 1581 when Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to Sir Edward Osbourne and Richard Staper to form what was originally called the Company of Merchants of the Levant. In its original form it was a joint-stock company and controlled English trade between Venice and the Near East. Its power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries derived from the new charters of 1606 and 1661, which gave practically exclusive trading rights between England and the Ottoman Empire to all merchants who were part of the company. During the reigns of William III (1689-1702) and Anne (1702-1714), England gained control of the principal foreign trading areas and made its Levant maritime routes secure. But during the first half of the eighteenth century, competition with the East India Company and changes in demand in the Ottoman and English markets led to the decline of the company, which was definitively disbanded in 1825. MORGAN EPSTEIN, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: George Routledge, 1908); DESPINA VLAMI, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

[36] Archivio Adami-Lami, 'Henrico Hastings per la sua Majestà della Gran Brettagnia e console della Soria e Palestina' to Francesco Adami, 12 July 1699, Archival piece 527, no. 2.

[37] This is partially borne out by Henry Maundrell (1665-1701), chaplain of the Levant Company from 1695: 'At Tripoli we repos'd a full week, being very generously entertain'd by Mr Francis Hastings the Consul, and Mr John Fisher Merchant; Theirs being the only English House in Tripoli'. HENRY MAUNDRELL, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem: at Easter, A.D. 1697* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1703), 25; SIMON E. MILLS, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 185.

[38] The Vernon family of Sudbury and Hilton was an influential noble family involved in the commerce of the Levant Company. They ran one of the most important trading companies in Aleppo between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The brothers Henry, George and Thomas Vernon employed Francesco Adami from 1692 to 1696, and then supported the opening of his company in Acre in 1696. See BERNARD BURKE, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, Vol. 2 (London: H. Colburn, 1847), 1478.

costly gifts for representatives of Ottoman institutions in order to incentivize English commercial relations along the coast of Palestine. Greatly frustrated, he carried out his duties until his death from the plague in Acre in 1702.

Microhistoric analysis of the documents left by Francesco Adami, especially of the kind most sensitive to the spatial turn taking account of the connections running through the lives and the mobility of actors through different countries and cultures,[39] paints a picture of a fascinating and troubled global existence. The study of the impressive mass of documents left by this merchant – who was born in Empoli, grew up in Livorno and spent much of his life trading in the eastern Mediterranean before dying of the plague in Palestine – of which only a taste is offered here, could contribute to closing the gap that separates the investigation of the social networks and global lives of diplomats or missionaries from the less well-known one focusing on maritime workers.[40]

[39] CHRISTIAN G. DE VITO, "History Without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective,", *Past & Present* 242, Issue Supplement 14 (November 2019): 348-72; FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?," *California Italian Studies* 2/1 (2011).

[40] COLIN HEYWOOD, "The English in the Mediterranean, 1600-1630: A Post-Braudelian Perspective on the "Northern Invasion'," in MARIA FUSARO, COLIN HEYWOOD, MOHAMED-SALAH OMRI, eds, *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 23-44: 25; Id., "Microhistory / Maritime History: Aspects of British Presence in the Western Mediterranean in the Early Modern Period," in ALBRECHT FUESS and BERNARD HEYBERGER, eds, *La frontière méditerranéenne du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Échanges, circulations et affrontements* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 83-111.

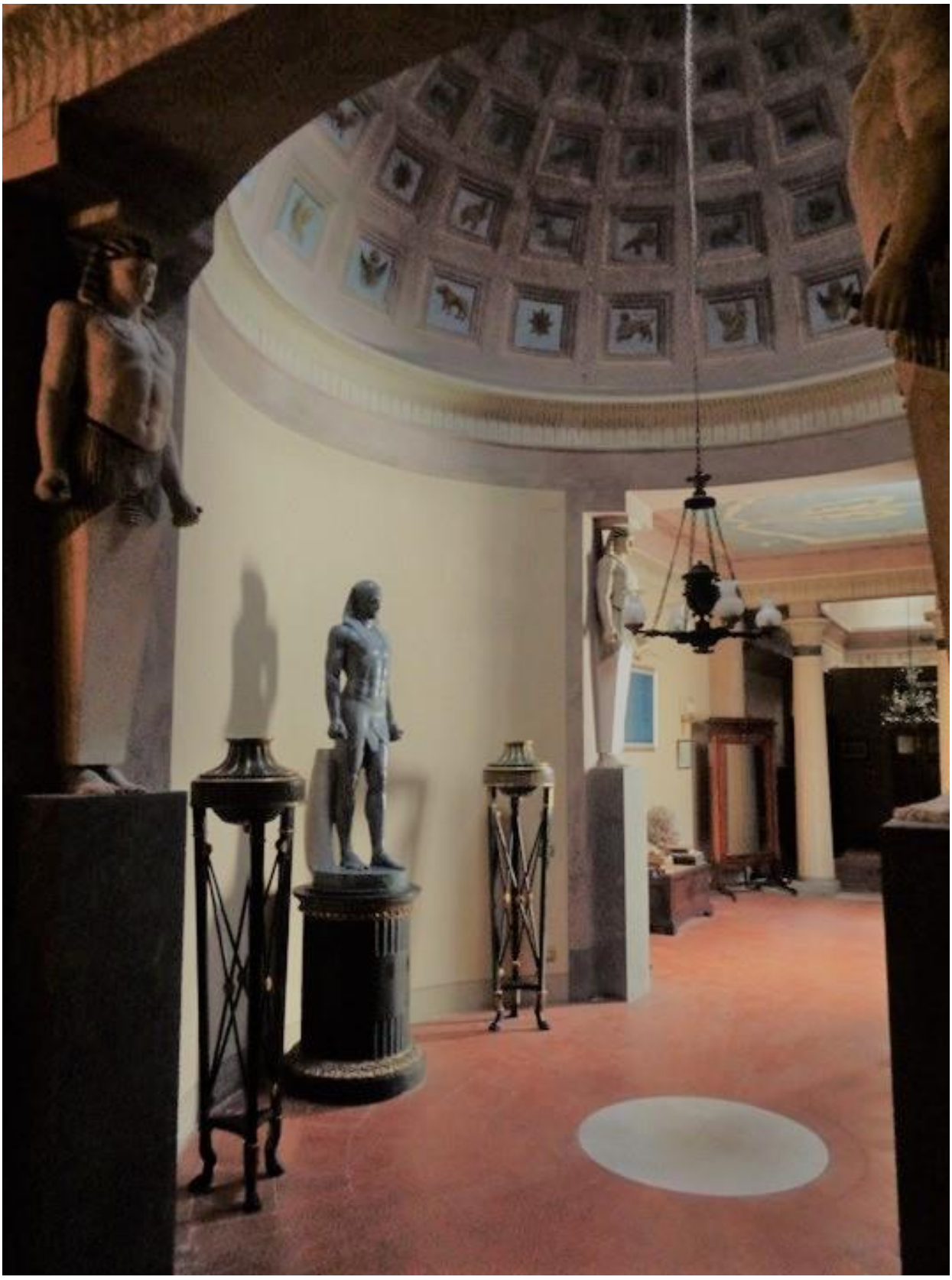

Fig. 1. The principal space of the Adami Gallery, Palazzo Adami-Lami, Florence.

Fig. 2. A glance of the Adami-Lami Archive, Palazzo Adami-Lami, Florence.

Fig. 3. The bookcase no. 1 of the Adami-Lami Archive,
Palazzo Adami-Lami, Florence.

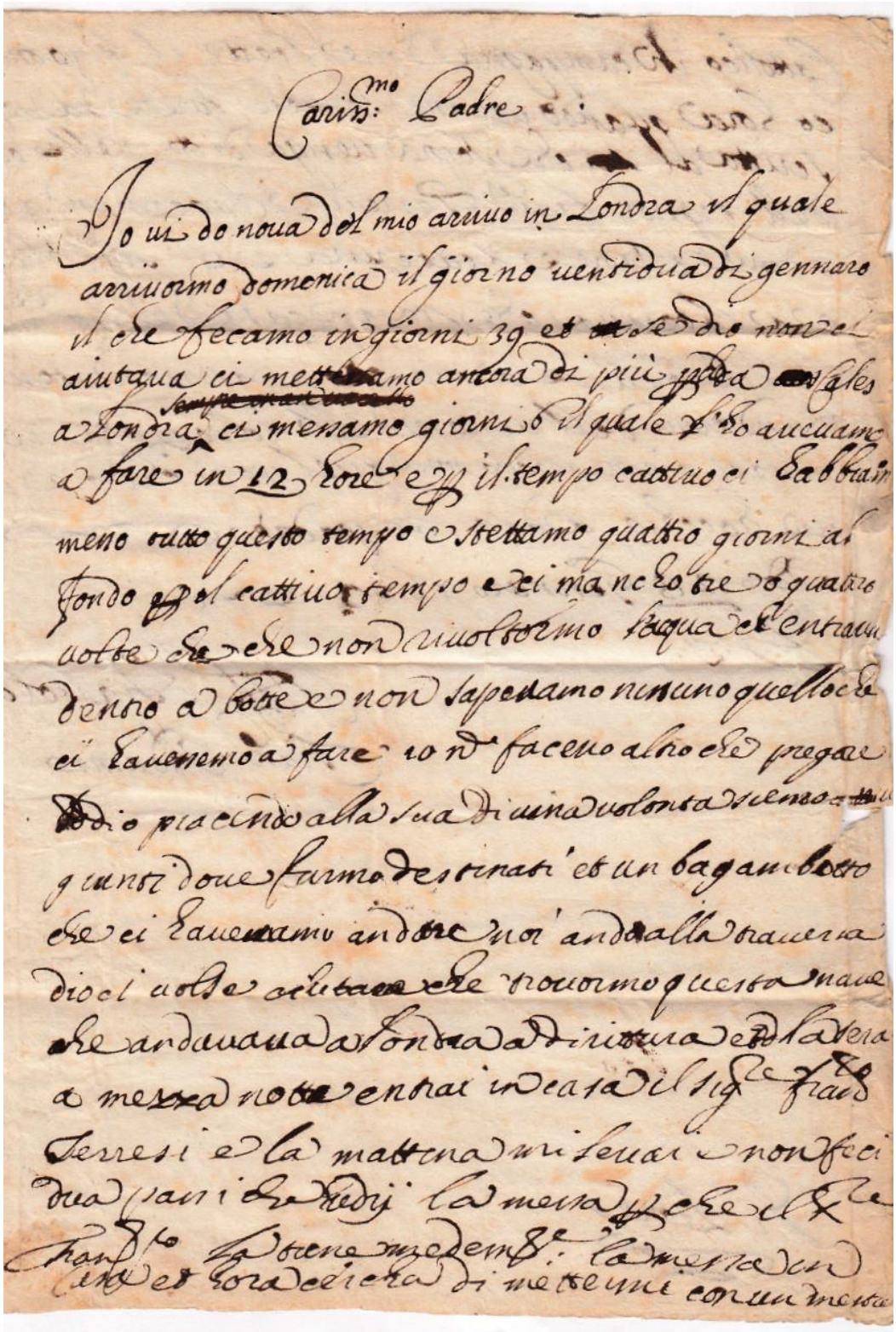

Fig. 4. The first letter written by Francesco Adami from London. Francesco Adami to Antonio Adami. Archivio Adami-Lami, Archivalpiece 547, letter 4, London, 23 January 1673.

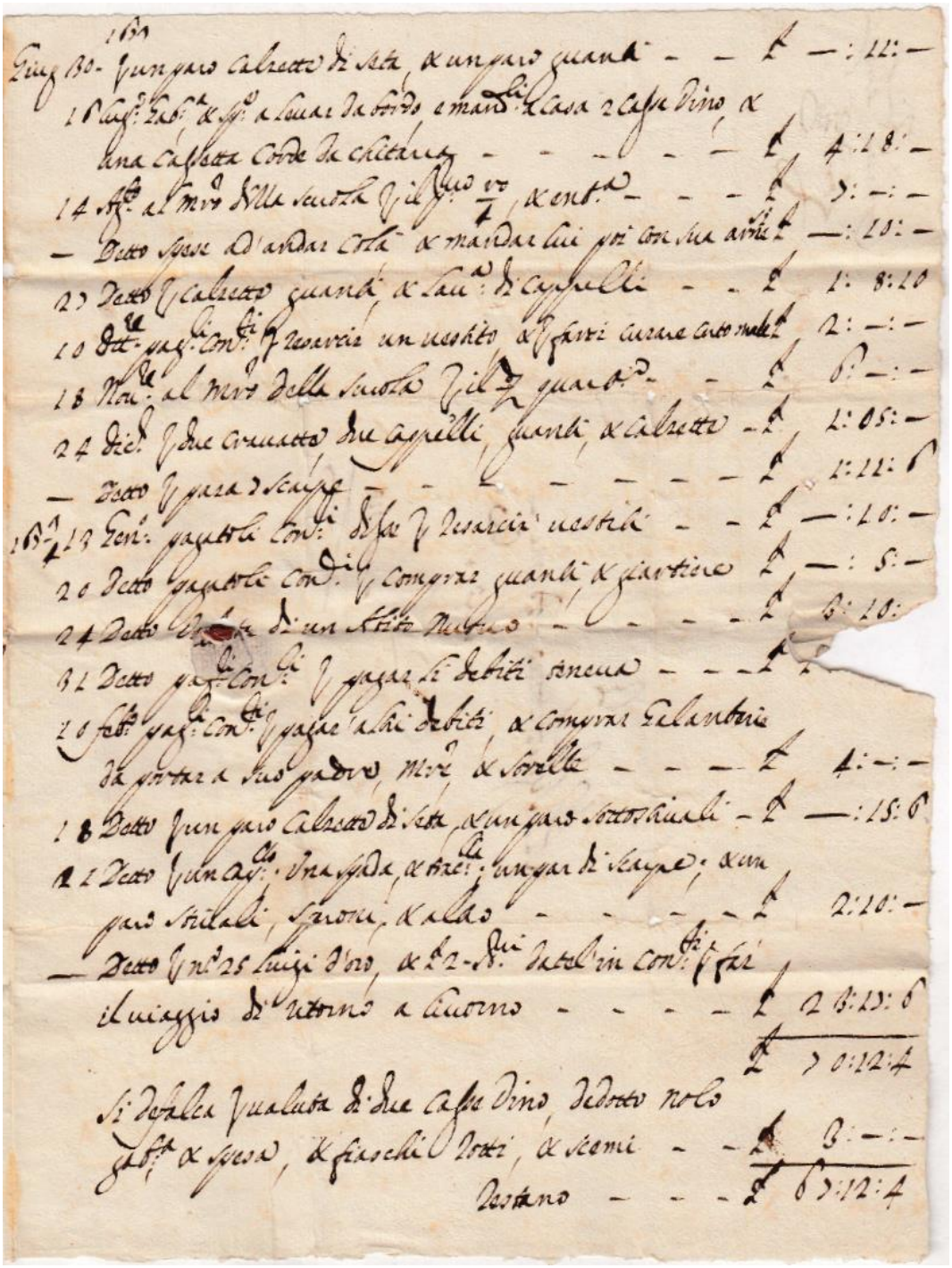

Fig. 5. Expense list drawn up by Francesco Terriesi. Archivio Adami-Lami, Francesco Terriesi to Antonio Adami. Archival piece 547, letter 46, London, 9 March 1674.

Succour for a Fallen World: Magic and the Powers of Spirit in Johann Nikolaus Martius's Unterricht von der Magia Naturali (1717)

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In 1700, a medical graduate at the University of Erfurt published a dissertation on natural magic.[1] This text would go on to be published in seven further editions before being thoroughly reworked and republished by Johann Christian Wiegleb, apothecary in Langensalza, in 1779; after which it would, in this revised state, continue to be published into the nineteenth century. While the manifest success of this book is to be gleaned from the numerous editions that it enjoyed, until now very little has been known about its elusive author, one Johann Nikolaus Martius, student of Justus Vesti in Erfurt, and later *medicus practicus* in Braunschweig.[2] A cache of hitherto unexamined archival materials in the Niedersächsiches Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel sheds new light on the career of one Johann Nikolaus Mertz, also known as Martius. The son of an Erfurt tanner named David Mertz and his wife, Ursula Wagnerin (since remarried after Mertz's death),[3] Martius travelled to Braunschweig sometime between 1700 and 1706. Beginning in 1706, Martius was appointed to the Vikarie of the Heiliger Geist in Braunschweig by Duke Anton Ulrich on the recommendation of Georg Sievers, former holder of the office and who also held positions as Secretary of the Ducal Library (Bibliothekssekretär) and Canon of the Stift St. Blasii. Martius was also recommended by the Senior Deacon and Council of the Stift St. Blasii, respectively.[4] Some years later in 1729, Martius was then appointed one of the personal physicians

[1] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *De magia naturali ejusque usu medico ad magica curandam* (Erfurt: Grosch, 1700). The first German edition, and that considered in this article, appeared under the title *Unterricht von der Magia Naturali Und derselben Medicinische Gebrauch auf Magische Weise, wie auch bezauberte Dinge zu curiren [...]* (Frankfurt: Nicolai, 1717). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

[2] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht,* 57.

[3] JOHANN PHILIPP STREIT, "Letter of Reference from the Prorector of the University of Erfurt (10 September 1706)", *Niedersächsiches Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel (NLA)*, 7 A Urk, Nr. 1964.

[4] GEORG SIEVERS, "Letter of Resignation and Recommendation (16 Decemeber 1705)", NLA, 2 Alt, Nr. 9054, fols. 21-22; "Letter of Recommendation from the Senior Deacon and General Chapter of the Stift St. Blasii (19 March 1706)", NLA, 2 Alt, Nr. 9054, fol.23r-v. On the outside of the document, possibly in the Duke's own hand, is scrawled: "Fiat. Wolf[enbüttel] 27 Jan 1706. Anthon Ulr[ich] [sic]." The dating would suggest that the Duke had approved Sievers' resignation and given informal approval to Martius's appointment before the advice of the Deacon and General Chapter of St. Blasii. Formal approval for Martius's appointment was granted shortly after 21 March 1706: NLA, 2 Alt, Nr. 9054, fol.26.

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(*Leibmedici*) to Duke August Wilhelm three years before the Duke's death.[5] Martius continued in both roles until his own death sometime around 1760.[6]

Several years before his move to Braunschweig, the young Martius was involved in the production of a dissertation on the 'hermetic philosophy' at Erfurt by one Johann Kiesling, possibly one of his mentors.[7] Two years later, he published his own dissertation: at once a theoretical discussion concerning the relationship between spirit and matter inspired, on the author's own admission, by Christian Thomasius's *Versuch vom Wesen des Geistes* (1699), a work of eclectic, Neoplatonic-infused pneumatology.[8] At the same time, Martius's book was also a text of thoroughly practical nature – an instructional book, as the title indicates – containing numerous cures based on sympathetic magic and involving human body parts and secretions. The text would certainly have been at home within the wide remit of texts comprising the early modern *materia medica*, a designation no less diffuse as it was inclusive of a variety of (at times) competing approaches to early modern medicine. However, unlike many other early eighteenth-century pharmaceutical texts, the *Unterricht* was also, in many respects, a cosmological treatise. The invocation of Thomasius's *Versuch* allowed Martius to present a theory of nature in which spirit and matter collapsed in on one another, ultimately disavowing a metaphysics predicated on a firm distinction between the two ontological orders. I argue that nature was, for Martius, an emanation of the divine spirit, and *magia naturalis* – natural magic – was the manipulation of the outward workings of the numinous. All of this places Martius's text, a hitherto largely overlooked work, at the confluence of a variety of discourses. Indeed, he situates himself within the spiritualist tradition, referring crucially to the ideas of Johann Arndt and Jakob Böhme. The central aim of this article is therefore to show how Martius's

[5] DUKE AUGUST WILHELM, "Appointment of Martius to the Position of *Leibmedicus* (20 March 1729)", NLA, 3 Alt, Nr. 603, Microfiche.

[6] The earliest confirmation of Martius's death comes from 14 January 1760 in a document presenting the law student (*stud. jur.*) Georg Alexander Friedrich Rackenius as a potential successor to the position of the Vikarie of the Heiliger Geist. NLA, 7 A Urk, Nr. 2123.

[7] JOHANN KIESLING, *Dissertatio Academica De Philosophia Hermetica Vera Et Experimentali: Peregrinationum Subterranearum IIda ad Tumulum Magni Hermetis consignata, Posteaq[ue] In Alma Electorali Ad Hieram ... Sub Praesidio M. Johannis Kieslingii ... Publicae Eruditorum Disquisitioni exposita A Johanne Nicolao Martio, Erf. Medicinae Studioso, Die XXVII. Septembris Styl. Vet. Anno MDCXCIIX* (Erfurt: Sumphius, 1698).

[8] For an overview of the key ideas of this text and the immediate context in which it was produced see the introduction in: CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch vom Wesen des Geistes oder Grund-Lehren so wohl zu natürlichen Wissenschaft als der Sitten-Lehre*, ed. KAY ZENKER (Hildesheim; Zürich; New York: Olms, 2004), v-xlviii. For the religious and intellectual context in which Thomasius produced the text, see: WILHELM SCHMIDT-BIGGEMANN, "Pietismus, Platonismus und Aufklärung: Christian Thomasius' *Versuch vom Wesen des Geistes*," in *Aufklärung als praktische Philosophie: Werner Schneiders zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), 83-98; THOMAS AHNERT, *Religion and the Origins of the German Enlightenment: Faith and the Reform of Learning in the Thought of Christian Thomasius* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 27-42; MARKUS MEUMANN, "Die Geister, die ich rief – oder wie aus 'Geisterphilosophie' 'Aufklärung warden kann: eine diskursgeschichtliche Rekontextualisierung von Christian Thomasius' *De crimine magiae*," in *Aufklärung und Esoterik: Wege in die Moderne*, ed. MONIKA NEUGEBAUER-WÖLK, RENKO GEFFARTH, MARKUS MEUMANN (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 645-80.

ideas about matter theory and sympathetic medicine ultimately belie a deeply heterodox[9] understanding of spirit, nature and magic in which rebirth or renewal[10] was not only the culminating point of spiritual transformation, but was also the requisite process for the attainment of an inner *magia divina*: the capacity to bring about wondrous effects in and upon nature through an act of the will alone.

The combined influence of the ideas of Arndt, Böhme and Thomasius on the *Unterricht* has not been considered in the relevant literature. Indeed, research on Johann Nikolaus Martius is in its infancy. There are currently two short publications on Martius, and one brief section in a third publication.[11] Two of these discussions treat Martius and his ideas only cursorily. Lynn Thorndike, in his magisterial work on magic and science in the early modern world, makes brief reference to Martius in the context of the close of the seventeenth century, outlining Martius's corpuscular ideas and magical remedies in the Latin edition of the *Unterricht*. Martius's text is thus taken as something of an end point, and its potential significance in relation to its early eighteenth-century German context is almost completely absent. Italo Michele Battafarano briefly examines Martius' text as part of an attempt to tease out the semantic variations of the term 'magia naturalis' between and within a variety of early modern texts, including della Porta's *Magia naturalis*. The significance of Battafarano's analysis is primarily that he articulates the link between Christian Knorr von Rosenroth and Martius, although this is undertaken in a very brief and somewhat perfunctory manner.

The third and most recent text, that by Oliver Hochadel, has focused mainly on a description of Martius' taxonomy of magic and on the 'sanitisation' of his text at the

[9] I follow Martin Gierl in utilising terms like 'heterodox' and 'orthodox' in the clear understanding that these are, for the most part, modern constructions and should be used only formally rather than as constitutive of any essential historical meaning. MARTIN GIERL, "Befleckte Empfängnis. Pietistische Hermeneutik, Indifferentismus, Eklektik und die Konsolidierung pietistischer, orthodoxer und frühaufklärischer Ansprüche und Ideen," in *Strukturen der deutschen Frühaufklärung, 1680-1720*, ed. HANS ERICH BÖDEKER (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 122, n.5.

[10] I use the terms 'spiritual rebirth' and 'spiritual renewal' interchangeably here, although it is important to note that, for early modern Pietists, there was an important distinction to be made here between the two terms: 'renewal' was conceived of as a preparatory process which culminated in 'rebirth', the principal salvic act or moment (*Heilsgeschehen*). On the importance of this distinction for Philipp Jakob Spener, see: JOHANNES WALLMAN, *Pietismus und Orthodoxie: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 3 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 58-61.

[11] LYNN THORNDIKE, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol.8 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 625-27; ITALO MICHELE BATTAFARANO, "Magia naturalis: Zur Begriffsdefinition bei Johannes Prätorius, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth und Johann Nicolaus Martius (1668-171)," in *Morgen-Glantz: Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 1 (1991), 71-77; OLIVER HOCHADEL, "Vom Wunderwerk zur Aufklärungsschrift. Die Wandlungen der Magia naturalis des Johann Nikolaus Martius im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Physica et historia: Festschrift für Andreas Kleinert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Susan Splinter et al. (Stuttgart: Wiss. Verl.-Ges., 2005), 233-42.

hands of Johann Christian Wiegleb, a later editor of the text.[12] Ultimately, what interests Hochadel is to utilize the *Unterricht* as a means of considering epistemic shifts in the eighteenth century around what counted as knowledge, and what did not, although given the brevity of his analysis, this is not developed in significant detail. Of note in this contribution is the link between Martius' text and the *Zauberartzt* (1725) by one Valentin Kräutermann. In effect, the author/compiler of the *Zauberartzt* took a large section of Martius' work and reproduced it, unattributed. While many library catalogues continue to indicate that Kräutermann was a pseudonym for the writer and physician from Tennstedt, Christoph von Hellwig, Hochadel is astute in cautioning us against such inclinations, as recent work by Jürgen Strein further attests.[13]

The question of what was perceived to constitute legitimate knowledge in the eighteenth century is not only relevant when considering the relationship between earlier and later editions of Martius's text, but also urges us to consider the connections between earlier, pre- 'sanitised' versions of the *Unterricht* and its broader intellectual and religious context. The following discussion therefore begins by reconsidering how we might think about magic in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth century, and how an emic approach might equip us with the conceptual tools to address this question from a different perspective: how could 'magia' be marshalled to support or challenge particular world-views and epistemologies?

Magic in the Early German Enlightenment

For Johann Nikolaus Martius and his contemporaries, 'magic' – and ultimately, 'nature' – could and often did mean very different things. Deeply political and semantically protean, magic had an instrumental dimension and could be actively deployed to articulate divergent ways of knowing and being in the world. A particularly pronounced and conservative voice in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century orthodox Lutheran fight against 'enthusiasm' and all its intellectual cousins was that of Daniel Colberg, who damningly referred to 'magia' as 'the second principle of fanatical theology'.[14] As Wouter Hanegraaff has aptly observed, anyone consulting

[12] Wiegleb, ostensibly at the behest of Martius's publisher, reworked the *Unterricht* so completely that practically nothing but the title of the original work remained. In this thoroughly 'sanitised state' the text continued to be published into the nineteenth century.

[13] Strein provides a detailed analysis of the various pseudonyms attributed to von Hellwig. In his discussion of the attribution of the *Zauberartzt* to von Hellwig, Strein suggests that we consider the 'Valentin Kräutermann' designation as indicative of a publishing series – one to which von Hellwig only very loosely belonged to, if at all – rather than of individual authorship. JÜRGEN STREIN, *Wissenstransfer und Popularkultur in der Frühaufklärung: Leben und Werk des Arztschriftstellers Christoph von Hellwig (1663-1721*) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 89ff.

[14] EHREGOTT DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum, Begreiffend Die Historische Erzehlung vom Ursprung und vielerley Secten der heutigen Fanatischen Theologie, unterm namen der Paracelsisten, Weigelianer, Rosencreutzer, Quäcker, Böhmisten, Wiedertäuffer, Bourignisten, Labadisten, und Quietisten*, book 1 (Frankfurt: Wedimann, 1690), 149. The first principle, Colberg states, is Cabala or 'inner revelation', as he defines the term: DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 136.

Colberg's text must be 'prepared to enter a dogmatic battlefield in the company of an author who is shooting to kill'.[15] The text is a volatile polemical brew directed against, as its full title suggests, the ideas (or purported ideas) of figures such as Paracelsus, Valentin Weigel and Jakob Böhme. *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum* is highly important for a variety of reasons, not least for bringing an array of concepts and movements under the historiographical umbrella of what is now known as Western esotericism.[16] However, for our purposes, Colberg's text is significant for the connection that it forges between magic and heterodoxy – a nexus that it takes up with particular alacrity. Of note within this context is also the conceptual fluidity of the term 'magia': Colberg argues that there are most certainly various kinds of extraordinary, hidden power, including diabolic magic and a genuinely 'natural' magic, which he links to Giambattista della Porta's *Magia naturalis*.[17] However, it is a purported third class of magical power that particularly concerns Colberg. He states that what the 'fantatics' have referred to as natural magic would be better conceived of as a 'divine, supernatural magic that can bring about supernatural effects'.[18] Lambasting what he perceives as Julius Sperber's support for such a class of magic, Colberg argues that, in granting 'the power to know future things, to rise up to and become friends with God, to speak with the holy angels, to have visions, to receive revelations, and to perform signs and wonderworks… [would] make gods of men'.[19]

Colberg is not chiefly interested in arguing for or against the likelihood that hidden preter- or supernatural power could be channelled and directed toward human ends. For god-fearing Christians in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth centuries there was little doubt that the devil and his agents existed and interacted (or had the capacity to interact) with humans, no matter what intellectuals might have been saying about witchcraft in the opening decades of the Enlightenment.[20] Furthermore, for all

[15] WOUTER J. HANEGRAAFF, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 107.

[16] In this context Western esotericism refers to an analytical category that encompasses various intellectual and spiritual currents, such as, inter alia, *magia*, Christian kabbala, theosophy and early modern Naturphilosophie. These different currents tend to share various traits, such as a belief in 'universal concordances' and 'living nature'. ANTOINE FAIVRE and KAREN-CLAIRE ROSS, "Western Esotericism and the Science of Religions," in *Numen* 42, n.1 (1995): 48-77. It is important to recognise, as Wouter Hanegraaff does, that such a designation works principally for early modern Europe rather than in a more universals sense.

[17] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 151-52. By way of context, a new and fully annotated edition of della Porta's *Magia naturalis* had been translated into German and published in 1680 by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth.

[18] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 151.

[19] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 150.

[20] A particularly well-known case of purported bewitching occurred in the Saxon town of Annaberg in the first half of the eighteenth century. FALK BRETSCHNEIDER, *Die unerträgliche Macht der Wahrheit: Magie und Frühaufklärung in Annaberg (1712-1720)* (Munich: Schwarten Verlag, [2001]). While luminaries such as Christian Thomasius were increasingly arguing against the powers of the devil to make a physical compact with humans, it is important to note that the existence of the devil was never called into doubt.

the debate about the 'disenchantment of the world', German Protestants living in the long shadow of the Reformation held no fundamental doubt concerning the existence of the genuinely numinous; nor was its incursion into the normal course of events precluded in principle.[21] For Colberg, the issue at hand concerned no less than the abasement of 'true' Christianity at the hands of Hellenistic philosophy.[22] At the heart of this was the perceived infiltration of Christian doctrine by Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas, such as emanationism. The orthodox theologian and contemporary of Colberg, Friedrich Christian Bücher, argued that such influences were particularly prominent within Pietism; indeed, that both Pietism and 'fanaticism' shared this common source.[23]

If we think of magic in the early Enlightenment as a 'floating concept' - an idea that lacks a singular or stable meaning in itself but which facilitates engagement with

CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Kurtze Lehr-Sätze von dem Laster der Zauberey* (s.l.: s.n., 1702), 8. Even the sceptical Enlightenment lexicographer Johann Georg Walch maintained a firm commitment to the idea that witches made physical, bodily pacts with the devil. JOHANN GEORG WALCH, *Einleitung In die Philosophie* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1730), 730-31.

[21] Consensus has been forming for some time around the idea that one really cannot speak of a full-scale 'disenchantment of the world' nor was this the result of ascetic Protestantism: ROBERT.W. SCRIBNER, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon Press, 1987), 15; ROBERT W. SCRIBNER, 'Reformation and Desacralisation: From Sacramental World to Moralized Universe,' in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe*, ed. RONNIE PO-CHIA HSIA and ROBERT W. SCRIBNER (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), 75-92; OWEN DAVIES, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture*, 1736-1951 (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 283; ALEXANDRA WALSHAM, "The Reformation and the 'Disenchantment of the World' Reassessed," *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 2 (2008): 497-528. Indeed, a salient example of how the Reformation did not lead to the wholesale decline of sacral magic, if in this instance couched within a medical healing context rather than a soteriological one, is to be found in Philip Rieder's study of Early Modern Geneva. PHILIP RIEDER, "Miracles and Heretics: Protestants and Catholic Healing Practices in and around Geneva 1530-1750," in *Social History of Medicine* 23, no.2 (2010): 227-43. More broadly, there has been substantial work done illustrating the continuing importance of esotericism (including magic) into the eighteenth century, for example: ANNE-CHARLOTT TREPP and HARTMUT LEHMANN, eds, *Antike Weisheit und kulturelle Praxis: Hermetismus in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); OWEN DAVIES and WILLEM DE BLECOURT, eds., *Beyond the Witch Trials: Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2004); MONIKA NEUGEBAUER-WÖLK, RENKO GEFFARTH, MARKUS MEUMANN, eds., *Aufklärung und Esoterik: Wege in die Moderne* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013). Furthermore – and concerning the nexus between spirit substance and magical power – Annemarie Nooijen has shown how the power of spirits to influence physical phenomena was an 'integral component' of learned discourse throughout the eighteenth century. ANNEMARIE NOOIJEN, *"Unserm grossen Bekker ein Dankmal"?: Balthasar Bekkers* Betoverde Weereld *in den deutschen Landen zwischen Orthodoxie und Aufklärung* (Münster: Waxmann, 2009), 20-21. For a fascinating study investigating magical practices in the eighteenth century, see JACQUELINE VAN GENT, *Magic, Body and the Self in Eighteenth-Century Sweden* (Leiden; Boson: Brill, 2009).

[22] Wouter Hanegraaff discusses how orthodox Lutherans pointed towards the uptake of emanationism among the 'enthusiast' group as evidence of this. WOUTER J. HANEGRAAFF, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 115.

[23] FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN BÜCHER, *Plato Mysticus In Pietista Redivivus, Das ist: Pietistische Ubereinstimmung Mit der Heydnischen Philosophia Platonis Und seiner Nachfolger. Besonders in der Lehre von denen so genandten Himmlischen Entzuckungen ... Schrifftmäßig erörtert, und dem Urtheil der Evangelischen Kirchen übergeben* (Danzig: Reiniger, 1699).

a variety of other issues[24] - then we begin to open our conceptual lens to the intersection of an array of interrelated yet distinct discourses beneath the rubric of 'magia', for instance: the relationship between Christianity and Hellenistic philosophy, mentioned above; the reach of preternatural power (Bücher even went so far as to argue, concretely, that Pietism was inherently diabolic);[25] the influence that numinous power could be expected to have over earthly events; substance interaction, and the raft of philosophical, demonological, legal and medical implications that dualist and monist interpretations of this entailed; the relationship between the healing arts and Pietist spirituality; and, not least, the political infighting between proponents of radical Pietism and orthodox Lutheranism, respectively. In short, and to no great surprise, discussions about magic were not always completely about magic, but could rather act as proxies for an engagement with other issues. At the same time, I do not mean to imply cynically that we should 'read out' magic from texts ostensibly concerned with it. In rejecting 'magic' as a modern analytical category, as Wouter Hanegraaff does, I likewise reject the notion that one can really speak of any concrete 'magic' distinct from the particular discursive contexts in which it is articulated.[26] From this emic perspective, definitions of magic can and sometimes do change from text to text, but the discursive 'field of play' (or 'battlefield', in the case of Colberg) is what helps to structure *how* the term is deployed.

For Martius, 'natural magic' ('magia naturalis') refers to the study, manipulation and utilisation of the hidden properties of nature to bring about extraordinary effects.[27] This class of magic he contrasts with diabolic magic, by which such effects are brought about through Satanic agency, and 'artificial-mathematical' magic, by which he refers to the operation of equally wondrous automata, such as Archimedes' orb and the flying pigeons of Archytas.[28] These distinctions and definitions were commonplace in the intellectual lexicon of the early German Enlightenment.[29] Where the discussion becomes more nuanced concerns Martius's definition of 'cabala' 'a type of magic' which 'in its broadest sense… explains the powers of those created, natural and heavenly things, and clarifies the secrets of Holy Scripture with philosophical principles; for which reason it differs little or not at all from natural magic'.[30] Indeed, there is the sense from this interpretation of 'cabala' that Martius does not really

[24] I adopt this concept from: KOEN VERMEIR, "The 'physical prophet' and the powers of imagination. Part I: a case-study on prophecy, vapours and the imagination (1685-1710)," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* (2004): 569.
[25] FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN BÜCHER, *Plato Mysticus*, 195-99.
[26] WOUTER J. HANEGRAAFF, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 168.
[27] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 29-30, note B.
[28] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 7ff.
[29] See, for instance: JOHANN GEORG Walch, *Philosophisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Gleditschen, 1726), 1697-1702; JOHANN HEINRICH ZEDLER, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste*, vol.19 (Leipzig and Halle: 1732-54), 287-304.
[30] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 22.

associate this term with Jewish kabbalah[31] outright, indicating that the numerological 'cabala mercava' (in which, he states, he is also greatly interested) is more closely aligned with this. It is important to note at this juncture that the term 'cabala' was also very much a floating concept in some ways in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While it was and had been broadly associated with Jewish mysticism, what we might think of as a theosophical (and ultimately Christian) cabala appeared in the early modern world within spiritualist and otherwise heterodox discourses. In his *Kabalisticae Precationes*, Julius Sperber states that cabala does not come from nature but is rather an inspired gift of divine knowledge 'poured by God into the hearts of holy people'; it is a 'heavenly magic' that allows one to 'see future things', to become unified with God and to be 'illuminated by the Holy Spirit'.[32] The Catholic Jan Baptista van Helmont echoes this idea, stating that cabala is to be thought of as a form of inner contemplation designed to reawaken one's inner 'spirit powers (magicam)' lost as a consequence of the Fall.[33] At the same time, this notion was also perceived by orthodox Lutheran writers as one of the intellectual supports (the other being 'magia') of fanatical ideas. In arguing that cabala and magia were like 'two weak legs' propping-up belief in direct revelation, Johann Sensti, an arch-critic of the alchemist and radical Pietist Johann Konrad Dippel, argued that cabala was concerned with knowledge of the inner self and magic pertained to the illumination of nature.[34] Drawing directly and admittedly from Colberg, Sensti states:

> According to the opinion of the fanatics, magic teaches one to know the Creator and Creation and how to venerate the name of the Lord. The Holy Spirit grants this, as well as the heavenly wisdom to understand the high secrets of God, to know future things, to rise-up to God and to become friends with Him, to discourse with the angels, to have visions, to perform wonders and to receive a taste of the eternal bliss to come.[35]

For the 'fanatics', Colberg argues, cabala and magia are two ways of getting at the same thing. While cabala refers to the inspired knowledge of 'divine and natural things', a form of 'inner revelation', magia accesses this knowledge through the investigation of the 'book of nature'.[36] The book of nature is nothing other 'than the universal light that is hidden in all creatures, the ideal light-world that harbours the ideas of all things,

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[31] As a point of distinction, I use the term 'cabala' when referring to the ideas of Christian writers such as Sperber. I use 'kabbalah' to refer to the Jewish mystical tradition proper.

[32] JULIUS SPERBER, *Kabalisticae Precationes. Das ist: Außerlesene schöne Gebet* (Amsterdam: Betkius, 1675), preface [unpaginated].

[33] JAN BAPTISTA VAN HELMONT, *Aufgang der Artzney-Kunst, Das ist: Noch nie erhörte Grund-Lehren von der Natur, zu einer neuen Beförderung der Artzney-Sachen, so wol Die Kranckheiten zu vertreiben, als Ein langes Leben zu erlangen* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1683), 1031.

[34] JOHANN SENSTI, *Stokk-Blinder Weg-Weyser. An Christiani Democriti (also benahmten) Weg-Weyser zum verlohrnen Licht, und Recht; oder dessen Anführünge Wie der äussere Mensch endlich ... Zu ihrem Natur- und Wesens-Gott, natürlich wieder zu bringen seyn* (Hamburg: Heyl, 1708), 13.

[35] JOHANN SENSTI, *Stokk-Blinder Weg-Weyser*, 17.

[36] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 153.

such that when this light is known, so too are all things'.[37] The outward 'letters' of the book of nature – its signatures – are 'filled with the Word – that is, the inner light – and the Holy Spirit – that is, the universal world-spirit [*Welt-Geist*]' so constituting 'the inner light and ethereal spirit'.[38] In addressing the question of how one is to come to know this inner light, Colberg cites the English alchemist Robert Fludd when he states that one must be endowed with a the gift of the Holy Spirit to read the divine letters of the book of nature.[39] While cabala and magia are initially established as two paths to divine wisdom, what becomes apparent is that the performance of magic – reading the 'letters' of nature – first requires an inner spiritual transformation.

This emphasis on inner revelation, spiritual transformation and rebirth, and the subsequent capacity to perform wonders situated magia and cabala within a markedly heterodox current. Indeed, as Colberg saw it, the central problem of 'platonic-hermetic Christianity' was that it proposed an alternate soteriology that attempted to diminish the redemptive power of Christ. That 'fake Christians' (*Schein-Christen*) could utilise Scripture as the 'mantel of their unbelief'[40] and that the whole sordid business of magic could then be deployed to make prophets of fanatics[41] clearly deeply irritated and concerned Colberg. And it was precisely the conceptual nebulousness of the term 'magia naturalis' - for indeed 'magia' could be just as Janus-faced as 'nature' in the hands of radicals – that served to obfuscate crucial differences between safe, domesticated orders of knowledge and their heretical siblings. If magia were ever to be truly domesticated then one needed first to divest it utterly and entirely of any spark of the numinous, to resolutely snuff out the hidden light of nature and curtail the reach of the divine hand in quotidian affairs. In this context, natural magic could present a similar conundrum for orthodox Lutheranism as natural theology: both could offer an empirical buttress to established religion; but peer too closely into nature's warp and weft and one could quickly lose sight of important ontological distinctions. It was this potential for an almost monistic 'slippage' at the very core of natural magic that rendered, in part, the entire concept of 'magia' so problematic for Colberg and his ilk. In the decade following the publication of *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum* a young physician from Erfurt would go on to defend and then publish a dissertation that implicitly challenged a fundamental assumption of Colberg's text.

Martius and the *Unterricht von der Magia Naturali*

Magic should serve our wellbeing, according to Martius. More specifically, and within a medical context, the fundamental aim of employing natural magic is to remedy those

[37] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 154
[38] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 154
[39] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 156-57.
[40] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 168.
[41] DANIEL COLBERG, *Das Platonisch-Hermetisch Christenthum*, book 1, 158.

ills that afflict our bodies.[42] Martius ultimately based his cosmology on the notion that a hidden spirit essence pervaded and animated nature, and – following the genealogy of this concept in his principle source, Thomasius's treatise on spirit – that this essence was a form of divine emanation. Further to this, nature was eminently readable – it's 'letters' emblazoned in the form of signatures – and its hidden properties could be manipulated to create sympathetic cures. Although the possibility of personal spiritual renewal is always in the background of the *Unterricht*, situated as it is within the very sources Martius cites – Thomasius, Arndt and Böhme – Martius's decision to foreground the practical dimensions of natural magic challenged a key assumption in Colberg's text: that the end-goal of magia, in a theosophical context, was spiritual rebirth and the attainment of divine wisdom. I interpret Martius's inclusion of a reference to Arndt not primarily as a veiled call for spiritual renewal and ascension but rather as a reaffirmation of the importance of providing succour for our imperfect, fallen bodies. Magia is, for Martius, an imperfect art in a likewise imperfect, post-Lapsarian world: the manipulation of outward signs and structures guided by a conviction that an inner light exists within nature. It is therefore not so much the search for divine wisdom that articulates a thoroughly Christian spirituality, but rather the application of whatever secrets that nature has, in the darkened and tarnished state of our fallen world, deigned to impart to us.

Martius sets out to explain how it is that sympathetic cures work. Such remedies invariably involve action at a distance, such as 'transplantation': in its broadest sense, the carrying-over or transplantation of an ailment to something else. As Martius is quick to point out, there are many varieties of transplantation, each with a somewhat different method. In principle, the idea is to transplant a part of the individual's 'life-spirit' (*Lebens-Geist* or *Mumia*), in the form of a 'magnet' comprised of bodily fluids or excretions, into an inanimate object. At this point particular herbs or roots can be applied to the magnet (or it can be fed to an animal, such as a dog) and the ensuing healing transformation of the 'Mumia-magnet' is expected to, in turn, heal the individual by way of sympathy. Of great importance for this process is the capacity for spirit to operate by way of sympathetic attraction and antipathetic repulsion. This is the basis for Martius's discussion of the properties of matter and spirit.[43]

Martius devotes some time to explaining how one can explain sympathetic power by recourse to a corpuscular-mechanical framework involving light. According to this interpretation, when rays of light interact with objects, they take with them small particles or corpuscles of this matter. Carried on the rays of light, these particles interact with one another, bouncing around and linking up with those of a similar nature. Indeed, Martius claims that there is a natural affinity between similar particles

[42] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 33.
[43] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 77ff.

and that, upon meeting, they travel quickly together toward their 'centre'. That is, when the particles of a particular illness are transplanted from a patient to another item they will attempt, initially, to connect with those of the object; they will then, if the treatment is successful, return to the patient. Of course, this all hinges upon the particles being of the same shape, as Martius states:

> For otherwise not all roots and herbs will be beneficial in the transplanting of a particular illness because, for example, the pores of a root might be three-cornered, whereas the shape of the illness particles might be round or four-cornered. The pores of the skin are sometimes the cause why the illness particles cannot return to the body from those things into which they have been transplanted… For the sweat pores cannot be extended to accept illnesses if their nature is so constituted that they are not the same [shape] as the particles of this or that illness.[44]

Martius' corpuscular interpretation is in fact a thinly-veiled spirit model, which he freely confesses. Indeed, he states that he wishes to show that action at a distance could be explained by way of 'mechanical laws' 'so the Cartesians would not be able to dismiss those magical operations and cures – which I have thoroughly grounded on this basis – as pure superstition.'[45] Moving beyond this intellectual exercise, he states that corpuscules are in fact a combination of spirit and matter and that light itself is a 'fluid spiritual substance', the medium by which and through which hidden operations occur.[46] Indeed, 'matter can neither move nor exist without spirit', and it is this spirit power that forms the basis of all natural magic.[47] This universal spirit power that connects and moves all things in nature is the world-spirit, also variously referred to as the world-soul. Martius describes the world-spirit as:

> A heavenly entity, dispersed throughout all the universe, that nature brought forth at the beginning of the world. [The world-spirit] touches both the uppermost parts of the heavens and the deepest depths of the earth and is both a simple substance and invisible. Because it is freed of all corporeal burdens it fills and illuminates everything… this substance… delivers all heavenly influences to the lower [earthly] things… whose innermost spark it ignites and whose powers it imparts.[48]

Since he realises that the topic of the Weltgeist is 'abhorrent to many', Martius does not go into detail on this, telling the reader to consult Christian Thomasius' pneumatological work, *Versuch vom Wesen des Geistes* for further information.[49]

What becomes apparent from even a cursory examination of the *Versuch* is that Martius largely adopts Thomasius's theory of matter and spirit. Christian Thomasius,

[44] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 48, note Z.
[45] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 51-52.
[46] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 39; 53.
[47] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 52-55.
[48] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 37-38, note K.
[49] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 38.

Professor of Jurisprudence at Halle, also well-known for his later attack on the possibility of witchcraft, had penned a text in 1699 arguing, among other things, for the ontological superiority of spirit over matter.[50] Indeed, as Thomasius argues, it is spirit that brings matter into existence: 'I maintain that in all corporeal stuff there is a spirit, and that consequently no corporeal thing can exist without a spirit; a spirit, however, can well exist without a corporeal form.'[51] Thought of as an abstract principle, matter is purely passive, and as Thomasius states: 'What is purely passive cannot exist in and of itself, rather it requires something active to bring it forth from nothing and make it into something.'[52] Spirit is therefore not only the substance in which 'all material things are moved' but is also that which imparts movement to matter and which gives it shape.[53]

Turning to the nature of spirit substance, Thomasius states that the all-pervasive, active spirit in the world is the 'soul of the world' or 'universal spirit'. This substance is two-fold: a warming, illuminating spirit which Thomasius identifies as 'male'; and a cooling spirit (female) that also communicates light and warmth that it receives from the warming spirit to matter. Both spirits combine and 'penetrate' and 'encircle' matter, which Thomasius conceives of as the 'fruit' of their union.[54] This discussion articulates well the idea that, in Thomastius's metaphysics, matter and spirit in essence collapse in on one another. As abstractions, Thomasius notes that spirit and matter are 'mutually opposed things', and so therefore also possess opposing properties, 'and what has opposing properties is not a [unified] thing'. The key to their union lies in a melding of their properties so that they relinquish those aspects that would otherwise set them apart.[55] Returning to the notion of the world-spirit, it becomes apparent that Thomasius sees matter as a thing brought forth from the 'servile' spirits – collectively

[50] It should be noted that Thomasius eventually recanted these ideas. Thomas Ahnert explains how they were associated with enthusiasm in the early Enlightenment, and that it was on account of internal pressure from the Halle Faculty of Theology and external pressure from detractors such as Johann Friedrich Mayer that he relinquished them. THOMAS AHNERT, "Enthusiasm and Enlightenment: Faith and Philosophy in the Thought of Christian Thomasius," *Modern Intellectual History* 2, no. 2 (2005): 155-56; 164-68. Ian Hunter notes that it is indeed difficult to come to terms with Thomasius's ideas on spirit given the scholar's 'exemplary Enlightenment disputations against heresy and witchcraft prosecutions'. IAN HUNTER, *The Secularisation of the Confessional State: The Political Thought of Christian Thomasius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 69. Although as Thomas Ahnert has rightly argued, one should not overlook this aspect when examining the total corpus of Thomasius's work.

[51] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch vom Wesen des Geistes Oder Grund-Lehren, So wohl zur natürlichen Wissenschafft als der Sitten-Lehre: In welchen gezeiget wird, daß Licht und Lufft ein geistiges Wesen sey, und alle Cörper aus Materie und Geist bestehen, auch in der gantzen Natur eine anziehende Krafft, in dem Menschen aber ein zweyfacher guter und böser Geist sey...* (Halle: Salfelden, 1699), 35.

[52] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch*, 36.

[53] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch*, 70.

[54] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch*, 72-73.

[55] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch*, 34-35.

the world-spirit – which in turn is brought forth from the essence of the 'uppermost spirit'[56]:

> The uppermost spirit is a pure active being, a pure power, a power of all powers, that moves everything, that also penetrates the most subtle spirits, but which is itself immovable. It extends everything, including the other spirits, but is itself not extended. A light without darkness that illuminates everything. A warmth without cold that warms everything… a servile spirit is a power, that receives its being and essence from the uppermost spirit and is equipped to carry out [the uppermost spirit's] will.[57]

Sympathy and antipathy – two fundamental components of natural magic – are explained as the result of the interaction between spirits,[58] thought of in this context as 'determinations' of the universal world-spirit.[59]

That nature is animated and illuminated by an inner spirit essence of divine provenance in Martius's text is clear not only through his direct reference to Thomasius, but also to his inclusion of a reference to the Lusatian mystic Jakob Böhme. Indeed, this inner light is not only immanent within natural bodies but is also eminently readable. Martius states that while one might not readily perceive the causes of natural magical effects, nonetheless one can learn of the healing powers of these plants through their manifest properties or signatures.[60] Conventionally understood, the doctrine of signatures involved comparing the exterior shapes and properties of medicinal substances – plant, animal and mineral – with the organs of the body and the conditions brought on by particular illnesses. For instance, *portulaca oleracea*, perceived to possess leaves resembling kidneys were thought to be beneficial for ailments of that organ,[61] and *acetosa* (presumably *rumex acatosa*) – on account of its reddish properties – was understood to help to treat dysentery (*rothe Ruhr*; 'bloody flux').[62] As the outward, divinely-inscribed markers of an otherwise hidden network of correspondences, signatures represented a means of accessing primordial – since

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[56] Thomasius later identifies the 'uppermost spirit' with God. Thomasius, *Versuch*, 96.
[57] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch*, 72.
[58] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch*, 151.
[59] I draw this term from a slightly later text. It is a helpful way to consider contemporary ideas about how the world-spirit acted within individual things: the astral spirit was indeed individuated at a microlevel but remained at the same time a constitutive component of the world-spirit. GEORG WILHELM WEGNER, *Schau-Platz Vieler Ungereimten Meynungen und Erzehlungen* (Berlin; Leipzig: Haude, 1735-1736), 382. Although Wegner was highly sceptical, on philosophical grounds, of the existence of the world-soul.
[60] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 65-67.
[61] MARCUS ANTONIUS ZIMARA, *Marci Antonii Zimarae Magische Artzney-Kunst. Darinnen enthalten Ein gantz neuer überaus reicher Schatz verschiedener Magisch-Naturgemäßer Geheimnisse, insonderheit aber von Sigillen: allerhand verborgenen Signaturen und Bildnussen ... Krafft derer alle und jede Gebrechen des Menschlichen Leibs ... zu heilen seynd* (Frankfurt: Zieger, 1685), 167; JOHANN ANDREAS SCHLEGEL, *Tractatus Medicus, Von Natürlichen, unnatürlichen und wider die Natur lauffenden Dingen. In Vergleichung der grossen Welt mit dem Menschen, der kleinen Welt, durch die IV. Elementa, IV. Temperamenta, IV. Sanguinis Humores, IV. Complexiones, IV. Tempora Anni, IV. Trigonos, oder Triplicitates, der XII. Himmlischen Zeichen beschrieben* (Nuremberg: Hoffman, 1686), 317.
[62] JOHANN ANDREAS SCHLEGEL, *Tractatus Medicus*, 403.

lost – knowledge imparted to Adam in his pre-Lapsarian state.[63] For Martius, they were the 'best means' of understanding the healing powers of plants, although he is quick to note that one should not rely chiefly on the extent to which a herb resembles a body part (as, he argues, della Porta and Oswald Croll do). Rather, one should carefully consider the 'colour, smell, taste, thickness, difference of shape and whether the leaves are rough or smooth' when contemplating the hidden virtues of the plant.[64]

Significantly, Martius includes in his discussion of signatures a short reference to Jakob Böhme's *De Signatura Rerum*. Martius states that the 'Philosophus Teutonicus' has taught the 'correct basis of this mystery' and that although the text is 'indeed very difficult to understand, it is absolutely worth the effort. Whosoever is able to read it should do so.'[65] His testimonial continues on to say that others, such as Oswald Croll, have 'only skirted around the shell [of the matter], but not touched its core'.[66] While Martius provides a small disclaimer that not all of Böhme's ideas are correct, nonetheless he finishes by stating that 'to the best of my memory, no one has taught the doctrine of signatures so completely as this man'.[67] The inclusion and praise of Böhme is telling inasmuch as it further suggests that Martius harbours heterodox views about the relationship between nature and divine power. Indeed, in *De Signatura Rerum* Böhme states that by contemplating the signatures of things in nature, one learns to know not only oneself, but also God; that it is through an observation of the 'outer forms of all creatures', such as their 'resonance, voice and language', that one can come to 'know the hidden spirit'.[68] Within Pietism, the study of nature in this way could be seen as '*praxis pietatis*', as Anne-Charlott Trepp has indicated, as could the study of medicine.[69] Indeed, for Johann Arndt medicine was a means of exploring the inner reaches of divine immanence in nature: the true 'books' of learning for medicine were God and nature, and the 'indwelling healing powers' within nature ultimately

[63] On the influence of the Lapsarian narrative on medicine, including discourses about longevity, see: PETER HARRISON, *The Fall of Man and the Foundations of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 162ff.; and in an alchemical context: GEORGIANA D. HEDESAN, "Reproducing the Tree of Life: Radical Prolongation of Life and Biblical Interpretation in Seventeenth-Century Medical Alchemy", *Ambix* 60, no. 4 (2013): 341-60.
[64] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 67, note T.
[65] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 69.
[66] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 69.
[67] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 69, note U.
[68] JAKOB BÖHME, *De Signatura Rerum* (s.l.: s.n., 1635), 15.
[69] ANNE-CHARLOTT TREPP, *Von der Glückseligkeit alles zu wissen. Die Erforschung der Natur als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2009). On medicine as a component of practical piety, see: HANNS-PETER NEUMANN, *Natura sagax – Die geistige Natur. Zum Zusammenhang von Naturphilosophie und Mystik in der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel Johann Arndts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), 34; VERA FAßHAUER, "Selbsterkenntnis – Naturerfahrung – Gottesoffenbarung. Religiöses und ärztliches Virtuosentum bei Johann Christian Senckenberg und Johann Konrad Dippel", in *Prediger, Charismatiker, Berufene: Rolle und Einfluss religiöse Virtuosen*, CHRISTINE AKA and DAGMAR HÄNEL, eds, (Münster: Waxman, 2018), 56-57.

'constituted both medicine and the physician'.[70] In discovering, by way of signatures, the hidden virtues of things – in extracting them chemically from their 'little shells or containers' – the 'goodness of the Creator' could be 'tasted in his work'.[71]

The foregoing references to both Thomasius and Böhme suggest an important and pronounced link to the idea of spiritual rebirth within Martius. While Martius does not marshal these writers overtly to address this topic, it is important to note the significance of spiritual rebirth for their respective cosmologies.[72] Indeed, Thomasius's theory of matter and his ideas about spirit coalesce around an explanation for biological life, human desires and the capacity to overcome these and be reunified with God: our very souls, comprised of the substance of the world-spirit, possess three components ('the evil trinity'; *die böse Dreyheit*), each of which corresponds to an internal organ. The seat of our desires is the heart, which leads the stomach (associated with nourishment and procreation) and the brain (imagination); all three interact in various ways. In order to overcome our desires it is necessary, according to Thomasius, to nurture an indwelling divine essence or 'spirit', the third part of a tripartite anthropology alongside the body and the soul. When such a component is allowed to grow, the union between God and the self strengthens, overcoming and 'rul[ing] the evil trinity' and bringing about an inner spiritual rebirth.[73] Martius echoes this sentiment of overcoming natural limitations through spiritual renewal in the *Unterricht*, arguing that all but reborn Christians are prone to astral influence:

> …all sublunary bodies and all humans are subject to the influence and control of celestial bodies, except for those Christians who possess a true and living faith, in whom the power of the Holy Spirit has broken and choked off celestial influence, such that they shall no longer be known as the children of Saturn, Mars, Venus etc., but rather as the children of God, as the blessed Arndt has shown from Scripture.[74]

This reference to Arndt is particularly revealing. The passage that Martius cites originates in the second book of the *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*. At the very end of book two, in chapter fifty-eight, titled 'That the natural heavens and the whole

[70] Johann Arndt, cited in CARLOS GILLY, "Hermes oder Luther. Der philosophische Hintergrund von Johann Arndts Frühschrift 'De antiqua philosophia et divina veterum Magorum Sapientia recuperanda,'" in HANS OTTE and HANS SCHNEIDER, eds, *Frömmigkeit oder Theologie. Johann Arndt und die Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 179.
[71] JOHANN ARNDT, *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*, book 4 (Magdeburg: Francke, 1620), 27.
[72] As Martius's cosmology connects most closely with that of Thomasius, I will focus on this connection. It is, however, important to note the central role that spiritual rebirth plays in Böhme when considering his inclusion in Martius's text. For more on spiritual rebirth in Böhme, see: JAKOB BÖHME, *Der Weeg zu Christo. Verfasset in neun Büchlein. Das 1. Von wahrer Busse. 2. Vom heiligen Gebeth. 3. Ein Schlüssel Göttlicher Geheimnüsse. 4. Von wahrer Gelassenheit. 5. Von der Wiedergebuhrt. 6. Vom übersinnlichen Leben. 7. Von Göttlicher Beschauligkeit. 8. Von der erleuchteten un[d] unerleuchteten Seele. 9. Von den vier Complexione*n (Amsterdam: s.n., 1682).
[73] CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, *Versuch*, 188-90.
[74] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 61-63.

world with all [its] natural powers are subordinated to the faith and prayer of a Christian', Arndt discusses the matter of divine wisdom. He begins this chapter with a discussion of astrology, and how the biblical prophets maligned and punished Jewish astrologers. This was, according to Arndt, because the prophets maintained that they alone could speak with the voice of God, and that prognostication was impossible without this gift of divine grace.[75] The question of whether it is possible to foretell the future delves into the related matter of whether celestial bodies may have any influence over human wellbeing. It is here that Arndt states that those who have been spiritually reborn are no longer subordinate to astrological influences but instead hold sway over *them*:

> For the firmament and the whole of nature cannot harm those who are born from God and who live in the new birth (*in der newen geburt leben*)… the divinely wise person rules over the stars. For those who are reborn are above the heavens and their vicissitudes, and are no longer children of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars… the Sun, Mercury, the Moon, but are rather the children of God and live in their faith, through which they elude the powers and influences of the stars. Those, however, who do not live in the new birth, but rather according to the flesh should be afraid, because they live in a heathen way and so must suffer the punishments [lit. 'blows'; *Streiche*] of the natural heavens.[76]

This reference is highly significant, as it taps into a particularly radical, and as yet under-examined discourse concerning whether spiritual rebirth could result in a renewed, perfect and immortal body replete with the innate knowledge of Adam and (by extension) the capacity to perform magic not through the 'manual' manipulation of outer things, but through an act of will (newly reunified with God).[77] If this seems far-fetched, consider for a moment Arndt's letter to Erasmus Wolfahrt in which he argued that spiritual rebirth entailed a return to something like the purportedly iliastric body

[75] JOHANN ARNDT, *Vier Bücher*, book 2, 431-32.
[76] JOHANN ARNDT, *Vier Bücher*, book 2, 433-34.
[77] To the best of my knowledge, there are no texts devoted solely to this topic in the German context, only scattered references throughout various texts. On the importance of spiritual rebirth for a return to the pre-Lapsarian condition see, for example: HANNS-PETER NEUMANN, *Natura sagax*, 116; also 230 for a discussion of this in relation to Johann Arndt. On similar connections in Jakob Böhme, especially emphasising the physical as well as spiritual dimensions of rebirth, see: WOUTER HANEGRAAFF, "Human Potential before Esalen: An Experiment in Anachronism'," in JEFFREY J. KRIPAL and GLENN W. SHUCK, eds, *On the Edge of the Future: Esalen and the Evolution of American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2005), 28-30. For an excellent discussion of physical transfiguration as part of rebirth in radical Pietist discourses see: BURKHARD DOHM, "'Ich werde ihr wesen durchdringend tingiren.' Leib und Natur im radikalen Pietismus um 1700," in BARBARA MAHLMANN-BAUER, ed., *Scientiae et artes: Die Vermittlung alten und neuen Wissens in Literatur, Kunst und Musik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 2: 733-48. Kristine Hannak notes the importance of '*Vergottung*' in Hermetic discourse: KRISTINE HANNAK, *Geist-Reiche Critik. Hermetik, Mystik und das Werden der Aufklärung in Spiritualistischer Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 49. Her study returns to this at various points in discussing the influence of Hermetic thought on scholars such as Sebastian Franck, Valentin Weigel, Jakob Böhme and Johann Konrad Dippel, although the connection between rebirth and a return to the pre-Lapsarian condition is not the main theme of her analysis. Hannak's and Neumann's texts also remind us that, via Böhme and Arndt, respectively, Martius' ideas indirectly tapped into the Hermetic tradition.

of Adam.[78] Through this one sees a pronounced connection between spiritual rebirth and the acquisition of divine wisdom in the early Arndt.[79] Martius indicates that he finds the Arndt passage to be highly significant when he frames his inclusion of it by saying that 'because the matter is of the utmost importance, such that it cannot be covered with a mere two or three words, I want to pass over it in silence, except to say that all sublunary bodies and people are subject to the influence and power of the stars, save those Christians who are endowed with a true and living faith...'[80]

While positioning Martius firmly within these heterodox currents, it is important to evaluate the extent to which he ultimately proposes spiritual transformation as the key to both understanding and performing magic. In order to illuminate this somewhat, I return briefly to his discussion of signatures. Having stated in no uncertain terms that he finds these to be the 'best means' of understanding the hidden powers of plants, Martius continues on to say that 'whoever understands these well, it would appear, has attained the first degree of Solomonic wisdom.'[81] Although Martius does not stop to explain what he means by this statement, he follows on immediately with an exhortation to pray for divine inspiration in the matter. Indeed, diligence and prayer are essential components – the 'key' – for the attainment of the knowledge of signatures, and this 'closed book of nature', once opened, 'will teach the true powers of physic and the most certain methods of healing'. Prerequisite for the attainment of this knowledge – the foundation upon which diligent study rests – is a 'humble heart that is aware of its own ignorance and that calls fervently to God, that out of His grace he might channel and let flow the brook of his highest and most essential wisdom to it – a heart encircled by the thickest darkness of the mind.'[82]

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[78] Indeed, there was a shift in Arndt's conception of the corporeal manifestations of rebirth between his letter to Erasmus Wolfart (1599) and the first edition of his *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum* (1605). In his letter to Wolfart, Arndt argued that inner spiritual rebirth resulted in the restoration of a new, outer 'flesh of Christ'. By 1605, he had shifted away from this idea, arguing instead that rebirth resulted only in an inner spiritual transformation. THOMAS ILLG, *Ein anderer Mensch werden: Johann Arndts Verständnis der Imitatio Christi als Anleitung zu einem wahren Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 117; 124-26.

[79] That this taps into a broader and longer-lived discourse about the relationship between spiritual rebirth and the restoration of lost, pre-Lapsarian knowledge and *magia divina* is suggested by a careful examination of, *inter alia*, the following sources: JULIUS SPERBER, *Kabalisticae Precationes*, preface; CHRISTOPH GLASER, *Novum Laboratorium Medico-Chymicum. Das ist: Neu-eröffnete Chymische Artzney- und Werck-Schul* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1677), 606-607; CHRISTIAN HOBURG, *Theologia Mystica; Oder Geheime Krafft-Theologia der Alten* (Amsterdam: Betkius, 1700), 272-73; BALTHASAR KÖPKE, *Sapientia Dei In Mysterio Crucis Christi Abscondita. Die wahre Theologia Mystica Oder Ascetica Aller Gläubigen A. und N. Test. Aus I. Corinth II. v. 6.7 Entgegen gesetzet Der falschen aus der Heydnischen Philosophia Platonis und seiner Nachfolger* (Halle: Waysen-Haus, 1700), 103ff.; CHRISTIANUS DEMOCRITUS [JOHANN KONRAD DIPPEL], *Weg-Weiser Zum Liecht und Recht in Der äussern Natur. Oder Entdecktes Geheimnüß, Des Segens,und des Fluchs in denen natürlichen Cörpern* (Berlin: s.n., 1704), 54-55.

[80] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 61-63.

[81] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 68.

[82] JOHANN NIKOLAUS MARTIUS, *Unterricht*, 68.

While the idea of healing – that is, the action of the physician – as a form of divine inspiration (akin to the 'fiery tongues of the apostles' under the control of the Holy Spirit) appears in one prominent source in the *Unterricht*, [83] Martius primarily treats the healing arts in a very down-to-earth manner. This should also come as no surprise given his role as *medicus practicus* and the number of direct interactions with his patients that this would have entailed. I interpret this practical, applied approach in Martius, alongside his emphasis on the importance of divine inspiration, as well as his support for Thomasius, Böhme and Arndt, as indicative of a nuanced approach toward magic: divine wisdom and the performance of *magia divina* is an ideal that one might arrive at through contemplation, inspiration and ultimately inner spiritual transformation; however, *magia naturalis* is concerned with the post-Lapsarian condition – an awareness that, without 'spiritual eyes',[84] we glimpse the inner light only imperfectly and must do our best in this fallen state to decode, however crudely, the ciphers of nature for the benefit of our fellow men and women.

Conclusion

An examination of the small cache of documents in the Niedersächsiches Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel mentioned at the outset of this analysis begins to shed light on the identity and professional life of the elusive author of a particularly prominent eighteenth-century text on natural magic. While the *Unterricht* and its author, Martius, have received scant scholarly attention in the past fifty years, the presence of casual references to this work in other texts in the eighteenth-century[85] – not to mention the fact that the *Unterricht* remined, albeit in modified form, in print until the early nineteenth century – suggest that Martius and his text were well-known in learned circles in the early German Enlightenment. The illumination of Martius's patronage networks further suggest that he was not merely a 'Braunschweig physician'[86] but that he also circulated within – and was an important functionary of – the ducal court. Indeed, in his position as one of the *Leibmedici* at court, Martius would have likely been in a position of personal proximity to Duke August Wilhelm and his successors; not to mention his initial benefactor, Duke Anton Ulrich, who himself showed a keen interest in the heavily esoteric *magnum opus* of J.B. van Helmont, translated into German as *Aufgang der Artzney-Kunst* – a work concerning, in part, the relationship between

[83] OSWALD CROLL, *Tractat Von den innerlichen Signaturn, oder Zeichen aller Dinge. Oder Von der wahren und lebendigen Anatomia der grossen und kleinen Welt* (Frankfurt: Tampach, 1629), 10-11.
[84] This term refers to the idea that a reborn Christian has a 'spiritual sight' by which they can, *inter alia,* see or otherwise sense divine presence in nature. See, for example: Arndt, *Vier Bücher*, book 4, 2.
[85] See for instance: JOHANN GEORG WALCH, *Philosophisches Lexicon*, 108; WILHELM WEGNER, *Schau-Platz*, vol. 2, 658; CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH DANIEL, *Beyträge zur medicinischen Gelehrsamkeit, in welchen theils allerhand auserlesene und nützliche Materien aus der Arzney-Wissenschaft abgehandelt…werden* (halle: Renger, 1749), 4-5; HEINRICH ZEDLER, *Lexicon*, vol. 19, 1862.
[86] This is essentially the designation given in the title of Martius's text: 'Jo. Nicol. Martii Med. Doct. und Practici zu Braunschweig'.

medicine, natural magic and spirit power.[87] And while there is no evidence at present to suggest that Martius himself was actively involved in the collecting practices or administration of the library, it is perhaps salient to note that his initial 'sponsor' in Braunschweig was none other than the secretary of the court library, Georg Sievers.

While under-developed at this juncture, such a connection might nonetheless remind us of the politically symbolic importance of libraries, such as the Herzog August Bibliothek, in the early Enlightenment: as not only repositories of knowledge, but as institutions of power embodying (at times, uncoordinated and messy) 'regimes' of organisation and legitimation, epistemic as much as political and social. Situated within this ambit – ensconced within a complex matrix of immediately personal, political and confessional networks at a major centre of intellectual life in the duchy – Martius clearly felt secure enough in his position to not only reproduce the Latin version of his text, but to publish it in numerous German editions also. It is through an investigation of the ideas presented in the *Unterricht*, and their particularly heterodox implications, that the present discussion thus contributes to the exploration of the largely unexamined intersections of Pietist spirituality, esotericism and the healing arts at the court of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.

[87] MECHTHILDE RAABE, ed, *Leser und Lektüre vom 17. zum 19. Jahrhundert: Die Ausleihbücher der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Munich: Saur, 1989-1998). This text, in three parts and eight volumes, is invaluable for cross-checking library use records not only by title of the work but also chronologically.

Deaf-mutism and Savagery Through the Lens of Animal Magnetism in France during the Early Nineteenth century

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The doctrine of animal magnetism at the beginning of the 19th century

Animal magnetism, also known as mesmerism, was introduced and elaborated by the German physician Franz Anton Mesmer, who believed an undetectable fluid permeated the whole universe. This invisible natural force, which was possessed by all living beings, could have physical effects, including healing. According to Mesmer, human diseases were caused by the obstructions that this undetectable fluid encountered in sick bodies. Magnetisers could eliminate these obstacles by re-establishing the balance of the fluid within the body through special gestures, called magnetic passes. Once the free circulation was restored, patients would enter a crisis that involved convulsions and an altered state of mind, followed by a second state of perfect physical and mental well-being.

The doctrine of animal magnetism radically changed its foundations in the early nineteenth century. Mesmerism entered a latent phase during the French Revolution, although it returned to become increasingly popular under the First Empire. The central figure of the renewed movement of animal magnetism, starting from 1807, was Mesmer's pupil, Amand Marc Jacques de Chastenet, Marquis of Puységur.[1] Former member of the *Société de l'harmonie universelle*, which was established by Mesmer in Paris, the pupil Puységur criticised his master's theories. In contrast to Mesmer's belief, Puységur was very doubtful of the existence of the universal fluid, which had already been condemned by two scientific commissions in 1784, and he did not believe that crises would be truly necessary to overcome illnesses. The Marquis experienced magnetic passes on a young peasant, named Victor Race, and discovered that he was able to lead the patient into a placid state of unconsciousness. In this state, the patient's personality changed: he used a refined vocabulary, he was able to predict the course of his illness and remarkably was also able to read the magnetiser's thoughts before they were even expressed in words. As he said:

[1] On Puységur's biography, see: PHILIPPE PÉDALAHORE, 'Une vie, une passion: Puységur et le magnétisme animal,' in GEORGES LAPASSADE and PHILIPPE PÉDALAHORE, eds, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire et à l'établissement du magnétisme animal* (Toulouse: Privat, 1986), I–XXIII; JEAN-PIERRE PETER, 'Puységur et l'enfant fou, ou la raison originelle,' in *Un somnambule désordonné? Journal du traitement magnétique du jeune Hébert* (Le Plessis-Robinson: Institut Synthélabo, 1999): 7–81.

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> Quand il est dans l'état magnétique, ce n'est plus un paysan niais, sachant à peine répondre une phrase, c'est un être que je ne sais pas nommer: je n'ai pas besoin de lui parler; je pense devant lui, et il m'entend, me répond.[2]

In his opinion, this process was due to the 'volonté, cette faculté suprême de l'homme, qui constitue son essence, et [qui] est encore généralement méconnue dans sa plus belle prérogative, celle d'influer sur la santé'.[3] Puységur named this new state as artificial, or magnetic, somnambulism, and strengthened the emphasis on willpower to cure organic diseases, transforming Mesmer's physical theory into a psychological one.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, physicians and philosophers interpreted magnetic sleep in two different ways: some used metaphysics while others applied a physiological approach that linked somnambulism to a pathology. Magnetisers privileged the former approach while phrenologists, like Franz Joseph Gall, often adopted the latter. Both schools of thought were convinced that the understanding of the laws, connecting the body to the soul, was fundamental. Disciplines, like animal magnetism and phrenology, were targeted by the scientific community because they sustained a relationship between the physical and the moral state but, although the two doctrines faced the same criticisms, they had a few points in common. Both analysed somnambulism, although with different aims and conclusions. Moreover, magnetisers criticised Gall's interpretation of somnambulism as well, asserting the following:

> Le docteur Gall prétend que le somnambulisme et le noctambulisme proviennent d'une désorganisation dans les organes. Le noctambulisme, qui est produit par l'activité du songe ou par la force des humeurs, n'est pas en lui-même une maladie, il prouve seulement qu'il en existe une dans la personne qui en est affectée: c'est le combat de la santé contre le mal. […] Le somnambulisme magnétique est, au contraire, un état de calme et bien-être parfait; tous les somnambules le disent: ils ajoutent aussi qu'il augmente leurs forces, qu'ils sont dans un état bien naturel et bien réglé. […] Cet ensemble doit nécessairement prouver que cet état, quoiqu'il ressemble un peu au noctambulisme, en diffère beaucoup.[4]

Animal magnetism played a central role in the French medical debate starting from 1813 and was harshly criticised by physicians. These attacks were led to defend the new theoretical and institutional rules on which the scientific community was reorganising itself, marked by the specialisation of knowledge and the criticism against the

[2] AMAND MARC JACQUES CHASTENET DE PUYSEGUR, *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire et à l'établissement du magnétisme animal*, 3th ed. (Paris: Dentu, 1820), 11.
[3] AMAND MARC JACQUES CHASTENET DE PUYSEGUR, 'Introduction,' *Annales du magnétisme animal*, no. 1 (1814), III–XI (V).
[4] LOUIS-ÉTIENNE-HECTOR LE PELETIER D'AUNAY, 'Lettre concernant les opinions du docteur Jean Joseph Gall sur le somnambulisme,' *Archives du magnétisme animal* 5, no. 14 (1822): 117–39 (125).

encyclopedic ideal.[5] The distinction in the medical field between true professionals and simple amateurs became stronger and more clear-cut to the extent that magnetisers were often depicted as gullible individuals, if not as charlatans. Besides, physicians and naturalists denigrated Puységur's research methods and the ways he used to publicise his discoveries, more than his theories. He was guilty of having tried to gain credit in the eyes of the public opinion, which was not able to evaluate the validity of his research. Moreover, from a methodological point of view, physicians and naturalists criticised the way of measuring artificial somnambulism by direct observation; in their opinion, it was necessary to use an accurate measurement to evaluate the phenomenon objectively. On the other hand, as a contrast to these attacks, Puységur harshly criticised the appropriation of medical power by the scientific elite, who relegated his work outside the boundaries of true science. He interpreted this process as a conscious attempt to move natural science away from democratic judgment and reintroduce the privileges of status and censorship that the French Revolution had cancelled.

The vicissitudes of the supporters of animal magnetism were often indicated with curious anecdotes, highlighting the challenges faced by modern science during its foundation.[6] In spite of the academic opinion that labelled it as quackery, Puységur's practices had great public success. He led many somnambulic experiences in the aristocratic circles of his time and through the years stated that it was no longer ridiculous in Paris to believe in animal magnetism.[7] The spreading of artificial somnambulism must be understood as the result derived from the internal pacification process in the French society, following the revolutionary storm. Political and social elites tried to rebuild a sociability, which was rooted in the literary circles of the eighteenth century, through philanthropic activities. Puységur filled the space left by Nollet and its *physique amusante*, taking advantage of the curiosity around natural science that was typical of the previous century.[8] At the time when the experimental culture and the *cabinet de curiosités* were taking different paths, by establishing the rise of a

[5] JEAN-LUC CHAPPEY, 'Le magnétisme sous l'Empire, un héritage du mesmérisme?,' in BRUNO BELHOSTE and NICOLE EDELMAN, eds, *Mesmer et mesmérismes* (Montreuil: Omniscience, 2015), 81–100, 275–80.

[6] CHARLES COULSTON GILLISPIE, *Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Regime* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980). Gillispie presented the academic verdicts against mesmerism as a fight to affirm a clear division between a culture of astonishment and science itself, which was founded on objectivity and calculation. In recent years, many scholars have blurred the boundary between animal magnetism and scientific culture. See: LAWRENCE BROCKLISS and COLIN JONES, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); FRANÇOIS ZANETTI, *L'électricité médicale dans la France des Lumières* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2017). The most complete historiographical analysis on mesmerism is: DAVID ARMANDO and BRUNO BELHOSTE, 'Le mesmérisme entre la fin de l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution: dynamiques sociales et enjeux politiques,' *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 391, no. 1 (January–March 2018): 3–26.

[7] AMAND MARC JACQUES CHASTENET DE PUYSÉGUR, *Les fous, les insensés, les maniaques et les frénétiques ne seraient-ils que des somnambules désordonnés?* (Paris: Dentu, 1812), IV.

[8] ANTOINE LILTI, *Le Monde des salons: sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), 260–72.

professional scientific elite, the somnambulic experiences, which were held in aristocratic circles, reaffirmed the prestige of the observers and the power of results came from the social standing of those witnessing. Puységur was fully aware of the importance of the observers' reliability and always included the reports of his experiences in his books, signed by the patients and witnessed in front of a notary.

However, animal magnetism continued to be a thorny issue, even if many people believed in it. The scientific community depicted animal magnetism as a sort of religion based on an irrational belief.[9] After Napoleon's fall from power, the comparison pushed the Catholic writers to report the danger that magnetisers represented for customary behaviour, highlighting the risk that they could take sexual advantages over their young female patients.[10] Moreover, the relationship between the physical and the moral state behind Puységur's theory blurred the barrier between science and religion and was feared by the Church. Some writers even condemned artificial somnambulism as a diabolic activity.[11] This fact was revealed by the somnambulists themselves, who were thought to possess supernatural faculties during their crises. Many practitioners of animal magnetism were offended by these accusations and pointed out how animal magnetism was promoted for the benefit of mankind and that a dangerous practice was always and only attributable to the magnetiser's nature. They presented themselves as observers of the natural phenomena taking distance from the religious interpretations of artificial somnambulism.[12]

Animal magnetism for the treatment of deaf-mute individuals

Despite the audience's success in his demonstrations, Puységur stopped practising in aristocratic circles. His main purpose, in fact, was for artificial somnambulism, as well as for the powers of the somnambulist, to achieve academic recognition. In this perspective, the Marquis collaborated with the magnetiser Joseph Philippe François Deleuze, who was an assistant naturalist and librarian of the *Muséum d'histoire naturelle* in Paris. Deleuze introduced him to his colleagues, but Puységur's demonstrations of the phenomenon did not overcome the prejudice of scientists.[13] As a consequence, the

[9] ANTOINE-FRANÇOIS JENIN DE MONTEGRE, *Du magnétisme animal et ses partisans, ou Recueil de pièces importantes sur cet objet, précédé des observations récemment publiées* (Paris: Colas, 1812), 17.
[10] DAVID ARMANDO, 'Scienza, demonolatria o impostura ereticale? Il Sant'Uffizio romano e la questione del magnetismo animale,' *Giornale di storia* 2 (2009), http://www.giornaledistoria.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Content20091105_ArmandoScienzademonolatriaoimposturaereticaledef.pdf; LINDSAY BLAKE WILSON, *Women and Medicine in the French Enlightenment. The debate over maladies des femmes* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1993).
[11] DAVID ARMANDO, 'Des sorciers au mesmérisme: L'abbé Jean-Baptiste Fiard (1736–1818) et la théorie du complot,' *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 126, no. 1 (2014) : 43–58, http://mefrim.revues.org/1751.
[12] JOSEPH PHILIPPE FRANÇOIS DELEUZE, 'Réponse aux objection contre le magnétisme,' *Annales du magnétisme animal* 46 (1816): 151–92.
[13] CHAPPEY, 'Le magnétisme sous l'Empire,' 84–85.

Marquis switched to new experiences, applying animal magnetism for the treatment of deaf-mute individuals with the aim of making his demonstrations irrefutable. As he asserted: 'Pour parvenir à ce but, il n'est qu'un seul moyen, c'est de chercher des sujets d'expériences tellement passifs des phénomènes magnétiques qu'ils devront manifester, qu'on ne puisse les soupçonner d'y avoir coopéré'.[14] Puységur's choice was not dictated by chance. Deleuze was a member of the administrative board of the Philanthropic Society in Paris and collaborated, side by side, with the most important and influential personalities under the Empire and Restoration period; he described the Marquis as a philanthropist, eager to improve the lives of the unfortunates and most neglected by the society through this new tool of charity.

In 1812, Puységur came into contact with Roch-Ambroise Cucurron, known as Sicard, the director of the Parisian Institute For Deaf-Mutes and proposed him to stay in the Institute for six weeks, disguised as an ordinary physician.[15] He was firmly convinced that his experiences on Sicard's pupils would succeed and was willing to run a public retraction if he failed, as quoted below:

> Eh bien, si dans cet état [somnambulique] je ne les fais pas agir, marcher, prendre ce que bon me semblera, ou me répondre par écrit à toutes les questions que je leur ferai, relatives à leur bien-être et à leur santé, non pas en leur parlant, puisqu'ils ne m'entendraient pas, mais par l'impulsion mentale seule de ma volonté, que l'on décide qu'il n'y a ni aimant ni magnétisme dans l'homme, et je signerai même, à l'appui de cette décision, que depuis plus de trente ans que j'en affirme et publie l'existence, je n'ai été qu'un apôtre d'erreur, d'illusion et de mensonge.[16]

Sicard was open to these tests, although the collaboration never began. Puységur blamed the failure of this unfortunate circumstance to a political conjuncture and to a number of adverse events and tried to renew this venture in 1817. The circumstances evoked by Puységur were probably related to the scandal, which involved Antoine Fabre d'Olivet. In 1811, he claimed to have healed Rodolphe Grivel, a former deaf-and-dumb pupil of Sicard. The following year he intended to repeat the experience, spreading the news through the newspapers. This move put the administrative authorities into alert, which set up a commission to evaluate Grivel's treatment. The verdict was merciless. It stated that Grivel was not completely deaf, hence the treatment was useless, and Fabre d'Olivet was accused of illegal medical practice.[17]

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[14] AMAND MARC JACQUES CHASTENET DE PUYSEGUR, 'Mémoire sur la puissance de la volonté,' *Bibliothèque du magnétisme animal* 1, no. 1 (1817), 25–44 (41).

15 Between 1811 and 1812, Puységur visited also Philippe Pinel, the famous inventor of the *traitement moral*, who invited the Marquis to the Salpêtrière hospital to carry out experiences concerning the magnetic influence upon the sectioned patients. However, he refused to take an official stand regarding artificial somnambulism in front of the authorities. See PUYSEGUR, *Les fous*, 81.

[16] PUYSEGUR, 'Mémoire sur la puissance de la volonté,' 43.

[17] LEON CELLIER, *Fabre d'Olivet: une contribution à l'étude des aspects religieux du romantisme* (Paris: Nizet, 1953), 162–71. On the relationships between d'Olivet and animal magnetism, see: CELLIER, *Fabre d'Olivet*, 179–

Notwithstanding, although only occasional experiments were set up, a number of magnetisers did not abandon Puységur's project. In 1814, Puységur's nephew, Louis-Étienne-Hector Le Peletier, Count d'Aunay, magnetised a thirteen-year-old student of Sicard, who fell instantly in somnambulism. However, the experience was disappointing: the young deaf-mute was not able to read or write, nor did he show the ability to read Le Peletiers's mind, and the magnetiser did not gain useful information from the experience.[18] By contrast, in 1816, the magnetisers in Stockholm announced that the experiment: 'consistant à se faire entendre mentalement de tous ceux d'entre eux [the deaf-mute individuals] qu'[on] aurait préalablement mis en somnambulisme magnétique, se trouve avoir été pleinement effectuée par le comte de Lœvenhielm'.[19]

The experiments conducted with deaf-mute individuals split the magnetist front and theoretical dispute on the nature of somnambulic processes into two schools of thought. As Étienne Félix d'Henin de Cuvillers, the editor of the review *Archives du magnétisme animal*, commented:

> Que des gasconnades n'aie-je pas encore entendues et lues de la part de plusieurs magnétistes qui, pour prouver l'existence réelle du fluide magnétique animal, sans la coopération de l'imagination, ont avancé avec assurance qu'ils pourraient faire obéir, mouvoir et agir un aveugle sourd et muet de naissance, par un simple acte de volonté?[20]

This reply showed that, on the one hand, a number of magnetisers assumed the existence of a fluid, which was the vector for willpower; on the other hand, others ascribed the effect to the mere power of imagination.[21] However, d'Henin de Cuvillers declared above all the inadequacy of these experiences. Their success was based on the interpretation of the gestures, or smiles, made by the deaf-mute subjects. This was the main proof that they could mentally communicate without hearing. Therefore, the absence of Deleuze in this debate is not at all surprising. He was a philanthropist, but he was also a fervent rationalist. He could not accept these explanations no more than he could accept the theories, connecting animal magnetism to religion.

The magnetisers argued more and more often that a physiological approach

81. Moreover, even Napoleon opposed Puységur's theories denouncing the Marquis as a charlatan. See EMMANUEL DE LAS CASES, *Mémorial de Saint-Helène, ou Journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit e fait Napoleon durant dix-huit mois* (Bruxelles: Remy, 1824), 76.

[18] LE PELETIER D'AUNAY, 'Lettre concernant les opinions du docteur Jean Joseph Gall,' 131–32.

[19] [GUSTAVE] DE LŒVENHIELM, 'Récit du traitement de M.lle de S*** commencé à Stockholm en juin 1816,' *Bibliothèque du magnétisme animal* 5, no. 15 (1818) : 228–40 (240). On the diffusion of animal magnetism in Northern Europe, see HENRIK BOGDAN and OLAV HAMMER, eds, *Western Esotericism in Scandinavia* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), 264–91.

[20] ÉTIENNE FÉLIX D'HÉNIN DE CUVILLERS, 'Quatrième article des notices, extraits et analyses de l'ouvrage intitulé des Modes accidentels de nos perceptions,' *Archives du magnétisme animal* 6, no. 16 (1822): 25–91 (72–73).

[21] On the theoretical controversy between psychofluidists and imaginationists, see: BERTRAND MEHEUST, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité*, vol. 1, *Le défi du magnétisme animal* (Le Plessis-Robinson: Institut Synthélabo, 1998), 334–44.

would have been necessary to describe experiences concerning deaf-mute people. This would have allowed the understanding of both the origins of the five (ordinary) senses and of the somnambulic one. Count Sigismond Ehrenreich Johann von Redern, a former business associate of Saint-Simon, wrote that it would have been interesting to put in somnambulism 'des aveugles et des sourds de naissance, afin d'avoir des idées plus exactes sur cet état singulier […] qui n'est autre chose qu'un mode de perception différent de ceux de l'état de veille'.[22] Redern's reasoning was rooted in the German world where mesmerism had become an academic subject and was practiced under the control of the medical authorities. German physiologists argued that animal magnetism worked on the ganglia system, which was regarded as the location of the soul in the body. The ganglia system, thus, allowed the execution of all the activities performed involuntarily when humans were awake, a kind of primordial life, which also endured during sleep.[23] Artificial somnambulism connected all the perceptions of the awaken state with this ancient instinct that mankind had forgotten. In fact, as he suggested: 'Ce mode de perception est probablement la manifestation ou le développement d'une forme primitive inhérente à l'essence de la nature humaine, dont le cinq sens ne sont que des modifications'.[24]

From deaf-mute individuals to savages

The juxtaposition between a primitive world and the world of deaf-mutes was not an original idea by Redern. It was the result of the eighteenth-century debate concerning the origins of language and knowledge. Philosophers did not have the possibility to directly study individuals in their rudest and most early state of development and often speculated that mankind had relied upon some form of sign language before starting to speak.[25] In this light, deaf-mute individuals were linked with the beginning of

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[22] SIGISMOND EHRENREICH JOHANN VON REDERN, *Des modes accidentels de nos perceptions, ou Examen sommaire des modifications ques des circonstances particulières apportent à l'exercice de nos facultés et à la perception des objets extérieurs*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Mongie aîné, 1818), 54. Although magnetisers were conscious of the relevance of the blind, they did not invest in further research. Probably, they did not want to bring back negative memories concerning the treatment of the blind piano player Maria Theresia Von Paradis, which was performed by Mesmer in Wien in 1775 and which created a scandal to the extent of forcing Mesmer to leave the city. See BRUNO BELHOSTE, 'Mesmer et la diffusion du magnétisme animal à Paris, 1778–1803,' in BRUNO BELHOSTE and NICOLE EDELMAN, eds, *Mesmer et mesmérismes* (Montreuil: Omniscience, 2015), 21–61, 253–68 (22).

[23] See ANTOINE FAIVRE, '*Éloquence magnétique*, ou descriptions des mondes de l'au-delà explorés par le magnétisme animal: au carrefour de la Naturphilosophie romantique et de la théosophie chrétienne (première moitié du XIX siècle),' *Aries* 8 (2008) : 191–228 https://doi.org/10.1163/156798908X327339; LUIS MONTIEL, 'Une révolution manquée: le magnétisme animal dans la médecine du romanticisme allemand,' *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 38, no. 1 (2009) : 61–77, https://doi.org/10.4000/rh19.3870.

[24] REDERN, *Des modes accidentels*, 57.

[25] DOUGLAS C. BAYNTON, 'Savages and Deaf-Mutes. Evolutionary Theory and the Campaign Against Sign Language in the Nineteenth Century,' in JOHN VICKREY VAN CLEVE, ed., *Deaf History Unveiled. Interpretations from the New Scholarship* (Washington D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1993), 92–112; BRIGITTE WELTMAN-ARON, *On Other Grounds. Landscape Gardening and Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century England and France* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2001), 98–104.

spoken language and sign language was thus seen as a connection between animals and humans. Furthermore, some thinkers compared deaf-mutes to monkeys; in both cases, the language used was composed of inarticulate shrieks and gestures.[26] In France, the establishment by the abbot Charles-Michel de l'Épée of the first school for congenital deaf-mute individuals marked a major turning point, allowing the deaf-and-dumb individuals to gradually gain access to the civilised society.[27] The cornerstone of the abbot's project was the development of the French gesture language, which allowed these subjects to escape isolation and his experiences demonstrated that deaf-mutes not only understood the value of words but could also acquire abstract and complex notions.

At the close of the eighteenth-century, the French Revolution made the education of deaf-mutes a political necessity since learning to communicate made them proper citizens. In addition, sensualist theories spread the belief that physics and moral characteristics were not only influenced by the environmental milieu, but also by the political and cultural institutions. Pierre-Louis Prieur de la Marne clearly expressed the need of educating deaf-mutes, demanding, at the same time, special protection for the Parisian Institute for Deaf-Mutes. The status of deaf-mutes was equated with that of savages during the first stages of progress towards civilisation.[28] In fact, as he stated: 'Les individus, frappés de ce double malheur, peuvent à peine être distingués de l'homme sauvage, et sont toujours étrangers à la société. […] Tous les avantages de la civilisation sont perdus pour eux'.[29] According to Condillac, whose philosophy gained a prominent role after Robespierre's downfall, every development of science, no matter the sphere of interest and knowledge, depended on the perfection of its language. Thus, the role of gesture in the acquisition and development of a language was rediscovered as a topic of general interest among contemporary scholars and, above all, among those who enjoyed the *Idéologie* in the following years.[30]

Magnetists appeared to be at the margin of the debate, although they tried to enjoy it. Their contribution stressed the concept, which linked the primitive populations with the dawn of civilisation, arguing that savages were living vestiges of

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[26] CLAUDE BLANCKAERT, 'La perfectibilité, sous conditions? Éducation d'espèce, flexibilité d'organisation et échelle d'aptitude morale en anthropologie (1750–1820),' in BERTRAND BINOCHE, ed., *L'homme perfectible* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2004), 114–44 (120–21). Also Puységur compared deaf-mute individuals and animals. See PUYSEGUR, 'Mémoire sur la puissance de la volonté,' 42.

[27] MARYSE BEZAGU-DELUY, *L'Abbé de l'Épée. Instituteur gratuit des sourds et muets, 1712-1789* (Paris: Seghers, 1990); FRANÇOIS BUTON, *L'administration des faveurs. L'État, les sourds et les aveugles 1789–1885* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 29–47; EMMET KENNEDY, *Abbé Sicard's Deaf Education. Empowering the Mute, 1785–1820* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).

[28] BUTON, *L'administration des faveurs*, 48–65; JEAN-LUC CHAPPEY, *Sauvagerie et civilisation. Une histoire politique de Victor de l'Aveyron* (Paris: Fayard, 2017), 28–35, 80–89.

[29] PIERRE-LOUIS PRIEUR, *Rapport sur l'établissement des sourds-muets fait à l'Assemblée nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie des sourds-muets, 1791), 6.

[30] SOPHIA ROSENFELD, *A Revolution in Language. The Problems of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 181–226.

ancient history. The supporters of animal magnetism gave new impetus to the historical research concerning the predecessor of Mesmer and dating back to the end of the eighteenth century. The commissions of 1784 had accused Mesmer of resurrecting the creative power of Renaissance imagination covertly accusing him of plagiarism. By contrast, magnetists reversed the accusation, discovering an affiliation to ancient knowledge. The main supporter of this theory was d'Henin de Cuvillers, but even Deleuze, who was extremely cautious when opening to something that could damage the scientific status of animal magnetism, wrote an essay on the force of imagination, such as that theorised by the Flemish physician Van Helmont.[31] D'Henin de Cuvillers stated that there was: 'Nul doute […] que le Magnétisme animal, par la raison seule qu'il est inhérent à l'existence de tous les corps organisés, ne se soit à toutes les époques des temps antérieurs, passivement et involontairement manifesté'.[32] Furthermore, the role of savages gained more importance as it became interwoven with the debates on the question of the origins of magnetic knowledge, as is clearly described below:

> Il est à croire que les pratiques du magnétisme animal entraient pour beaucoup dans la manière de guérir. Les anciens monuments paraissent se réunir pour nous le confirmer. Il en était alors comme aujourd'hui chez tous les peuples sauvages. Leur médecine est tout-à-fait magnétique. Les frictions, les insufflations, les gestes de toute espèce sont employés dans toutes leurs maladies, […] accompagnés d'une volonté ferme de guérir; il n'est pas étonnant qu'ils réussissent souvent.[33]

Most of the magnetisers' theories relied upon the work of Antoine Court de Gébelin whose commitment to Mesmer is well known. At the end of the eighteenth century, his *Le Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne* enjoyed a high reputation and was compared to Rousseau's literary works.[34] Court de Gébelin's purpose was to discover the ancient world through the human institutions of the modern era.

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[31] JOSEPH PHILIPPE FRANÇOIS DELEUZE, 'Sur l'opinion de Van Helmont sur la cause, la nature et les effets du magnétisme,' *Bibliothèque du magnétisme animal* 1, no. 1 (1817) : 45–79; JOSEPH PHILIPPE FRANÇOIS DELEUZE, 'Sur l'opinion de Van Helmont sur la cause, la nature et les effets du magnétisme,' *Bibliothèque du magnétisme animal* 2, no. 6 (1817) : 189–227.

[32] ÉTIENNE FELIX D'HENIN DE CUVILLERS and AMAND MARC JACQUES CHASTENET DE PUYSEGUR, review of *Traitement d'Étienne Koroboff pour un rhumatisme chronique, accompagné des symptômes de paralysie*, by Panin, *Bibliothèque du magnétisme animal* 5, no. 15 (1818): 253–60 (254–55).

[33] 'Recherches sur les notions que les anciens ont eus du somnambulisme,' *Annales du magnétisme animal*, no. 22 (1815): 157–92 (157).

[34] ANNE-MARIE MERCIER-FAIVRE, 'Le *Monde primitif* d'Antoine Court de Gébelin, ou le rêve d'une encyclopédie solitaire,' *Dix-huitième siècle* 24 (1992) : 353–66, https://doi.org/10.3406/dhs.1992.1880; ANNE-MARIE MERCIER-FAIVRE, *Un supplément à l'Encyclopédie: le Monde primitif de Court de Gébelin*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999); ANNE-MARIE MERCIER-FAIVRE, 'Le *Monde primitif* (1773-1782) de Court de Gébelin. À la recherche des savoirs perdus,' in FRANÇOISE LE BORGNE, ODILE PARSIS-BARUBE, and NATHALIE VUILLEMIN, eds, *Les Savoirs des barbares, des primitifs et des sauvages. Lectures de l'Autre aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018), 119–34. See also: BLANCKAERT, 'La perfectibilité, sous conditions?,' 118–20.

Languages were the pivotal element of this reconstruction allowing to retrace the development of science, art, and political institutions. As he stated: 'tout ce qui nous environne nous présente des arts, des lois, des mœurs qui ont commencé avec nos besoins, que de nouveaux besoins ont perfectionnés, et qui […] ont leur racines dans l'antiquité la plus reculée'.[35] The anthropological method of Court de Gébelin was essentially comparative; the different human societies were associated to pinpoint the common elements in the development of mankind. Animal magnetism was one of these constants. As he asserted:

> Les influences du magnétisme animal se firent sentir certainement aux premières sociétés: quoiqu'elles n'en aient pas connu la cause, et qu'elles n'aient pas pu la raisonner, elles n'en ont pas moins joui, et c'est à ces influences que les générations primitives durent ces jours longs et heureux si vantés dans l'Histoire et dont jusqu'ici nous ne savions que penser. En effet, la Nature étant alors dans son Printemps, et les générations n'étant pas encore dégradées […], cet agent admirable produisait des effets plus assurés, plus constants, plus sensibles. […] Lorsqu'on en eût oublié l'origine […] ces effets ne furent connus que par une tradition affaiblie et dégradée.[36]

The action of animal magnetism was stronger in the primitive era, fading the more the distance increased from the dawn of civilisation. Robert Darnton showed how this belief was spread among the adepts of mesmerism in the years before the French Revolution and how some of them sustained to be able to alter morality by acting on the health of the individual to regenerate society itself.[37] Guillaume Kornmann, banker and member of the *Société de l'harmonie universelle*, offered his son to be the prototype of a 'génération hardie, vigoureuse, et qui connaîtrait pas d'autre lois pour se conserver que celle de la Nature', able to reverse the French political system.[38] Certainly, as is shown by the deaf-mutes' debate, many magnetisers believed that the first level of knowledge was linked to the sense of touch, considered as the main tool of primitive men, as described below:

> [Par les mains] l'homme se met en rapport avec les objets extérieures; par elles il peut remplacer les organes des sens dont il sera privé; par elles il sonde à toute heure les profondeurs de la nature: de même que l'organe de la parole est de toute nécessité A l'homme dans le développements de ses idées purement spéculatives, de même, dans

[35] ANTOINE COURT DE GEBELIN, *Monde primitif analysè et comparé avec le monde moderne, considéré dans son génie allégorique et dans les allégories auxquelles conduisit ce génie*, vol. 1 (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1773), 4.
[36] ANTOINE COURT DE GEBELIN, *Lettre de l'auteur du Monde primitif à Messieurs ses souscripteurs sur le magnétisme animal* (Paris: chez Gastellier, 1784), 46.
[37] ROBERT DARNTON, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968). See BRUNO BELHOSTE, 'Franz Anton Mesmer: magnétiseur, moraliste et républicain,' *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 391, no. 1 (2018): 27–56.
[38] NICOLAS BERGASSE, *Lettre d'un médecin de la Faculté de Paris à un médecin du Collège de Londres; ouvrage dans lequel on prouve contre Mesmer que le magnétisme animal n'existe pas* (La Haye: n.p.,1781), 263. See DARNTON, *Mesmerism*, 120–25.

> tout effet matériel […] l'action des mains est de nécessité absolue.[39]

Thus, it was not surprising that they discovered animal magnetism and developed some rudimentary treatments.

Under the Empire and the Restoration, the primitivism of Court de Gébelin began to be questioned, but magnetisers kept the link between man's most early state and animal magnetism, equating primitive men with savages. Magnetisers abandoned the political perspective, only focusing on the advantages that the observation of the savages' conduct of life could have on the process of validation of animal magnetism. According to the magnetists of the early eighteenth century, the primitive populations discovered their magnetic abilities, but they only had a limited comprehension of the phenomenon itself. They were always a step behind contemporary Europeans because their critical reasoning had still not developed enough. As Le Peletier wrote, in Louisiana, the savages performed magnetic healing without even being fully aware of it.[40] As he reported, a merchant traveller witnessed a magnetic treatment in the middle of the forest where one of the bearers was bitten by a venomous snake. His comrades made him lie down on animal skins and started to use archaic magnetic passes on his leg blocking the action of the poison. Le Peletier argued that, although the contribution of European scientific knowledge was necessary to understand animal magnetism, its use by the autochthonous populations was proof of its existence.

Animal magnetism in the travel literature

The connection between savagery and animal magnetism was not exclusive to magnetists as it was also mentioned in the travel literature.[41] While magnetists highlighted the temporal distance from the primitive populations, travellers, instead, focused on the spatial gap with them. Alexander von Humboldt claimed that the Caribbean *marirris* were the most renowned among all 'prêtres, jongleurs et médecins à la fois. […] Les remèdes qu'ils emploient […] sont accompagnés d'imposition de mains, et de quelques gestes ou pratiques mystérieuses qui paraissent tenir aux procédés les plus anciennement connus du magnétisme animal'.[42] Humboldt's

[39] JEREMIAS RUDOLF LICHTENSTÄDT, 'Commentaires et réflexions sur le magnétisme animal,' *Bibliothèque du magnétisme animal* 7, no. 20 (1819): 93–115 (99–100).

[40] LOUIS-ÉTIENNE-HECTOR LE PELETIER D'AUNAY, 'Lettre au Rédacteur des Archives du magnétisme animal concernant la manière dont les sauvages de la Louisiane opèrent des cures remarquables par les frictions,' *Archives du magnétisme animal* 4, no. 11 (1822): 177–82.

[41] I am not aware of studies showing the link between animal magnetism and travel literature. Unlike the influence of animal magnetism on the romantic writers, to the best of my knowledge, this topic has not been investigated by historians yet. See ERNST LEONARDY et al., *Traces du mesmérisme dans les littératures européennes du XIXe siècle: actes du colloque international organisé les 9 et 10 novembre 1999* (Bruxelles: Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 2001); MARIA TATAR, *Spellbound: studies on mesmerism and literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978); ALISON WINTER, *Mesmerized. Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[42] ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent, fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804* (Paris: Schoell, 1814–21), vol. 3, 21.

assumptions were based on the report of the mission conducted by Antoine-Hyacinthe-Anne de Chastenet de Puységur in Saint-Domingue in 1784.[43] Puységur's middle brother was a French navy officer and a esteemed cartographer and, during the expedition, he established a mesmeric hospital in Le Cap Français, which became the subject of intense debate among colonists and was shut down shortly after Puységur's departure.[44]

By contrast, the abbot Jerôme Richard reported of magnetic practices in China, Egypt, South East Asia and especially in the *Îles de la Société*, now known as Polynesia. The abbot's work is particularly interesting because he borrowed some topics, typical of animal magnetism, and used them reversing their meaning against the followers of the magnetic doctrine. For instance, it was a popular idea among magnetisers that 'la pratique de masser, qui a lieu dans les îles de la mer du Sud, et qui produit […] un sommeil si agréable' was nothing less than a magnetic treatment.[45] Richard agreed with this comparison but argued that savages performed animal magnetism because they obtained a lascivious pleasure by way of the massage. In Tahiti, it was men who benefitted from the massage 'de ces jolies Taïtiennes, qui leur communiquent la chaleur douce qui circulait en elles', while in Europe the patients were often young and emotional women.[46] Moreover, Richard agreed with Puységur concerning the fear of physicians for the choice of patients to use magnetic treatments to heal their illnesses. The Marquis of Puységur reported that somnambulists often praised the soft method of herbal medicine and animal magnetism, as opposed to the aggressiveness of ordinary medicine. By contrast, the abbot saw in the savages' fear of doctors a proof of their backwardness caused by their limited intellectual abilities and took the opportunity to criticise Court de Gébelin's defense of animal magnetism.[47]

Humboldt and Richard interpreted animal magnetism practices as a demonstration of the inferiority of savages and, especially in Richard's writings, these populations were described as animals controlled by lust and irrationality. Abbot's book was not a result of direct observation, but a long and detailed account of the travel literature that had been previously published. He was arrested under the Reign of Terror and wrote his manuscript in jail. During his imprisonment, he reflected on

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43 HUMBOLDT, *Voyage aux régions*, vol. 3, 481.

44 On the diffusion of mesmerism in Saint-Domingue, see: BERNARD GAINOT, 'Des baquets sous les tropiques. À propos de la diffusion du magnétisme animal à Saint-Domingue en 1784,' *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 391, no. 1 (2018): 81–104; FRANÇOIS REGOURD, 'Mesmerism in Saint-Domingue,' in JAMES DELBOURGO and NICHOLAS DEW, eds, *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York–London: Routledge, 2008), 311–32.

45 'Recherches sur les notions que les anciens ont eus du somnambulisme,' 158.

46 JEROME RICHARD, *Voyages chez les peuples sauvages, ou l'Homme de la nature: histoire morale des peuples sauvages des deux continens, et des naturels des Isles de la mer du Sud* (Paris: Laurens aîné, 1808, 2edn), vol. 2, 271. See WILSON, *Women and Medicine in the French Enlightenment*.

47 RICHARD, *Voyages chez les peuples sauvages*, vol. 2, 273–74.

French people's behavioural trajectory, comparing it with the one of savages. Once he was free, he published his reflections in order to show the French the wild nature that had misguided them during the previous years. In the introduction of his book, the editor stated his refusal to learn how to live from the savages. The inhabitants of the Antipodes became the figures through which to interpret the French political situation, condemning the Reign of Terror and, by metonymy, the whole revolutionary process. As he stated, among savages:

> L'homme n'est plus homme, et qu'il vient de se placer au rang des bêtes les plus féroces, avec lesquels il est toujours en guerre. Or quel est, parmi les êtres de la société, l'infortuné qui pourrait envier une pareille existence? Malheur à celui qui a conçu ce coupable désir! Mais malheur au gouvernement tyrannique qui force le citoyen à former ce vœu coupable.[48]

As historians have shown, the attention paid to the savage populations could be considered a central principle of eighteenth-century thought.[49] However, the European vision of the Other was deformed *a priori* by two ideological myths: the myth of the noble savage and the myth of the ignoble savage. These two opposing concepts coexisted during the period of Enlightenment, although the myth of the ignoble savage had a tendency to dominate at the expense of the appreciation of the natural state. Thus, philosophers ranked the different populations they encountered in the world in accordance with the distance they expressed from the state of perfection towards which civilisation enabled mankind to progress. However, when it comes to details about the individual cultures, there was not a single school of thought from which to draw inspiration.[50] In France, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the debate concerning Victor of Aveyron, a feral child who was found at the age of around twelve into the woods, led thinkers place the issue of savagery, once again, at the core of their discussion.[51] Feral children were equated with savages and, for a short time, doctors argued that they were able to fill the gap that separated them from civilised people, but the failure of these experiments proved the existence of a fracture between the civilised and the savage populations. The inferiority of the latter became a biological datum defining an unalterable hierarchical classification of human beings, which justified the revival of pro-slavery politics and prevented any further reassessment of their image.

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[48] FRANÇOIS BABIE DE MERCENAY, 'Avis de l'éditeur,' in *Voyages chez les peuples sauvages, ou l'Homme de la nature: histoire morale des peuples sauvages des deux continens, et des naturels des Isles de la mer du Sud* (Paris: Laurens aîné, 1808, 2edn), vol. 1, vii–viii.

[49] For a general account see: OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON, *Le mythe du sauvage* (Paris: Lebaud, 1995); SERGIO LANDUCCI, *I filosofi e selvaggi* (Torino: Einaudi, 2014).

[50] RONALD L. MEEK, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 131–76; HENRY VYVERBERG, *Human Nature, Cultural Diversity and the French Enlightenment* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[51] CHAPPEY, *Sauvagerie et civilisation*, 165–90, 209–25.

Conclusions

The tendency of historiography concerning animal magnetism in the nineteenth century has often been to replace it in long-term analysis. The validity of this approach is indisputable and has highlighted several fundamental aspects behind the understanding of the challenges that arise from its study. However, artificial somnambulism did not only highlight the difficulties in accepting the emergence of the psychological unconscious but it also did not confine itself to a mere revival of the Renaissance magic in a world that was ruled by a deterministic concept of the world and the natural phenomenon.[52] Although the hostility of the scientific community, which continued for the whole nineteenth century, was a pivotal element in these studies, other patterns concerning the supporters of animal magnetism in the 1810s could be difficult to integrate into such a historical approach. Most of these debates became obsolete and were already forgotten in the following decade when mesmeric cures entered the hospitals.

In the span of the time analysed, the specificity of the animal magnetism debate was the existence of many different approaches, which varied from magnetiser to magnetiser, to obtain the legitimation of their knowledge. This situation was mainly the result of the deep theoretical reorganisation that the movement of animal magnetism went through, following the French Revolution and Mesmer's departure. Secondly, Puységur's leadership only relied upon his reputation. Even if Puységur and Deleuze created the *Société du Magnétisme* in 1815, other magnetisers could freely explore different paths. The emphasis put on the faculty to read the mind showed by many somnambulists as a way to integrate deaf-mutes into the society did not reach a broad consensus within the magnetic community. So far as I am aware, in France, Puységur's nephew was the only magnetiser who consistently spent a certain amount of effort in this direction.

Conversely, many magnetisers found the juxtaposition between deaf-mutes and savages an interesting topic, since it embraced their survey on the traces of animal magnetism in ancient times. Even if unheard, they joined the debate on the origins of language and knowledge, arguing that the magnetic abilities showed by the primitive populations were the proof of the existence of the phenomenon itself. This ancient knowledge was lost among civilised people and, at least, savages could score some points over contemporary Europeans. However, to understand animal magnetism and make it useful for mankind, the contribution of the Europeans was fundamental because 'la découverte d'un magnétisme dans l'homme [devra] répandre un jour de grandes lumières sur toutes les croyances et sur toutes les superstitions antiques et populaires'.[53]

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[52] See JACQUELINE CARROY, *Hypnose, suggestion et psychologie. L'invention de sujets* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991); MEHEUST, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité*, vol. 1, 340.
[53] D'HENIN DE CUVILLERS and PUYSEGUR, review of *Traitement d'Étienne Koroboff*, 255.

These theses were ignored outside the sphere of the magnetic movement, but the connection between animal magnetism and the savage populations persisted in the travel literature. Travellers rejected that animal magnetism was good for human health, considering it only as a demonstration of cultural backwardness. At the end of the 1810s, the significance of the manifestations of animal magnetism among savages started to be questioned also by the magnetisers, who claimed that a clinical approach would be the only method capable of explaining the mechanics of artificial somnambulism. The somnambulic state was considered 'sans motifs suffisants comme un état de perfection ou pureté particulière', and the emancipatory function of animal magnetism, sustained by Puységur, was definitely set aside.[54] It was no longer a question of educating individuals, but rather of caring for them and understanding their extraordinary abilities.

[54] REDERN, *Des modes accidentels*, 54.

From Universal History to World History Carroll Quigley (1910-1977) and the Shaping of New Historical Paradigms

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Universal History in the twentieth century is especially related to the figure of Arnold J. Toynbee (1889-1975), the historian-turned-prophet who devised a complex and fascinating interpretation of the civilizational process. He was since 1925 professor of History of International Relations at the London School of Economics and director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. His name is associated to *A Study of History*, a monumental work of immense erudition that explains the evolution of civilizations through the concept of 'challenge and response'.[1] Immediately after the Second World War the echo of Toynbee's work was particularly intense and the abridged version of his *magnum opus* turned out to be a bestseller, especially in the United States where it was published in 1947 with much fanfare and the support of Henry Luce, owner of *Time* magazine.[2] However, this enormous success did not guarantee his author a significant place in the historiographical landscape of the following decades. Throughout the 1950s, reactions ranged from positive feedbacks to very harsh criticisms: as the latter prevailed, his work was almost completely marginalized.[3] It should be remembered that William H. McNeill, Toynbee's ancient disciple as well as fine historian of his own, paved the way to a reconsideration by publishing his biography in 1989; but in spite of this partial renewal of interest, Toynbee still remains a minor figure in modern historiography.[4]

We can therefore say that an initial interest quickly reversed in an estranged relationship between the British scholar and his fellow historians: as soon as in the early 1960s, not only his work but Universal History on the whole was generally at a low ebb, also in the United States. However, its fundamental core – the discovery of common patterns emerging from different cultures through the application of interpretative models – was far from being unrelated to American culture. Not only

[1] ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of History*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934-1961).

[2] ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of History*. Abridgement of vols. I–VI by David C. Somervell, with a preface by Arnold J. Toynbee (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946).

[3] PIETER GEYL, "Toynbee the Prophet", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 16 (1955): 260-74; HUGH TREVOR-ROPER, "Arnold Toynbee's Millennium", in *Encounter* 8, 16 (1957), 14-28.

[4] WILLIAM H. MCNEILL, *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); CARL T. MCINTIRE and MARVIN PERRY, eds, *Toynbee: Reappraisals* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989). See also GORDON MARTEL, "Toynbee, McNeill, and the Myth of History", in *The International History Review* 12, 2 (1990), 330-48. More recently, see TEODORO TAGLIAFERRI, *Storia Ecumenica. Materiali per lo studio dell'opera di Toynbee* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2002); TEODORO TAGLIAFERRI, *La repubblica dell'umanità: fonti culturali e religiose dell'universalismo imperiale britannico* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2012).

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were readers familiar with a controversial author like Oswald Spengler, whose works were early translated and widely read in the 1920s; the evidence of this link can be noticed more clearly by connecting this approach to different research practices, well established in the academe outside historical departments. This kind of scholarship, more oriented to building general paradigms than grounded in archival research, actually found a wider recognition by other communities, being especially valued among social scientists. Cultural anthropologists proved to be particularly inclined to follow this approach, as influential scholars like Alfred Kroeber lent their reputation to the comparative method, bringing credibility to concepts such as cycles and developmental stages. From the 1930s, Kroeber introduced the concept of 'style pattern' – whose best example is represented by artistic or philosophical schools –, intended as an ideal model that unifies and gives coherence to a culture, defines its values and directs its development: over the course of its evolution, a style is refined and reaches its own climax, whereupon it loses its effectiveness and eventually disappears to be replaced by another style. This evolutionary process of rise and fall explains how societies are transformed through the adoption of successive patterns.[5]

Against this background, another portrait should be placed – that of Carroll Quigley (1910-1977), an almost forgotten figure of historian, teacher and public intellectual. A better understanding of how US historiography evolved in the post-World War II era could be attained by taking into account his place in that landscape. For instance, the Toynbian heritage is just one of the features shared by Quigley and William H. McNeill, the forerunner of modern world historians. The similarities between his and McNeill's works are striking and will be highlighted in this essay. At a broader level, we might posit the question why the shift from Universal History to new historical paradigmsoccurred in one direction (World History, post-colonial studies, etc.) rather than another (e.g. the comparative approach to the study of civilizations to be found in Samuel Huntington, or more generally in the International Relations field). Quigley's original approach cut across a wide range of topics; his scholarship bears an eclectic mark that casts a light on some aspects of the professional historiography of his times. As a result, his achievements allow us today to reconsider him as a transitional figure between such diverse historiographic trends.

A 'Generalist' Approach to Historical Research

In June 1938, Carroll Quigley obtained his doctorate in History at Harvard. His dissertation – entitled *The Public Administration of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1805-*

[5] Alfred Louis Kroeber (1876-1960), professor at the University of California at Berkeley, was a disciple of Franz Boas and in turn formed a generation of cultural anthropologists. His research on the field mainly concerned Native American cultures, on which he made innovative contributions. From an interdisciplinary point of view, the conceptual tools he developed were not less significant: ALFRED LOUIS KROEBER, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1944); ALFRED LOUIS KROEBER, *Style and Civilizations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1957).

1814) – should have been, in his intent, the first step of a career as a specialist in European history. He was born in 1910; as a student of the Boston Latin School between 1924 and 1929, he showed outstanding intellectual talents and a rigorous application to study, receiving awards at national level. After enrolling at Harvard, he obtained a B.A. magna cum laude in 1933 and an M.A. in the following year. In 1935, after being admitted to a Ph.D., he went to Princeton with an appointment as 'preceptor.' He owed this appointment to Charles Howard McIlwain – the celebrated historian of the American revolution that Quigley, years later, was to recognize with veneration as his mentor.[6] There, the young scholar began to conceive the research programme that later would have become the subject of his doctoral dissertation: a work of political and constitutional history, intended as the foundational layer of a lifetime project with a clear goal – to write the history of the formation of the modern state in Europe.[7]

The in-depth analysis of this text, despite its considerable interest and its sound scholarship, is beyond the scope of this essay. The main concern here is to highlight the solid groundwork of Quigley's formative years, and at the same time to identify the reasons that led him subsequently to follow a completely different path. In fact, events did not turn out as he expected: his dissertation did not find its way to the press– it is still unpublished today. From 1937 to 1940, Quigley completed a three-year stint at Harvard as a tutor of advanced students.During that time he fostered his academic career under the guidance of specialists in European history: Clarence Crane Brinton (1898-1968), a scholar of the French revolution who is best known for theoretically ambitious works such as*The Anatomy of Revolution*;[8] and Donald Cope McKay (1902-1959), who wrote about the *ateliers nationaux* as well as Atlantic relations.[9] None of these, with the partial exception of Brinton,[10] was to be remembered as an influential figure in the subsequent scholarly debate. In addition to this, it must be remembered the role exerted by Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957) as a co-tutor of Quigley's dissertation. Salvemini was an Italian historian, university teacher, public intellectual and politician with socialist leanings. Being a resolute

[6] Charles Howard McIlwain (1871–1968) taught at Princeton and from 1916 at Harvard; in 1935 he became president of the American Historical Association. His major works include: *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan, 1924); *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1940).

[7] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "The Public Administration of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1805-1814)", (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1938).

[8] CRANE BRINTON, *The Jacobins: an Essay in the New History* (New York: Macmillan, 1930);Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men: the Story of Western Thought* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950); Id., *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1938; expanded ed. New York: Vintage, 1965).

[9] DONALD C. MCKAY, *The National Workshops: A Study in the French Revolution of 1848* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933; *The United States and France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).

[10] BAILEY STONE, *The Anatomy of Revolution Revisited. A Comparative Analysis of England, France, and Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

opponent of Fascism, in 1923 he had to leave Italy as an exile, fleeing to France and then to the United States. He obtained the chair of History of Italian civilization at Harvard in 1933 and was granted American citizenship. After the war he returned to his country where he resumed his university teaching as well as his longtime interest in political reforms, writing about the problems of Italian society – from the backwardness of the southern regions to the needs of a modern educational system. He was trained as a historian of the Middle Ages – a field in which he was able to make meaningful advancements –[11] but later directed his interests to late modern history, especially the French revolution and the Italian Risorgimento. While Salvemini's magisterial influence undoubtedly widened the young Quigley's research avenues, his weak academic position (he left his chair after returning to Italy in 1949) reinforces the idea that Quigley developed his own career in isolation, detached from the support of a strong historiographical school.

Moreover, as a Catholic of Irish descent, Quigley perceived the further pursuit of his academic career in a WASP milieu like Harvard as a daunting task. This prompted him to accept an offer from Georgetown University where, in 1941, he joined the teaching staff of the School of Foreign Service, at first as 'lecturer in History and Civilization' and later as 'professor of European History.' There he embraced with full satisfaction a career based on a fruitful exchange between his intense and highly rewarding teaching duties, and a research work aimed to build large interpretative frameworks in which to place the results of his case studies.

We know how this personal evolution matured because Quigley himself recounted it during his last public appearance, a few months after his retirement in June 1976 – which should have opened a fruitful phase of new research – and a few months before hisuntimely demise, which occurred due to heart failure on January 3, 1977. This minimal autobiographical fragment belongs to the first of the three lectures he gave in October 1976, which in a way represent his spiritual testament. The theme chosen by Quigley for those public lectures was the formation of the modern state in a time span of ten centuries that stretched to his days. His interest in constitutional history, matured while he was writing his doctoral dissertation, regained centrality in his last speech.[12] Quigley opened it with a reference to that work of forty years earlier and how it had influenced his following historiographical production:

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[11] GAETANO SALVEMINI, *Magnati e popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295* (Firenze:G. Carnesecchi, 1899).

[12] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "Public Authority and the State in the Western Tradition. A Thousand Years of Growth, A.D. 976-1976. Part one: The State of Communities, A.D. 976–1576; Part two: The State of Estates, A.D. 1576–1776; Part three: The State of Individuals, A.D. 1776-1976", The Oscar Iden Lectures, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 13-20-29 October 1976. The Oscar Iden Lectures represent a Georgetown University tradition that began in 1976 and continues to this day; over time, they have counted high-profile ambassadors, politicians and military men among their speakers. The first edition was inaugurated by Quigley and was his farewell to teaching at Georgetown.

> My doctoral dissertation on The Public Administration of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy was never published because overspecialized experts who read the version revised for publication persisted in rejecting the aspects of the book in which they were not specialists. The only man who read it and had the slightest idea what it was all about was Salvemini, the great historian from the University of Florence, who was a refugee in this country at the time. The book's message could be understood only by an historian who knew the history of Italy, France, and Austria, and was equally familiar with events before the French Revolution and afterwards. But these national and chronological boundaries are exactly the ones recent historians hesitate to cross […].

Quigley accounted for the reluctance of his reviewers by the excessive specialization of the historical profession, which nurtured debates of limited scope. This fact prompted him to beat alternative paths:

> No one was much interested in my discovery that the French state as it developed under Napoleon was based largely on Italian precedents. For example, while the French state before 1789 had no budgets or accounts, Napoleon's budgets in both France and Italy were strikingly similar to the budgets of the Duchy of Milan in the sixteenth century. Similarly, the unified educational system established by Napoleon in France in 1808 was anticipated in the Kingdom of Piedmont in the 1720's. Such discoveries form part of the history of the growth of the European state, but are not of much interest to the narrow and overspecialized controversies of the last half century.
>
> So instead of writing the history of public authority, I got into what was, I suppose, my much stronger activity: the creation of the necessary conceptual paradigms, structures, and frameworks for understanding historical processes.[13]

His choice to embrace the comparative horizon of 'macrohistory'–[14] as he defined the disciplinary sector he chose – can be traced back, at least as an initial inspiration, to this episode. The heavy teaching duties that his new job entailed, as well as the alleged inadequacy of the Georgetown library compared to that of Harvard, were only the contingent reasons; actually, his disappointment relating to the reception of his thesis was the feeling that pushed him to change his mind. A relative academic failure opened up a different path to him, more suited to a scholar devoted, as he was, to vast conceptualizations.

The first result in this new season of Quigley's career wasthe publication, in 1961, of *The Evolution of Civilizations. An Introduction to Historical Analysis*.[15] With this

[13] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "The State of Communities, A.D. 976-1576".

[14] This approach, based on the identification of the life cycles of civilizations, has been practiced since ancient times by authors like Polybius up to twentieth-century scholars like Spengler and Toynbee: see JOHAN GALTUNG and SOHAIL INAYATULLAH, eds, *Macrohistory and Macrohistorians* (Westport: Praeger, 1997).

[15] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations. An Introduction to Historical Analysis* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund Inc., 1979; ed. or. New York: Macmillan, 1961).

methodological book, in which he poured the results of twenty years of studies, he aimed at integrating the social sciences in historical research from a truly interdisciplinary perspective. It should be recalled that this book also served as the outline for the lessons on which he built his fame as a legendary teacher. For decades, the Alumni at Georgetown singled out his courses as the most impactful on their careers among those they had attended. The best known of these students was Bill Clinton, who remembered Quigley as his mentor while addressing the delegates at the Democratic National Convention in 1992.[16] The uneventful life of this history teacher contrasts with the strong impression his lessons made on his students' lives. Quigley is an eclectic figure, who would deserve a deeper scrutiny. The present essay is intended to rediscover some of hiskey achievements as a scholar, with the aim of finding his place in the trajectory from Universal History to World History.

The Limits of the Technocratic Society

A key term that helps to understand the Quigleyan contribution to the methodology of historical research is 'holism,' used in opposition to 'reductionism.' The word 'holism' was coined by Jan Smuts (1870-1950), a South African military man and politician, supporter of the British Empire from a federalist perspective. Smuts, a leading figure on the international relations scene in the first two decades of the twentieth century, exerted a significant influence on Toynbee, who met him at the Versailles peace conference and subsequently read his book *Holism and Evolution*, published in 1926, just when Toynbee had started working on *A Study of History*. Smuts supported holism as a general evolutionary theory, aimed at overcoming the weaknesses of both idealism and materialism. According to his definition, holism is 'the tendency in nature to form wholes that are greater than the sum of the parts through creative evolution'.[17]

Quigley embraced this viewpoint as he maintained that the extreme specialization of studies prevents from grasping an overall vision. As early as 1938, while discussing the vast archival material used in his deeply researched dissertation, he argued that 'not only was examination of all the sources impossible but it would have been unnecessary and undesirable. It would be impossible to see the forest because of the trees'[18]. His methodological approach supports historical perspective – and the use of interdisciplinary knowledge, especially from the social sciences, which allows one to activate comparative interpretation – even to offset the lack of primary sources.

[16] WILLIAM J. CLINTON, "A New Covenant", Democratic Party nomination acceptance speech, 16 July 1992.
[17] JAN C. SMUTS, *Holism and Evolution* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 88.
[18] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "The Public Administration of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy", 25.

According to the Georgetown historian, grasping the 'whole picture' – in science as well as in any aspect of life – had become difficult because of the sectorialisation that permeates the technocratic society. The necessary renewal of Western civilization was to be achieved through a reform of education: the adoption of a new holistic approach would have allowed interpretative models to adapt to a constantly changing reality, replacing the outdated reductionist schemes of nineteenth-century positivism. With such stances, Quigley joined the debate about the 'end of ideologies,' opened by influential sociologists such as Daniel Bell (1919-2011) and Seymour Lipset (1922-2006), who from the early 1960s theorized on the disappearance of ideologies from Western societies, on the verge of transitioning from ideological regimes to technocratic governments.[19] Quigley argued that individuals belonging to each civilization internalize their own system of categories, values and judgments. At the same time, he maintained that the contemporary world requires done to overcome the absoluteness of one's point of view, recognizing its conventionality. Education must lead to 'cognitive sophistication', based on the awareness that there are different value systems: through the exercise of criticism and the overcoming of stereotypes one can acquire the ability to translate effectively from one table of values to another. This is also necessary within a rapidly changing society, where people with different values and principles are unable to understand each other as they are separated by cultural barriers.[20]

Quigley, like Toynbee, applied this holistic approach to the comparative study of civilizations. Both scholars believed that civilizations were the basic units of historical analysis, as they assumed that only civilizations – and not nation-states – represent 'the comprehensible social unit or entity in which historical changes occur'.[21] Quigley adopted this method as the only way to reach his main goal: the creation of interpretative schemes that shed light on the causes of historical changes. Working on a large scale was crucial, as rigid geographical and chronological boundaries are detrimental to the discovery of those 'regularities,' or patterns, that shape change. According to Quigley, the identification of paradigms based on recurring patterns is the best way to express the complexity of historical development without falling into the reductionism of those who analyse individual facts and isolate them from their context. However, the interpretative paradigms proposed by Quigley describe tendencies which are always subject to exceptions – a very different approach from postulating strict historical laws.

[19] DANIEL BELL, *The End of Ideology. On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960); Seymour Lipset, *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1960).
[20] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "Needed: A Revolution in Thinking", in *Today's Education* (March-April 1975), first published in *National Education Association Journal* 57 (May 1968): 8-10.
[21] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "Review of Matthew Melko, *The Nature of Civilizations*, introduction by Crane Brinton (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1969)", in *The American Anthropologist* 72, 6 (1970), 1474-76 (1475).

The first example of pattern provided by Quigley concernssocial 'instruments'– i.e. organizations devoted to the achievement of specific goals in all levels of society (political, economic, military, etc.).Such instruments inevitably go through a process of ossification which Quigley calls 'institutionalization.' As a result of this process, they are transformed from end-oriented means into means that are ends in themselves. This process starts when those who control the instruments stop using them for the purposes initially established and bend them to their own advantage. This happens not only for selfish reasons but also because of the natural rigidity of complex organizations: the special interests – which he labelled 'vested interests'– react with difficulty to the push towards change coming from a constantly changing reality.

It should be emphasized that this uncommon specific terminology, including concepts such as 'instruments,' 'institutions,' and 'vested interests,' is a clear indicator of the influence exerted on Quigley by the work of the American sociologist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929). In his first and best known book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), and more in detail in *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (1904), Veblen described social phenomena as the result of human behaviour rooted in a fundamental contrast between 'technology' and 'institutions,' or between instrumental attitudes and ceremonial attitudes. According to Veblen, technology encompasses the range of instrumental abilities expressed by the industrial society and embodies a progressive force, while institutions, which dominate the productive structures and bend them to market interests, derive their authority from the past and resist change, supporting obsolete processes. On the basis of this general opposition he underlined, at the economic level, a dichotomy between 'industry' and 'business,' where the former – embodied by the engineers of the nascent factories – represents the instrument for satisfying social needs, while the latter –portrayed in the 'robber barons' of the Gilded Age – is the institution that sabotages the society by jeopardizing production efficiency and development potentialities. By means of this contrast, which later became known as 'Veblenian Dichotomy,' he distinguished what is of public utility and promotes social well-being from what damages the common good and helps to maintain privileges.[22]

This contrast is accepted and reinterpreted by Quigley with some differences, which in my opinion can be summarized by his superior concreteness compared to the more abstract Veblenian model, and in the more objective interpretation of the process she describes, while the Veblenian approach is instead strongly prescriptive and value-based. Above all, Veblen's radicalism suggests that the social goals he deems worthy of being pursued can be achieved through the replacement of one organization with another. Sociologically, he considers instruments and institutions

[22] Cf. WILLIAM T. WALLER JR., "The Evolution of the Veblenian Dichotomy: Veblen, Hamilton, Ayres, and Foster", in *Journal of Economic Issues* 16, 3 (1982), 757-71.

as two alternative social structures. As a historian, Quigley on the other hand reads them in diachronic terms, interpreting their relationship as a gradual change over time. The second is simply the stiffening of the first, not an ontologically different reality. Institutions are only a negative evolution that can be reformed, thus reproducing the conditions required for the instruments to satisfy their corresponding social needs.

How Civilizations Change: From Expansion to Conflict

On this theoretical basis, Quigley introduced a peculiar concept, that of 'instrument of expansion,' as a means to explain the evolution of a civilization. It consists of three interacting elements: 'incentive to invent, accumulation of surplus, and application of this surplus to the new inventions'.[23] This terminology, as he plainly acknowledged, closely follows the economic factors of innovation, savings and investment. The elites who hold the power are identified by Quigley with the classes that control the surplus: the purposes for which they allocate this surplus determine whether the civilizations they lead can activate an expansive phase and maintain it. They not only own the capital – they directly control investments and indirectly control incentives for innovation. When the surplus is destined for a productive purpose, the three factors are linked together in a virtuous circle and the capitals invested in innovative ideas generate development. Otherwise, when the surplus is wasted in unproductive activities, the instrument of expansion – which is bound to undergo the same process as any instrument – goes bankrupt, plunging into crisis the civilization which is based on it.

The paradigm represented by the 'instrument of expansion' is the cornerstone of Quigley's model. In fact, its creation and subsequent institutionalization is the most significant pattern in the history of each civilization. During the stage of expansion, the social organization of a civilization and the political consensus of its members are oriented towards increase of economic production, territorial expansion, demographic growth and progress in intellectual and scientific fields. When the rate of expansion begins to increase less quickly, a civilization – which is still focused on growth –enters a period of crisis, moving from expansion to its next stage: conflict.

According to Quigley, the initial stage of an age of conflict –when expansion continues but at a lower growth rate and with a trend to further decreasing – is among the most interesting historical periods. This phase, which corresponds to the 'Times of Troubles' of the Toynbian scheme, covers the existences of several generations and is usually an age characterized by great hopes. However, ambitious reform projects are often frustrated by the resistance of the vested interests. The slowdown in growth – a symptom of the institutionalization which is at the root of

[23] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations*, 132.

the crisis – is caused by a reduction in investments. This generally happens because 'the social group controlling the surplus ceases to apply it to new ways of doing things because they have a vested interest in the old ways of doing things'.[24] In an attempt to preserve their position, the vested interests create or subsidize new institutions, on political, military and intellectual levels, in order to contain the masses or direct them against the necessary reforms. There is a number of examples of vested interests provided by Quigley – he mentions the priestly caste of the Mesopotamian civilization, the landed elites of slave-owners in the classical age, the German bourgeoisie during the 1930s. In all three cases those responsible for the old and broken instruments of expansion favoured the rise of new political and military actors (the Sumerian kings, the legions formed by mercenaries, the Nazi party) as a proxy through which to preserve their hegemony, only to be soon replaced by the latter as true holders of power. The decline was therefore caused by the inability to adapt to change by the elites who had led the expansion.

Directly linking the effects of historical changes with their causes, this model, according to Quigley, offers a more cogent – and less Eurocentric – periodization than the usual subdivision of ancient, medieval and modern history. It is also important to underline the role played in Quigley's account by the spatial dimension. Firstly, the geographic aspect of the expansion creates a dialectic between centre and periphery. During this stage of its evolution, a civilization expands itself from its core area to occupy more peripheral areas. For instance, the core area of Classical civilization was Greece, especially the territories around the shores of the Aegean Sea, while its periphery came to include the entire Mediterranean basin. Likewise, Western civilization was born in the region between England and Northern Italy and subsequently spread to the rest of Europe (until eastern Polish borders), North and South America, and Oceania.[25]

While transitioning from expansion to the stage of conflict, war appears most often within the boundaries of the civilization itself, as the centre-periphery relationship tends to be reversed. Quigley points out that the slowing down of expansion does not occur uniformly: generally, it occurs first in the core of the civilization and then in its more distant areas. When a civilization experiences a widespread decline, its periphery – which has continued to grow while the centre has already slowed down – has filled the gap and in many cases is wealthier and more powerful than the civilization' score. Since the cultural diffusion acts differently as to its material and nonmaterial elements – as we shall see later when dealing with exchanges between civilizations –, a misalignment arise sin the development between centre and periphery: unlike the former, in the latter the economic and military levels can develop more rapidly than the social, political or intellectual levels. This makes it

[24] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations*, 139.
[25] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations*, 150.

possible to explain why comparatively backward areas are able to prevail over areas with a more refined culture.

Quigley provides a detailed account of this process for many different civilizations. In Mesopotamian civilization, the core city-states like Ur and Lagash were conquered by more peripheral states like Babylon. This in turn was conquered by Assyria, and ultimately by the even more peripheral Persia. In Classical civilization we find an analogous sequence – from core to periphery – in which the hegemony is handed over from the cities of the Ionian core area led by Athens to the semiperipheral Dorian states (Sparta and Thebes), then to the more peripheral Macedonia and finally to Rome. The same pattern worked for other civilizations, like Mesoamerican and Andean regions, Islamic countries, India, or China. For instance, the latter, after the Mongol invasions (1260-1368), was seized by the Ming (1368-1644) and by the Qing (1644-1912), two peripheral dynasties, respectively of southern and northern origin.[26]

Each of these conflicts thus appears to follow a repeated pattern. This regular dynamic describes how the periphery replaces the old centre: eventually a winning power emerges from internal wars and creates a 'Universal Empire,' uniting the entire civilization into a single political entity. From the military point of view, distressed countries tend to transfer their internal difficulties outside the area they control by means of a deliberate use of force: recognizing the impossibility of continuing the expansion, they try to obtain the resources they need by plundering other populations. At the same time, they also steer internal social conflicts towards an outside enemy, often mobilizing irrational ideologies against them. The resulting wars have therefore an imperialist connotation. Examples can be found in contemporary history, with an explicit reference to the fascist powers responsible for the Second World War, but not only: Quigley mentions the Hundred Years' War, the Italian wars (1494-1559) and the Napoleonic wars. Each of these imperialist wars 'reflected a situation where older institutions continued to work for a war that newer instrumental developments had made unnecessary and unrewarding'.[27]

Towards World History: Voices from the Scholarly Debate

Quigley openly admitted the academic weakness of his position, when he stated: 'We holists are a small minority with little influence'.[28] Nonetheless, his role appears to

[26] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations*, 154-57.
[27] CAROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations*, 372.
[28] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "The Search for a Solution to the World Crisis," *The Futurist* 9 (1975), 38-41. In its essence, this article was the review of a book by sociologist Victor Ferkiss, one of his colleagues at Georgetown: VICTOR C. FERKISS, *The Future of Technological Civilization* (New York: George Braziller, 1974). When reviewing another book by Ferkiss, Quigley described him in terms that sound like a sort of self-portrait: 'Ferkiss not only knows this material, but he has the ability to think about it without emotional or personal bias and without committing himself to any special point of view or any narrow outlook. His thinking is hard-headed and skeptical without being materialistic, egocentric, or cynical.

have been recognized by peers that were following similar research paths. For instance, the theme of the centre-periphery relationship and of the subsequent dislocations of the centre according to the new balances of power, illustrated by Quigley in the early 1960s, later became one of the cornerstones of the World-Systems Theory, whose key figure is the American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein.[29] Some exponents of this school, like Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall, acknowledged Quigley's contribution in the development of the concept[30]. These connections must be emphasized to give the Georgetown historian a fair credit for his scholarly endeavour.

The two decades that saw Quigley's direct participation in the scholarly debate, the 1960s and 1970s, are also the years of the fading out of Universal History and the rise of World History. The former is grounded in a tradition dating back to Polybius, and elaborates his comprehensive look at the whole history of humankind through a 'heroic' effort to dominate each and any relevant aspect of past events on a planetary scale. In its current approximation – by its founder's explicit acknowledgment–,[31] i.e. the 'Big History,' man's history is placed in the background of billion years of cosmic evolution. The latter, in turn, gives up the teleological perspective, and builds its general interpretation by focusing on the interconnections generated by individuals and groups overlapping boundaries and cultures while involved in trades, epidemics, migrations.[32] This entails the choice to adopt the – often fragmentary – sources left by those groups, instead of questioning again the 'official' documents produced by the institutions that set how memory was to be constructed.

His skepticism reminds me of Crane Brinton, a similarity which extends also to his verbal style and facility of expression, while his ability to deal with complex social problems, often from an original point of view, is similar to Kenneth Galbraith's.': CARROLL QUIGLEY, "The Future in the Light of Technology", in *The Washington Sunday Star*, 6 July 1969. Review of VICTOR C. FERKISS, *Technological Man: The Myth and the Reality* (New York: George Braziller, 1969).

29 IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, *The Modern World-System*, 4 vols. (New York: Academic Press, 1974, 1980, 1989; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

30 CHRISTOPHER CHASE-DUNN, THOMAS D. HALL, *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997), 78. See also DAVID WILKINSON, "Cores, Peripheries, and Civilizations," in *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds*, CHRISTOPHER CHASE-DUNN, THOMAS D. HALL, eds, (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), 113-66.

31 DAVID CHRISTIAN, "The Return of Universal History", in *History and Theory* 49, 4 (2010), 6-27.

32 A selected bibliography on World History includes: PATRICK MANNING, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); BENEDIKT STUCHTEY and ECKHARDT FUCHS, eds, *Writing World History, 1800-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); CHRISTOPHER ALAN BAYLY, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914. Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2004); LAURA DI FIORE, MARCO MERIGGI, *World History. Le nuove rotte della storia* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2011); JERRY H. BENTLEY, ed, *The Oxford Handbook of World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); ERIC VANHAUTE, *World History. An Introduction* (London-New York: Routledge, 2013); SEBASTIAN CONRAD, *Globalgeschichte. Eine Einführung* (München: Beck, 2013, Ital. transl. *Storia globale. Un'introduzione* (Roma: Carocci, 2015); JÜRGEN OSTERHAMMEL, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); SEBASTIAN CONRAD, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

In this evolving landscape, Quigley should be situated as a link between these two approaches: or, at least, as the individual that embodied the passage from the more traditional comparative perspective focused on civilizations to the new theories based on sociological concepts. Quigley was an influential member of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (ISCSC), established in 1961 by Toynbee and the Russian-born sociologist Pitirim A. Sorokin (1889-1968). At the same time, he worked on a topic – i.e., the centre-periphery relationship – that would have become, as we have seen, the central theme of the World-Systems Theory. It is interesting to remark that, after Quigley's death, scholars belonging to these two groups intensified their collaboration, based on the eventual acknowledgment of the reciprocal commonalities of their viewpoints[33].

Another transitional figure, early recognized as one of the precursors of World History, was William H. McNeill (1917-2016), the Canadian-born historian of the University of Chicago.[34] For McNeill the reconstruction of large scenarios is essential to give meaning, order and consistency to history. This process, that McNeill calls 'pattern recognition'– by which a mere catalogue of facts is recast into a comprehensible pattern –, is shared by both natural and social scientists, although the latter are not always aware of it.[35] Quigley held similar ideas, on which he built his long-time quest for historical patterns.[36] He found himself very close to McNeill, whom he praised highly several times. Quigley saw a common ground between his work and that of his colleague in the shared belief of the necessity to put specialists' research 'into the framework of a general picture'.[37]

As a result of its theoretical inclination, 'macrohistory leans towards simplification in the interest of generalizability,' and as such should be counterbalanced by a stress on individual lives and events.[38] With this goal in mind, four years after *The Evolution of Civilizations* Quigley authored another book: *Tragedy*

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33 STEPHEN K. SANDERSON, ed, "Civilizations and World Systems", Special Issue of *Comparative Civilizations Review* 30, 30 (1994).

34 William Hardy McNeill (1917-2016) made a fundamental contribution to modern historiography by innovating the methodology of inquiry into contacts and exchanges between different civilizations – especially at the cultural, military, epidemiological and environmental levels –, starting with his best known work, *The Rise of the West. A History of the Human Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963). See also WILLIAM H. MCNEILL, "*The Rise of the West* After 25 Years", in *Journal of World History* 1, 1 (1990), 1-21.

35 Cf. WILLIAM H. MCNEILL, "Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians", in *The American Historical Review* 91, 1 (1986), 1-10.

36 Cf. CARROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations*, 42-47 and 416-17.

37 CARROLL QUIGLEY, "An Exercise in Historical Perspective', in *The Washington Sunday Star*, 13 August 1967. Review of WILLIAM H. MCNEILL, *A World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). See also CARROLL QUIGLEY, " 'The Generalists' Past: Power Patterns of Human History", in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 24 August 1963. Review of WILLIAM H. MCNEILL, *The Rise of the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

38 FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?", in *California Italian Studies* 2, 1 (2011): iii, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq.

and Hope. A History of the World in Our Time.[39] Starting from its very title, this work was a step towards World History, merging the methodological approach with the narrative one, with the aim of providing a comprehensive account of the last century (1860-1960). Issues of political, economic, and military history are largely explored, but relevant pages of social an intellectual history are included as well; an incredible amount of knowledge is packed into this lengthy book of over a thousand pages. Unfortunately, this excessive length played against him, as Quigley did not always find a good balance among its several topics. A missed chance, we could say, but one that should not lead to overlook the wealth of original ideas that intersperses its narrative.

Throughout his career, Quigley never questioned his adherence to the Toynbian scheme of classification. Given his affinity to McNeill, it is legitimate to ask why Quigley continued to maintain the idea of several distinct civilizations rather than one single world civilization. Why did he take this apparent detour on the way towards World History? The most comprehensive and direct answer can be found in one of his lesser writings: the review of a book by Brazilian anthropologist and politician Darcy Ribeiro, a noteworthy figure of a scholar and social reformer. In a brief but dense appraisal, Quigley stated that cultural diffusion, which shapes the various civilizations by linking them together, is not determined solely by technological factors; on the contrary, the intangible factors (which escape Marxist or predominantly materialist approaches) are of extreme importance. The ability to use technical knowledge at one's disposal, autonomously conceived or obtained by diffusion from other cultures, actually depends on socially accepted organizational patterns. Intangible factors, which are harder to modify, transfer and adapt, can therefore be identified as characteristic traits of individual civilizations, united by a dense network of contacts but featuring autonomous profiles.[40] On this premise, Quigley came to accept the idea that underdevelopment was not a form of backwardness but the outcome of a process of subordination – a central idea in the World-Systems Theory, and one that we could find in seminal works by more recent authors, such as Janet Abu-Lughod.[41]

The Diffusion of Cultures and the Many Ways to Modernization

Quigley's reflection on these kinds of problems is another testament to his ability to keep up with the most innovative trends and integrate them into his own reasoning. Understanding the outcomes of cultural diffusion is a fundamental goal for a

[39] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *Tragedy and Hope. A History of the World in Our Time* (New York: Macmillan, 1965).
[40] CARROLL QUIGLEY, "An Important Work on Civilization", in *The Washington Sunday Star*, 29 June 1969.
[41] JANET ABU-LUGHOD, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

historiography that aims to explain the connections between civilizations from a World History perspective. In parallel with McNeill, who adopts diffusion as the main key to historical change, Quigley produces his own reflection on this topic, marking a substantial shift from the essentialism of the masters of modern comparatism – Spengler and Toynbee.

His understanding of civilization as the result of diverse and equally important components has meaningful consequences, because the ways in which the cultural diffusion operates differ as to material aspects and nonmaterial ones. The barriers between civilizations are much more permeable to the former, while they represent far greater obstacles to the latter. It is therefore relatively easy, for example, to transfer Western technology but it is far more complex to convey Western values. Leveraging his thesis about the relationship between centre and periphery, he observes that the degree of permeability to nonmaterial elements determines whether the target area becomes the new periphery of a civilization or maintains its individuality.

Cultural diffusion has the potential to produce both beneficial and harmful outcomes, depending on how material and nonmaterial elements fit together. Quigley summarizes the terms of the question as follows:

> In general, importation of an element of material culture from one society to another is helpful to the importing society in the long run only if it is (a) productive, (b) can be made within the society itself, and (c) can be fitted into the nonmaterial culture of the importing society without demoralizing it. The destructive impact of Western Civilization upon so many other societies rests on its ability to demoralize their ideological and spiritual culture as much as its ability to destroy them in a material sense with firearms.[42]

The material culture of the West is based on its technological advances, which Quigley divides into four main areas: weapons; agricultural and industrial production; medicine; transport and communications. He focuses in particular on the last three, far more relevant than the first in determining Western supremacy over the long run. The increase in food production due to the agricultural revolution, which started in Great Britain around 1725, made it possible that the subsequent increase in European population escaped the 'Malthusian trap.' Quigley does not use this term, but his reasoning is clear: only those radical changes in agriculture managed to prevent a potentially catastrophic aftermath of the demographic expansion, enabled by the advances in medicine that began to appear about fifty years after the agricultural revolution. Another effect of the agricultural revolution was the increase in efficiency: when a smaller number of people was required for the same output of food production, a substantial workforce could be employed in new tasks. These

[42] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *Tragedy and Hope*, 14.

advances in agriculture and medicine provided the basis on which the industrial revolution, as well as the revolution in transport and communications, built their extraordinary results.

It is important to underline the fact that Quigley assigns the utmost importance to the chronological sequence in which these innovations have been achieved in the West. A different sequence would have generated very different results: and this was precisely what actually happened when innovations spread to non-Western societies. The transport revolution is provided as an example. While the building of the railways could rely, in the more developed European and American regions, on an autonomous industrial base, those states that were in a pre-industrial stage were able to develop their infrastructures only by becoming debtors to the Western powers. Even more important is the link between the agricultural revolution on the one hand, and the industrial and health revolutions on the other. The non-European populations entered the phase of industrialization before having completed the agricultural revolution that had made the industrial revolution in Europe possible. Quigley explains how in the twentieth century the developing countries were forced to face an alternative: attracting foreign investments, that is borrowing capital, or extracting more resources from rural populations in order to support the production of industrial goods, in a context in which the agricultural revolution had not yet taken off. The first option became less viable mainly because the efforts of those countries towards industrialization had political motivations, which excluded a further dependence on Western countries. Where the second option was chosen, some of the major tragedies of the twentieth century inevitably followed. The oppression suffered by the peasants in the USSR under Stalin and in China under Mao Zedong are directly connected to the different chronology with which the advancements of the West reached Asia.

The demographic problem, which has been affecting most non-Western countries since the second half of the twentieth century, is another example of diffusion. Also, in this case, the same reversal of the sequence of development happened. The increase in the birth rate and the decrease in the mortality rate, due to improvements in the health sector, caused a strong demographic pressure on a socio-economic fabric unable to sustain it, thus generating large political instability at the global level. As a general pattern these problems stem from the fact that the achievements of Western civilization became part of the structure of other civilizations not only at different times but also in quite a different order. According to Quigley, the chronological sequence in which innovations in the West became global is one of the most significant factors in understanding World History.[43]

[43] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *Tragedy and Hope*, 22.

It is interesting to examine Quigley's views in parallel with other theories of development of the same years. The most immediate comparison can be made with the Modernization Theory, promoted since the 1950s by the American economist W. W. Rostow (1916-2003). This model maintains that economic modernization is achieved through five successive stages: traditional society, preconditions for development, industrial take-off, technological maturity, and high mass consumption society. This theory is one of the most significant results of the so-called Modernization School, to which important sociologists such as Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils belonged. Explicitly proposed as an interpretative model competing with the Marxist doctrine, the Modernization Theory was heavily debated within the social sciences as well as in policy making. In fact, Rostow's analysis was adopted as the theoretical foundation of the development aid policies addressed to Third World countries.[44] However, the unsatisfactory results of those policies ended up in a refutation of the theory.[45] During the 1960s a rival school emerged, which emphasized the mechanisms of exploitation to which the economies of non-advanced countries were exposed. According to this interpretation, known as Dependency Theory, non-industrialized nations must be seen not as societies in transition towards development but as societies connected to capitalist nations by asymmetrical relations that cause dependency; their integration into the global trading system is not the solution but the very cause of their underdevelopment.[46] This approach was later integrated into the World-Systems Theory, which – unlike the Modernization Theory and the same Dependency Theory – no longer assumes the nation-state but the whole world as its unit of analysis.

Quigley elaborated a critical view of the principles exposed by Rostow, following his ideas that the goal of development, and consequently of peace, should be achieved not by deploying quantifiable, technological, material instruments, but by strengthening those organizational patterns that are featured in different cultures. The ways in which the Modernization Theory was applied in countries falling under the US sphere of influence, such as the Latin American ones, as well as the use of human and financial resources destined to reproduce the Western development model in distinct contexts, appeared to him as a typical manifestation of that reductionist and technocratic mind-set that he opposed tirelessly. In his opinion, an

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[44] WALT W. ROSTOW, "The Stages of Economic Growth", in *Economic History Review* 12, 1 (1959), 1-16; WALT W. ROSTOW, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960). Cf. NILS GILMAN, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[45] Cf. JOYCE APPLEBY, "Modernization Theory and the Formation of Modern Social Theories in England and America", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20, 2 (1978), 259-85; ALBERTO MARTINELLI, *Global Modernization: Rethinking the Project of Modernity* (London: SAGE, 2005), 40-41.

[46] Among the most significant works related to the Dependency Theory we find: RAÚL PREBISCH, *The Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems* (New York: United Nations, 1950); ANDRE GUNDER FRANK, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

authentic transformation can only be achieved through a progressive evolution of social and cultural patterns already existing and rooted in non-advanced societies. The transfer of the know-how, albeit mythologized by the US elites, is ineffective if it is not accompanied by this process, which is much more complicated and unlikely to be treated with quantitative methods. Rather than an increase in material resources, what these societies lack are the patterns needed to make existing resources effective. The solution to problems of development therefore does not lie in applying methods from outside, but in devising techniques and procedures which are based on local culture and capable of working in that context. The goal of the modernization policies promoted by the capitalist countries –'westernizing' the Third World and implementing the model of the consumer society everywhere – is both unrealizable and undesirable. Probably, the best synthesis of Quigley's position on this issue is what he said in 1957, before the officers of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and reaffirmed constantly over the following two decades: 'The American way of life is not exportable'.[47]

Conclusions

As a historian, Quigley committed himself to researching and teaching from a global standpoint. At the time, the holistic method he advocated struggled in vain to reach mainstream recognition. Actually, a comprehensive scholarly paradigm was available, based on Ludwig von Bertalanffy's General Systems Theory, but it was largely rejected. According to Quigley, this failure left historians bereft of a powerful interpretative tool.

However, US academia found another way to explore new avenues and cope with the new position assigned to the country by the post-war diplomatic balance. It has been posited that Area studies, which saw a burgeoning development after 1945, contributed to build a favourable context for the development of World History.[48] Their success was crucial in urging historians and social scientists to carry out research on topics that were unfamiliar to most American scholars. Conspicuous funding for Area studies came from both the government and – especially – the corporate foundations, since these subjects were also intended as tools for supporting America's role as an imperial force of the new geopolitical order.[49]

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47 CARROLL QUIGLEY, "'Comparative National Cultures", lecture presented at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C., 13 November 1957.

48 EDOARDO TORTAROLO, "Universal History Between the Two Wars. Research Avenues for a History of the Interaction Between Europe and America", in *Modern European-American Relations in the Transatlantic Space. Recent Trends in History Writing*, MAURIZIO VAUDAGNA, ed, (Turin: Otto, 2015), 11-30.

49 DAVID NUGENT, "Knowledge and Empire: The Social Sciences and United States Imperial Expansion", in *Identities* 17 (2010), 2-44. See also: GUIDO FRANZINETTI, "The strange death of area studies and the normative turn", in *Quaderni storici* 3 (2015), 835-47.

At the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, Quigley's course on the development of civilizations was undoubtedly part of this overall effort – but with a personal flair. He repeatedly affirmed that his aim was 'to train executives rather than clerks,' helping his students to structure a mind-set based on the principle of 'cognitive sophistication,' which is needed to understand other cultures and act consistently without applying ethnocentric patterns of judgement.[50] As to Area studies, their crisis was caused by funding bodies' reorientation after the end of the Cold War. At the same time, post-colonial studies, in their attack on prior historical tradition, were highly critical of such scholarship.[51] While for biographical reasons Quigley does not belong to this debate, it is easily understood that, despite undergoing a deep crisis, Western civilization plays the lead role in his history of the world. All things considered, Quigley was able to arrange diverse notions from different fields into a single, robust explanatory model. His openness to dialogue as well as his commitment to breaking down disciplinary boundaries endure today as, perhaps, his most valuable lessons.

[50] CARROLL QUIGLEY, *The Evolution of Civilizations*, 420.

[51] See DIPESH CHAKRABARTY, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

The Illustrator and the Global Wars to Come
Albert Robida, La guerre infernale*,*
and the Long History of Imagined Warfare

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> Ne soyez point en peine de ce Heros inconnu qui se presente à vos yeux. Encore qu'il ne soit pas ny de ce Monde ny de ce Siecle, il n'est pas si farouche ny si barbare, qu'il ne soit capable de faire un beau choix, & qu'il n'ait jugé aussi juste de vostre merite, que l'auroient pû faire tous ceux qui ont l'honneur de vous mieux connoistre.
>
> JACQUES GUTTIN [MICHEL DE PURE], *Épigone, histoire du siècle futur* (A Paris: Chez Pierre Lamy, 1659), aij-p.nn.
>
> … I must acquiesce, and be content with the Honour and Misfortune, of being the first among Historians (if a mere Publisher of Memoirs may deserve that Name) who leaving the beaten Tracts of writing with Malice or Flattery, the accounts of past Actions and Times, have dar'd to enter by the help of an infallible Guide, into the dark Caverns of Futurity, and discover the Secrets of Ages yet to come.
>
> SAMUEL MADDEN, *Memoirs of the Twentieth Century* (London: Printed for Messieurs Osborn and Longman, Davis, and Batley …, 1733) vol. 1, 3.
>
> The Tasmanians, in spite of their human likeness, were entirely swept out of existence in a war of extermination waged by European immigrants, in the space of fifty years. Are we such apostles of mercy as to complain if the Martians warred in the same spirit?
>
> HERBERT G. WELLS, *The War of the Worlds* (London: Heinemann, 1898).

Introductory remarks

Late modern and early contemporary imageries related to techno-driven globalization processes are to be found, in some of their most popular and graphic expressions, in visual and literary works of fiction. Made possible by the emergence of new ideas of a secularized historical time, early speculative fiction is an exceptional vantage point from which to observe the birth and development of popular themes and tropes related to those compressions of time and space, which increasingly characterized the world system between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

In the European cultural space, and especially in mature publishing markets such as the French one, speculative fiction set in the future became an apt expression of new imageries related to techno-science, including new communication and transportation systems and the astonishing speed of their development.[1] Narratives and illustrations interpreted the appearance of new forms of awareness of

[1] "SF and Globalization," DAVID HIGGINS and ROB LATHAM, eds, special issue, *Science Fiction Studies* 39, no. 3, 118 (November 2012).

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globalization processes, becoming part of a communicative circuit, which was expanding its audience at a fast rate, thanks to the increasing presence of the popular press.

In this phase of techno-scientific acceleration and tumultuous changes in cultural habits, speculative fiction began to depict a major shift that had been occurring in the European mind-set during the late modern era: the emergence of a plastic future. New ideas of the future were a consequence of new, secularized temporalizations of history. The conception of historical time as home to linear processes of development was in turn deeply influenced by a close encounter with "others," by explorations, voyages and the availability of written, figurative and material sources regarding remote parts of the world, which documented Western forms of ethnocentric hierarchization and, at the same time, began the task of problematizing them.[2]

Fantastic narratives and illustrations can be read as part of a broader social history of ideas of space and time,[3] and work as litmus tests of the complex reconfigurations they underwent in the Western mind, as global interconnectedness brought new subjects and issues onto the stage.

The subgenre of imagined future wars developed in relation with the use of alternate history as a means for political propaganda, which could be found from the late seventeenth century onwards in non-fiction tracts and pamphlets, as in some of the examples discussed below. Near the end of the nineteenth century, this literary and visual narrative strand assumed clear-cut characteristics, and articulated concerns regarding instabilities and tensions in international relations, and fears related to the destructive use of those technological innovations that were following one another so rapidly and that were taking centre stage at the great international exhibitions and world fairs.

The discovery of a selection of Albert Robida's original sketches for Pierre Giffard's feuilleton *La guerre infernale* (1908),[4] offers an occasion to connect these

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[2] REINHART KOSELLECK, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (1979; New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

[3] PETER BURKE, "Foreword: The History of the Future, 1350-2000," in *The Uses of the Future in Early Modern Europe*, ed Andrea Brady, Butterworth Emily (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), ix-xx.

[4] Presently at the Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste, of which seven are reproduced here (Figures 6-12). Diego de Henriquez, Italian ex-soldier and creator, between the 1940s and the early 1970s, of a notable private collection of armaments, military tools and technologies, documents and books pertinent to the theme of war throughout history, bought fifteen of Robida's original sketches in 1957, when he found them on a bookstand in Rome. On Henriquez (Trieste 1909-1974) see ANTONELLA FURLAN and ANTONIO SEMA, *Cronaca di una vita: Diego de Henriquez* (Trieste: APT Trieste, 1993); ANTONELLA FURLAN, *La civica collezione Diego de Henriquez di Trieste* (Trieste: Rotary Club Trieste-Civici musei di storia ed arte, 2000). On Robida's sketches within the Henriquez collection: GIULIA IANNUZZI, "The Cruel Imagination: Oriental Tortures from a Future Past in Albert Robida's Illustrations for *La guerre infernale* (1908)," in *Law, Justice and Codification in Qing China. European and Chinese Perspectives. Essays in History and Comparative Law*, GUIDO ABBATTISTA, ed (Trieste: EUT, 2017), 193-211, esp. 194, note 3.

various strands and critically assess the role of wars to come in the development of an imagination related to the future, and in the construction of the consciousness of a global, human, earthly destiny.

Recent scholarship in speculative fiction studies and cultural history has produced a few excellent studies tackling speculative fiction as a laboratory for a global space-time between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century,[5] and the emergence of science fiction as a genre in the age of colonialism and empires.[6] Existing contributions, also when dealing with the specific theme of imagined future wars,[7] tend to concentrate on the early-contemporary age, rightfully stressing the significant changes that in that phase affected the European techno-scientific, socio-political and economic system, and their influence on new forms of mass media communication, collective imagery and textual genres.

Histories of science fiction dealing with the development of the genre from ancient times through the ages tend, in turn, to be written from a perspective internal to the science fiction genre.[8] While excellently outlining main authors and trends, general histories of science fiction necessarily give up more in-depth analysis of specific themes, and usually broader issues of cultural history remain outside their scope. Such works do not deal, or only marginally, with the connection between speculative imagery and the conceptualization of time, and they often keep their focus on literary expressions, while leaving aside other spheres and levels of public discourse and forms of representation.

The present essay, building on existing contributions, aims at fostering a better understanding of imagined future wars in the early contemporary age by locating them within a long history of imagined warfare, including late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century developments, and against the backdrop of the cultural history of time. Furthermore, for late modern and early-contemporary expressions, this study – drawing on Robida's case –, aims at enhancing the deep connections that run between literary, figurative and exhibitionary cultural artefacts in terms of representation strategies and circulation of ideas.

Historicizing the Future

Contemporary historiography has highlighted the role played by a spatial dimension in the birth of a speculative imagination which, in modern-age Europe, exploited

[5] DAVID HIGGINS and ROB LATHAM ,"SF and Globalization," quoted above.
[6] E.g. ISTVAN CSICSERY-RONAY JR., "Empire," in *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction*, MARK BOULD, ANDREW M. BUTLER, ADAM ROBERTS, SHERRYL VINT, eds, (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 362-372; JOHN RIEDER, *Colonialism and the Emergence of Science Fiction* (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2008). See also Paul K. Alkon's works cited below.
[7] E.g. I.F. CLARKE, "Future-War Fiction: The First Main Phase, 1871-1900," in *Science Fiction Studies*, 24, no. 3 (November 1997): 387-412; I.F. CLARKE, "Before and after 'The Battle of Dorking,'" in *Science Fiction Studies* 24, no. 1 (1997): 33-46.
[8] E.g. ADAM ROBERTS, *The History of Science Fiction*, 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave, 2016).

fantastic and philosophical motives, and was rich in theological and spiritual interests.[9] The Copernican revolution opened up cosmic space as a possible home to other planets and civilisations. From Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moon* (1638) to Cyrano de Bergerac's *The Other World* (1657), up to Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralités des mondes* (1686), the seventeenth century reflected on the possibility of extra-terrestrial life and saw the flourishing of interplanetary voyages, explorations of the moon and more remote celestial bodies, close encounters with distant civilizations, including the possibility of being visited by extra-terrestrials beings on Earth (e.g. Charles Sorel's *L'Histoire comique de Francion*, 1623, progenitor of the imaginary visits of alien humans in Europe).[10]

Cultural historians and scholars of speculative fiction usually locate in a late-modern period the appearance of a temporal dimension exploited as a means of dislocation from the writer's reality, and thus as a source of cognitive estrangement.[11] However, while some see in the consequences of the same Copernican revolution the crucial condition thanks to which the imagination first became able to work outside the temporal horizon of Biblical time,[12] others place the shift from a spatial-based to a temporal-based speculation as late as the eighteenth century,[13] or take the year 1800 as a conventional watershed.[14] In his comprehensive anthology of British future fiction, I. F. Clarke identifies a turning point during the nineteenth century, but traces from the seventeenth century onwards the first developments of a temporal imagination, in consequence of which "the geographies of utopian fiction evolved into the historiographies of a new literature."[15]

The conceptualization of a future intimately linked to the present and shapeable by human action can in fact be traced back to the emergence of new ideas and

[9] ROBERTS, *The History of Science Fiction*; ROBERTS, "The Copernican Revolution," in *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction*, MARK BOULD, ANDREW M. BUTLER, ADAM ROBERTS, SHERRYL VINT, eds, (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 3-12.

[10] For a partial yet extensive bibliography of early extra-terrestrial voyage fictions: MARJORIE HOPE NICOLSON, *Voyages to the Moon*, 1948 (New York: Macmillan, 1960).

[11] SUVIN, *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction*; see also PATRICK PARRINDER, "Introduction" and "Revisiting Suvin's Poetics of Science Fiction," in *Learning from Other Worlds: Estrangement, Cognition, and the Politics of Science Fiction and Utopia*, PARRINDER, ed., (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 1-18, 36-50. Here I follow Parrinder in making use of the concept of cognitive estrangement as a kind of defamiliarization originating in the narrative dominance of a *novum* validated by a cognitive logic, adopting Suvin's category "in its ontological and epistemological aspects ... a mode of thinking rather than a body of texts," 6.

[12] ROBERTS, "The Copernican Revolution," 9.

[13] PAUL K. ALKON, *Origins of Futuristic Fiction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); Fátima Vieira, "The Concept of Utopia," in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. GREGORY CLAEYS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3-27.

[14] DARKO SUVIN, *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction: On the Poetics and History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979), esp. ch. 6, "The Shift to Anticipation: Radical Rhapsody and Romantic Recoil," 115-144.

[15] I.F. CLARKE, ed., *British Future Fiction* (2001) (London: Routledge, 2016), 8 vols., vol. 1, ix.

sensibilities towards historical time, which matured gradually during the modern age.[16] Anglophone and francophone literatures offer extrapolations of near-future scenarios as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century.

A play such as *A Larum for London* (published anonymously in 1602) implicitly suggests that a Spanish sack of London might replicate the horrors of 1576 Antwerp,[17] John Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1667) imagines London reborn after the Great Fire, political prophetism nourishes works such as *Aulicus his Dream of King Sudden Comming to London* (anonymous, 1644)[18] and Jacques Guttin's *Épigone, Histoire du siècle futur* (1659). The future is home to a model society towards which the English Parliament is invited to work in *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1642) attributed to Samuel Hartlib.[19] These narrations offer possible and counter-factual histories used to make a point about the politics of the day, whether through ominous predictions, practical indications, or – in the case of Guttin – as the backdrop to adventurous plots.[20] Squibs, satires, or exotic romances, these texts represent a step towards a secularized history[21] and conceptualizations of the future that their late-modern and early-contemporary descendants will come to embody, without yet constituting a genre, nor focusing their inventions and extrapolations on those techno-scientific wonders that would only later take centre-stage.[22]

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[16] KOSELLECK, *Futures Past*; KOSELLECK, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner et al. (essay collection; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), esp. "The Eighteenth Century as the Beginning of Modernity" (1987), 154-169; see also ZACHARY SAYRE SCHIFFMAN, *The Birth of the Past* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

[17] Patricia A. Cahill argues that *A Larum of London* "In staging the 1576 sack (rather than siege) of Antwerp by Spanish soldiers, it implicitly warns that history will repeat itself in London", PATRICIA A. CAHILL, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 166; see also Joseph F. Stephenson, "A Mirror for London: The Geopolitics of *A Larum for London* at the Globe in 1599," *Parergon* 30, no. 1 (2013): 179-120, doi: 10.1353/pgn.2013.0047.

[18] On *Aulicus*: I. F. CLARKE, "Future-War Fiction," see 387; ROBERTS, *The History of Science Fiction*, 75.

[19] CHARLES WEBSTER, "The Authorship and Significance of Macaria," *Past & Present* 56 (August 1972): 34-48. On the possible contributions by others in Hartlib's cultural circle: ANTONELLA CAGNOLATI, "L'utopia al potere: Il famoso regno di Macaria", in *Annali dell'Università di Ferrara*, Sezione III, *Filosofia, Discussion Papers*, 57 (2000), retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net. For an alternative attribution to GABRIEL PLATTES: OANA MATEI, "Gabriel Plattes, Hartlib Circle and the Interest for Husbandry in the Seventeenth Century England", in *Prolegomena* 11, no. 2 (2012): 207-224. On Hartlib see also PHILIP MAJOR, ed., *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and Its Aftermath, 1640-1690* (London: Ashgate, 2010), esp. 27-28.

[20] LISE LEIBACHER-OUVRARD, "É*pigone*, *Histoire du siècle futur* (1659): premieère uchronie et politique-fiction nostalgique", in *French Forum* 25, n° 1 (January 2000), 23-41.

[21] By no means should the secularization process make us forget the critical role played by different uses of the future in the Christian imagination, between apocalypses and parusia. See for example Koselleck, *Future Pasts*, 11-17. In a recent book, Kristina Bross discusses examples such as Thomas Gage's *A Brief Description of the Future History* (1648) and Henry Jessey's *Of the Conversion of Five Thousand and Nine Hundred East Indians* (1650). KRISTINA BROSS, *Future History: Global Fantasies in Seventeenth-Century American and British Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[22] On science and technology in earlier utopias: FRANK E. MANUEL and FRITZIE P. MANUEL, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 175, see also 371 on Sevarambia; 8, 14 on the role of new science in seventeenth-century utopian thought; 19, 205 and ff. on the concept of pansophia.

As Bronisław Baczko has argued,[23] the topographical dislocation exploited in early-modern imaginary voyages may serve the purpose of constructing an ideal society untouched by the same historical processes experienced by the reader's, so that history as known by the writer and the reader constantly informs the invention as a negative presence, by its absence. Utopian societies may consequently be described as a result of different histories, and characterized by alternate calendars and time-computing methods, such as in *L'histoire des Sevarambes; peuples qui habitent une partie du troisième continent, communément appelé la Terre australe* by Denis Veiras (1677-1679).[24] Baczko discusses also what he calls utopia-proposals, such as Étienne-Gabriel Morelly's *Code de la Nature* (1755), in which the utopian project may serve the purpose of showing a different yet possible continuation of history, freeing society from its past to offer a new beginning.[25]

A debate on when and where the origin of futuristic fiction should be placed – namely, whether in English or French literary tradition, and in precisely which text – is more useful to contemporary interests competing within the field of study, than to our understanding of complex and multifaceted processes in the history of European culture. It might be more fruitful to consider the various phases as steps in a non-linear cultural process, in which each stage and actor can be historicized. Each work might be read in its particular context as well as – if that is the case – as a contributor to the development of later sensibilities regarding the future, thereby resisting the teleological temptation to judge authors and ideas *ex postero*, as preparing subsequent stages in a retro-constructed historical evolution of ideas.

Peter Burke has argued that a vast range of early modern cultural and material practices implied visions of a future with significant discontinuity from the present. Examples might be found in the attempts made by seventeenth-century demography to calculate the future size of the population (such as Gregory King in England and Marshal Vauban in France with regard to Canada), in "tactics" in warfare and politics, in facts and figures used by state authorities as the basis for future policies, in astrology and prophecy, in the calculations of profits and risks in commerce, money lending, usury, and the development of insurance. Early-modern utopias also postulate the idea of a human reason through which man is able to shape reality and his own future, and "even if they are not explicitly set in the future, utopias both express and encourage a sense of possible alternatives to the present." [26]

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[23] BRONISŁAW BACZKO, *L'utopia. Immaginazione sociale e rappresentazioni utopiche nell'età dell'Illuminismo*, trans. Margherita Botto and Dario Gibelli (1978; Turin: Einaudi, 1979), 157-251.

[24] On Veiras's work see BACZKO, *L'utopia*, especially 159-163; for a comprehensive bibliography of editions, translations, and criticism see DENIS VEIRAS, *L'histoire des sevarambes*, édition critique par Aubrey Rosenberg (Paris: Champion, 2001).

[25] On Morelly and eighteenth-century utopias as criticism to and projection into history see also: Frédérick Lemarchand, "L'idéologie moderniste et l'utopie," in *Écologie & politique* 3, no. 37 (2008): 23-31, esp. 26-28.

[26] BURKE, "Foreword," qt. xiv.

With Enlightenment ideas of progress and secularisation of historical time, utopian constructions ceased to be static, to present a-temporal models, to be linked to an historical sphere, and it was during the eighteenth century that the emerging temporalization of history found its literary and programmatic reflection in diachronic utopias.[27] Ideas of history as progress fostered new forms and functions of the utopian imagination, intimately connecting it to images of a different society situated in the future.[28] Louis-Sébastien Mercier's *L'an 2440* (1771) might be considered a landmark in this process.[29] Not only *L'an 2440* is a futuristic fiction in which the reader sees the protagonists travel in time (and not just to a certain future setting without explanatory narrative frames, as in some of its forerunners). It is also one of the first utopias set in a different time – a future 700 years off – but not in a different place – legendary islands or planets, or fantastic lands on Earth (Figure 1).[30]

Despite important precedents that recent research has been able to bring to light, including seminal eighteenth-century works such as Samuel Madden's *Memoirs of the Twentieth Century* (published anonymously in 1733)[31] and the anonymous *The Reign of George VI. 1900-1925: A Forecast Written in the Year 1763* (1763),[32] Mercier's work still represents a critical point in the history of a temporal imagination. It compelled the authorities of the ancien régime to face up to the subversive potential of such a secularization of utopia, and contributed to the codification of a new genre, thanks to an unprecedented editorial success across Europe. According to Paul Alkon, "thanks in large part to Mercier's influential best-seller, the tale of the future became an established genre by 1850."[33] Koselleck agrees that "[Mercier's] influence, extended by translations and imitations leading to the establishment of a new genre, can in no way be underestimated,"[34] while Baczko stresses Mercier's seminal role in the shift from spatial to temporal utopia.[35]

Other significant futures malleable by human action are to be found in revolutionary plays written (if not always put on stage) in 1789 France. This is the case

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[27] NICOLE POHL, "Utopianism after More: The Renaissance and Enlightenment," in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. GREGORY CLAEYS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 51-78, see 74.

[28] BACZKO, *L'utopia*, especially 157.

[29] VIEIRA, "The Concept of Utopia," esp. 4-9; Robert Darnton, *Libri proibiti. Pornografia, satira e utopia all'origine della rivoluzione francese*, trans. Vittorio Beonio Brocchieri (1995; Milan: Mondadori, 1997), 120-140, esp. 124.

[30] ALKON, *Origins of Futuristic Fiction* 4, 19, 23.

[31] PAUL ALKON, "Samuel Madden's 'Memoirs of the Twentieth Century,'" *Science Fiction Studies* 12, no. 2 (1985), 184-201.

[32] CLARKE, *British Future Fiction*, I, 2; Roberts, *The History of Science Fiction*, 112.

[33] PAUL ALKON, *Science Fiction before 1900: Imagination Discovers Technology* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 21, 60-61. See also DARNTON, *Libri proibiti*, 120.

[34] REINHART KOSELLECK, "The Temporalization of Utopia," in *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner et al. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 84-99, qt. 85.

[35] BACZKO, *L'utopia*, 42, 170-172.

of Rétif de la Bretonne's *L'an 2000, ou la Régénération* (1789), which takes a look at the revolution already *ex postero*, from a commemoration that takes place in the year 2000, when the stabilization of revolutionary laws and traditions has created a social utopia. Individual rights and interests have finally been bent in favour of the collective good, and there is even room for an enlightened Louis XXIII. Thanks to the extremely long life of two of the characters, the memory of 1789 is still only two generations away in the past. Sylvain Maréchal's *Le jugement dernier des rois, prophétie en un acte, en prose* had its stage premiere on October 17th, 1793, the day after Marie Antoniette's execution. Set in the future, the first act opens with an old man keeping note of the days on a home-made calendar. Banished to a remote island, he is measuring out the duration of his exile, imposed by an unjust tyrant. He is soon liberated by a group of sans-culottes from all over Europe, where the French revolution has been followed by many others. Kings, queens and the Pope will be deported to the very same isle, only to be cast down into the depths of the earth when the local volcano erupts. The old calendar is burnt.[36]

These scenarios work as propaganda machines and still bear clear signs of utopian constructions, in which a movement towards the future is flattened on the present of the revolution, thus undermining any possible teleology. Nonetheless, they attempt to metabolize the social changes brought about by the revolutionary years through the manipulation of time, including the construction of a point of view from posterity.[37]

Condorcet's *L'esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795) is considered by Baczko the arrival point in the assimilation process between utopia and history as progress.[38] Not only *L'esquisse* locates the perfected society it describes in a future historical time, but it presents its vision as a scientific forecast, based on the observation of the history of human societies in different past and present eras. The past, the present, and the future are connected by a global discourse about the progress of mankind, of which different phases and people are specific instances. The scientific method, allowing prediction on the base of universal and constant laws applied to human faculties,[39] provides utopia with a new conceptual foundation. In turn, as Alain Pons argues, the historical unity is guaranteed precisely by the tenth epoch: only utopia allows for a definite interpretation of the precedent steps in terms of a unidirectional, secular progress (e.g. excluding cyclical, regressive, or decadent paths, and religious or theological arguments).[40]

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[36] On calendar reformation in revolutionary France see BACZKO, *L'utopia*, 223-251; Matthew Shaw, *Time and the French Revolution: The Republican Calendar, 1789-Year XIV* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society-The Boydell Press, 2011).

[37] SUSAN MCCREADY, "Performing Time in the Revolutionary Theater," *Dalhousie French Studies* 55 (Summer 2001): 26-30. See also I. F. CLARKE, "Before and after," 34.

[38] BACZKO, *L'utopia*, 202.

[39] DAVID WILLIAMS, *Condorcet and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 96 and ff.

[40] ALAIN PONS, "Sur la Dixième époque: Utopie et histoire chez Condorcet," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française*

It is not by chance that Frank and Fritzie Manuel consider *L'esquisse*, along with Mercier's *L'An 2440*, herald of a switch to euchronia.[41] As David Williams, along with other commentators, has noted,[42] Condorcet's idea of progress as a civilization process foresaw the development and assimilation of non-European peoples and cultures to European values. It might be argued that new knowledge and reflections on non-European cultures and the efforts towards their comparative systematization in a consistent frame provided, during the eighteenth century, the premises of new geographies of human diversity,[43] as well as of their disposition on a scale of historical development.

To summarize, it was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the future started to be explored as a dimension of possibilities, and gradually entered the realm of a secular imagination. Expectations and fears on the socio-political scene and in military affairs saw the start of a mapping process involving these new imaginative territories. Ideas of a future shapeable by human actions gradually become part of narrative inventions, during a time in cultural history already described by Reinhart Koselleck as crucial for the conceptualization of time at large. The emergence of the Enlightenment's ideas of history underwent a new acceleration imposed by the French Revolution in changes related to how the connection between present and future is constructed, and matured into new ideas about a secular and human dimension of the manipulation of the course of history. "The more a particular time is experienced as a new temporality, as *modernity*, the more that demands made of the future increase."[44]

de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée 108, no. 2 (1996), 601-608, doi: 10.3406/mefr.1996.4457.

41 FRANK and FRITZIE MANUEL, *Utopian Thought*, 20, 415, 492 and ff.

42 DAVID WILLIAMS, *Condorcet and Modernity*, 157-158.

43 ROLANDO MINUTI, *Una geografia politica della diversità. Studi su Montesquieu* (Naples: Liguori, 2015).

44 KOSELLECK, *Futures Past*, see pp. 4, 3. On the time dimension in utopias set in the future see also PATRICK PARRINDER, *Utopian Literature and Science: From the Scientific Revolution to Brave New World and Beyond* (London: Palgrave, 2015), 4.

Fig. 1. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante* (1774; nouvelle edition, Paris, an X [1801-1802]) vol. I, 12. Looking at the public notices posted on a wall, the protagonist realizes he has slept for 672 years.

Exhibiting temporal hierarchizations

The history and coming of age of the future-war genre might be better understood against the backdrop of changes in the social history of ideas of the future, as much as in the cultural circulation of literary and visual works of fiction.

According to Darko Suvin, "the instauration of capitalist production as the dominant and finally all-pervasive way of life engendered a fundamental reorientation of human practice and imagination: a wished-for or feared future becomes the new space of the cognitive (and increasingly of the everyday) imagination."[45] The expansion of the Western powers brought about techno-driven globalization processes at an increased speed,[46] bearing remarkable consequences in the development of a globalized consciousness, and of ideas and imageries deeply rooted in new knowledge concerning remote areas of the globe and their inhabitants. The origins of this process can in fact be traced back to the multiple availability of sources deriving from geographical explorations, to the momentum thus gained by comparative and universal history during the late-modern age, and to the growing influence of Enlightenment ideas of progress and conjectural histories, organizing civilizations according to subsequent stages of development.[47] Notions regarding examples of radical "otherness" from remote parts of the globe conceptualized as remains of the common human past and instances of humanity in its infancy were decisive in fostering ideas of historical time as a dimension of progressive development. Ideas of degeneration and stagnation applied to other societies implied the use of the European civilization as a standard against which other might be evaluated, and also brought about reflections on historical time as a frame of causal relations between phenomena and human actions. In ideas of a linear and irreversible historical time lies the – insufficient but necessary – precondition for the hierarchizations of societies and humans that will characterize a mature imperialistic phase.[48]

During the nineteenth century, these conceptualizations informed important expressions of popular culture, such as the Great Expositions, in which a temporal dimension was touched upon by central symbolic and discursive structures.[49] Through

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[45] SUVIN, *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction*, 115-116.

[46] DANIEL R. HEADRICK, *Power over People: Technology, Environments, and Western Imperialism, 1400 to the Present* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[47] GUIDO ABBATTISTA, "The Historical Thought of the French Philosophes," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, JOSÉ RABASA, MASAYUKI SATO, EDOARDO TORTAROLO, DANIEL WOOLF, eds, vol. 3, *1400-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 406-427; GEORG G. IGGERS and Q. EDWARD WANG, with contributions from SUPRIYA MUKHERJEE, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 19-32; DANIEL WOOLF, *A Global History of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. 280-343.

[48] On temporal hierarchization from a cultural history perspective: CHRIS LORENZ and BERBER BEVERNAGE, eds, *Breaking Up Time: Negotiating the Borders Between Present, Past and Future* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

[49] GUIDO ABBATTISTA and GIULIA IANNUZZI, "World Expositions as Time Machines: Two Views of the Visual Construction of Time between Anthropology and Futurama," in *World History Connected* 13,

the recreation of ancient Greek and Roman monuments, medieval quarters and villages, and the living ethno-expositions of alien humans presented as embodying primitive or early stages of civilization,[50] international exhibitions effectively put on stage a temporal dimension, which culminated in sections devoted to the scientific and technological wonders of Western modernity and progress. This temporal hierarchisation provided the ideological frame in which an increasing thematization of the future found a place, and this became central near the end of the century, with the 1889's Eiffel Tower, Alva Edison's pavilion of electric light, and the Hall of Machines. Conflating ideas of history and images of the globe[51] in limited urban areas – or even in single attractions, such as George Wyld's Great Globe in Leicester Square during the London Great Exhibition of 1851 – these expositions allowed visitors to complete a tour of the world on foot in a few hours. As one of the first and most effective "laboratories for a global space-time,"[52] these exhibits made a decisive contribution to the elaboration of a science-fictional mind-set.[53]

The technological sublime, which became typical of early speculative-fiction literature and illustration, has the same cultural backdrop as Expos and Fairs, and is partly indebted to the exhibitionary strategies of those early pavilions. Expos embodied a growing interest in science and technology, helped to visualise their future effects on human society and the global environment, and put forward a use of technology not strictly utilitarian, but rather aimed at fostering a *sense of wonder* in its spectators. As early as 1905 on Coney Island, with the dark ride A Trip to the Moon designed by Frederick Thompson, visitors could physically travel through scenic illusions, which staged a whole series of early science fiction tropes, from 20,000 Leagues Under the Sea (patented in 1903) to the North Pole, to a War of Worlds.[54] The latter – which despite the similar title was not inspired by H. G. Wells' novel of 1897 – enacted an attack on New York by (small-scale) European navies. This attraction was heir to the naumachias that, since the Roman world and throughout modern Europe, had constituted a form of entertainment and public spectacle,[55] while

no. 3 (2016), doi: 10.5281/zenodo.2652723.

[50] GUIDO ABBATTISTA, "Concepts and Categories in the History of World Expositions: Introductory Remarks", in GUIDO ABBATTISTA, ed., *Moving Bodies, Displaying Nations: National Cultures, Race and Gender in World Expositions Nineteenth to Twenty-First Century* (Trieste: EUT, 2014), 7-20; and GUIDO ABBATTISTA, *Umanità in mostra: Esposizioni etniche e invenzioni esotiche in Italia (1880–1940)* (Trieste: EUT, 2014), esp. 32-36.

[51] ALEXANDER C. T. GEPPERT, "True Copies: Time and Space Travels at British Imperial Exhibitions, 1880-1930," in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, HARTMUT BERGHOFF, BARBARA KORTE, CHRISTOPHER HARVIE, RALPH SCHNEIDER, eds, (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 223-248.

[52] ROGER LUCKHURST, "Laboratories for Global Space-Time: Science-Fictionality and the World's Fairs, 1851-1939", in *Science Fiction Studies* 39, no. 118 (2012): 385-400.

[53] BROOKS LANDON, "SF Tourism," in BOULD et al., *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction*, 32-41.

[54] WOODY REGISTER, *The Kid of Coney Island: Fred Thompson and the Rise of American Amusements* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): electronic edition, par. "The Crying Need for Novelty."

[55] MARTHA POLLAK, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 284-286; IGNACIO RAMOS GAY, "Naumachias, the Ancient World and Liquid

also tapping into an "early-twentieth century frenzy for disaster spectacles, science fiction and 'you are there' adventure journeys."[56]

It will come as no surprise that three years before publishing *Vingt mille lieues sous les mers: Tour du monde sous-marin*, Jules Verne visited the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition. Here Joseph-Martin Cabirol's diving suit (an innovative version of Augustus Siebe's creation) received a prize, and a model of the 1863 submarine *Le plongeur* was on display, which became sources of inspiration along with the other latest literary and current events.[57] By the turn of the century, the diorama and panorama attractions in the "Tour du Monde" pavilion at Paris 1900 had a distinctive Vernian twist, being a miniature version of his namesake 1872 novel,[58] designed by Alexandre Marcel, with the collaboration of Louis Doumoulin, already known as the "Jules Verne du pinceau."[59]

The "Tour du Monde" with its Arabian, Japanese, Chinese and Indian sections among others, compressed geographical distances and summarized global space through the juxtaposition of remote cultures. A 1900 report on the Expo by the French Ministère du commerce, de l'industrie, des postes et des télégraphes highlighted that the attraction was home to various dioramas and an "exotic theatre" with 300 seats, devoted to the "most curious countries" serviced by the French Compagnie des messageries maritimes. Here living "natives" demonstrated for the public everyday activities or traditional dances,[60] albums illustrated with lavish photos documented the *mises en scènes* and became tokens of the Fair for visitors to collect, and to enjoy (again) the aesthetic marvels and visits of important personalities.[61]

Another section of Paris 1900, the "Vieux Paris" designed by journalist, illustrator and novelist Albert Robida, condensed historical time from the Middle Ages

Theatrical Bodies on the Early 19th Century English Stage," in *Miranda* 11 (2015): 1-15, doi: 10.4000/miranda.6745.

[56] JOHN S. BERMAN, *Coney Island* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2003), 34; see also WILLIAM J. PHALEN, *Coney Island: 150 Years of Rides, Fires, Floods, the Rich, the Poor and Finally Robert Moses* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016), 114.

[57] WILLIAM BUTCHER, "Introduction" and "Appendix: Sources of Ideas on Submarine Navigation", in JULES VERNE, *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Seas*, trans. William Butcher (1870; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), ix-xxxi, 382-384, see xiv and 383; Smithsonian Libraries, *Fantastic Worlds: Science and Fiction 1780-1910*, "Sea Changes," website of the exhibition, July 1, 2015 - February 26, 2017, https://library.si.edu/exhibition/fantastic-worlds/sea-change.

[58] ROGER BENJAMIN, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930* (Berkley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 2003), 114.

[59] JULIEN BÉAL, "Le Japon dans la collection photographique du peintre Louis-Jules Dumoulin (1860-1924)", in *Hal – Archives ouvertes* 2017, hal-01517490v1: see 3 and note 9.

[60] ALFRED PICARD (Ministère du commerce, de l'industrie, des postes et des télégraphes), *Exposition universelle internationale de 1900 à Paris. Rapport général administratif et technique* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902-1903), 8 vols., vol. 7, 226; accessed via Bibliothèque numérique en histoire des sciences et des techniques, http://cnum.cnam.fr.

[61] *Le Panorama. Exposition universelle 1900*, sous la direction de René Baschet, avec les photographies de Neurdein frères et Maurice Baschet Publisher (Paris: Ludovic Baschet éd., 1900).

to the Eighteenth century into one attraction.[62] The official report mentioned above described Robida's attraction and documented it with numerous photos: "Le Vieux Paris se divisait en trois groupes principaux: quartier du moyen âge, s'étendant de la porte Saint-Michel (face au pont de l'Alma) à l'église Saint-Julien-des-Ménétriers; quartier des Halles au XVIIIème siècle; groupe formé par le Châtelet et le pont au Change (XVIIème siècle), la rue de la Foire Saint-Laurent (XVIIIème siècle) et le Palais (Renaissance)."[63] The report highlighted the many leisures and attractions that animated the area, which included "a small battalion of figurants in costumes": "Des établissements de spectacle, des restaurants, des cafés, de nombreuses boutiques pour la vente d'objets-souvenirs étaient installés dans le Vieux Paris et contribuaient à son animation. Un petit bataillon de figurants en costumes anciens peuplait la concession."[64] Among the dioramas described in the report, the exoticism of a Kremlin with special snow effects, was to be found alongside the techno-wonder of New York's elevated railway.

Verne was among the authors featured in the *Gazette du Vieux Paris: rédigée par une société d'écrivains des Annales politiques et littéraires*, which Albert Robida designed to accompany the Vieux Paris section of the expo. The *Gazette* devoted fourteen four-page monographic issues to different moments in French history, and constituted a visual pendant of the recreation of pasts that was staged by architecture in the Vieux Paris. From a first "Gallo-Roman" issue featuring Verne on "The Origin of Paris," through a second "Merovingian" issue a third "Carolingian," and so on, the *Gazette* was meant both as a guide to and souvenir from the exhibition. While contents celebrated French national spirit and its role in the birth of modern democracy, every issue embodied the era to which it was devoted, being printed on a different kind of paper, imitating fonts and illustration style of the period represented (Figure 2).[65]

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[62] *Exposition Universelle de 1900. Le Vieux Paris: guide historique, pittoresque et anecdotique* (Paris: Ménard et Chaufour, 1900), booklet, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, ark:/12148/bpt6k201257n; see here, xviii-xiv for Robida as "maistre de l'oeuvre" and a list of his main collaborators. See also ELIZABETH EMERY and LAURA MOROWITZ, *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), esp. ch. 7 "Feasts, fools and festivals: the popular Middle Ages," 171-208; *Robida, créateur du Vieux Paris à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900*, thematic issue of *Le Téléphonoscope. Bulletin des amis d'Albert Robida* 9 (2002), esp. Jean-Claude Viche, "Bibliographie sommaire sur «le Vieux Paris» de Robida," 2.

[63] "The Vieux Paris is divided into three main parts: the Middle Age district, extending from Porte Saint-Michel (opposite to the Alma Bridge) to the Saint-Julien-des-Méneétriers church; the district of the XVIII century halls; a quarter formed by the Châtelet and the Change bridge (XVII century), the Foire Saint-Laurent street (XVIII century) and the Palace (Renaissance)." PICARD, *Exposition universelle*, vol. 7, 240, see also 244, where the report specifies that the area occupied by the Vieux Paris was 1.918-square meters large, and that to this had to be added a 250-meters long and 3.900-square meters large area of corbelled constructions along the Seine.

[64] "Entertainments, restaurants, cafes, and numerous souvenirs shops were installed in the Vieux Paris and contributed to its animation. A small battalion of extras in costumes from ancient eras populated the concession", PICARD, *Exposition universelle*, vol. 7, 244.

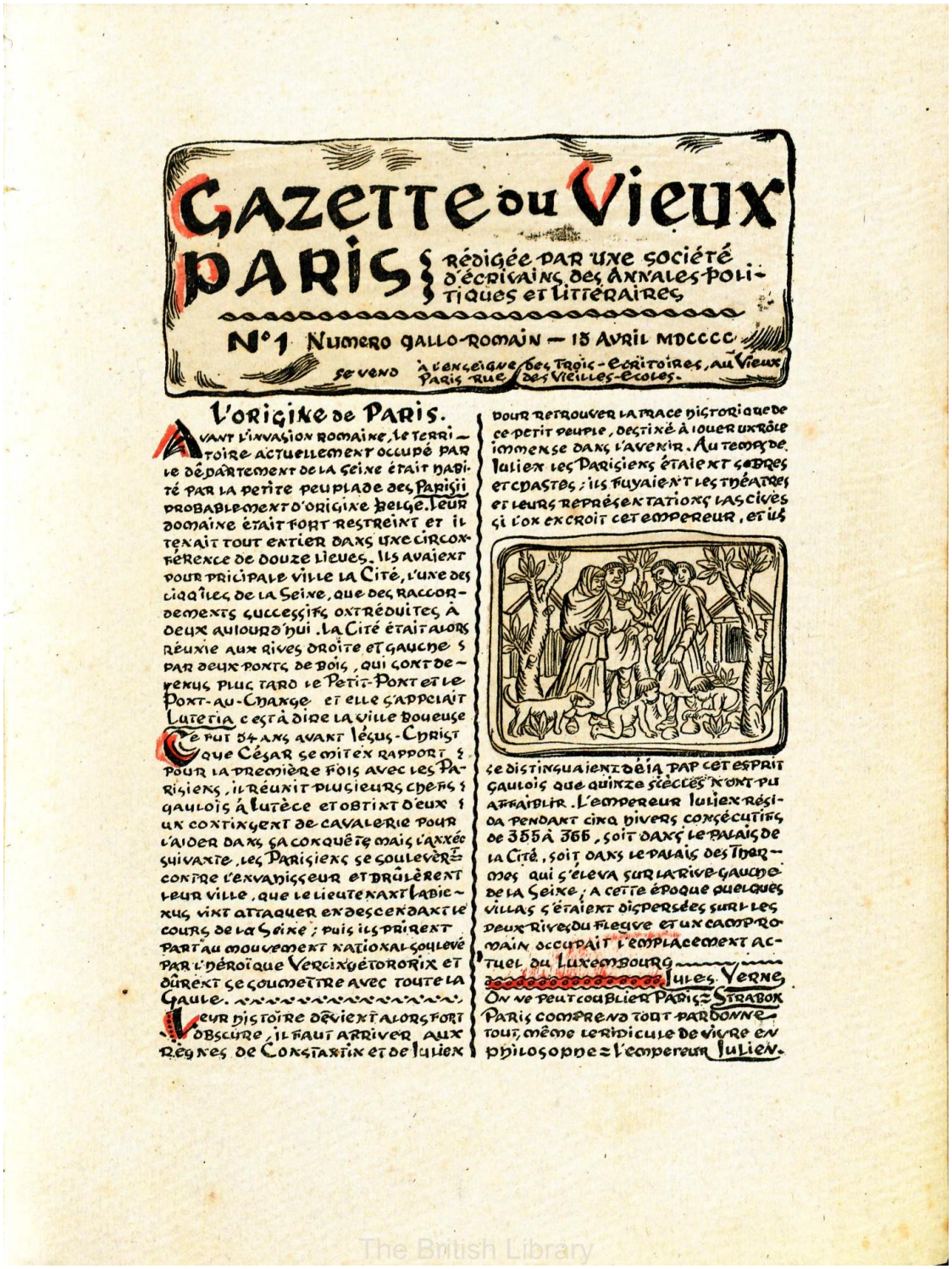
[65] On the *Gazette*: CHRISTINE A. ROTH, "The Narrative Promise: Redesigning History in *La Gazette du Vieux Paris*", in *CEA Critic* 78, no. 1 (March 2016), 116-128; PATRICE CARRÉ, "Paris perdu, Paris mis en pages… En feuilletant la *Gazette du Vieux Paris*", in *Le Téléphonoscope. Bulletin des amis d'Albert Robida* 9

In other works by Robida, the Great Expos is a central source of inspiration: *Le vingtième siècle* (1883), set in 1952, gives account of future society constructed around the inventions on show at the Paris 1881 Exposition Internationale d'Électricité. "Jadis chez aujourd'hui" (published in *Le petit français illustré* between 10 May and 14 June 1890) presents a time-travel fantasy featuring a scientist who resuscitates Molière and other literary figures and accompanies them to visit the Paris 1889 Exposition Universelle.[66] The same ideas underpinning the design of the 1900 Vieux Paris are at work in such projections of a future Paris. Scenarios depicted in *La guerre au vingtième siècle* (1887)[67] and, as we shall see more in detail below, *La guerre infernale* (1908) are logically extrapolated from the present as a consequence of historical processes, of an irreversible time flow and causal mechanisms. Ideas of progress informed these fictions, as well as, on occasion, the terrible awareness of the potential consequences of using new technologies to develop weapons and military hardware.

(2002), 19-21.

[66] Cf. JOHN CLUTE et al., "Robida, Albert", in *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction*, JOHN CLUTE, PETER NICHOLLS, DAVID LANGFORD, eds, last modified January 4, 2019, accessed December 10, 2019, http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/robida_albert; DOMINIQUE LACAZE, "Albert Robida, Explorer of the Twentieth Century", part I, "Technical Innovation" and part II, "The Invention of a Society," *Futuribles* 366 (2010), 61-70, and 367 (2010), 65-76.

[67] ALBERT ROBIDA, *La guerre au vingtième siècle* (Paris: Georges Decaux, 1887), this is a short, lavishingly illustrated novel in a stand-alone 51-pages volume; under the same title - "La guerre au vingtième siècle" - Robida published also a short story in *La Caricature*, 27 October 1883, 337-343.



GAZETTE ou VIEUX PARIS ; RÉDIGÉE PAR UNE SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉCRIVAINS DES ANNALES POLITIQUES ET LITTÉRAIRES

N°1 NUMERO GALLO-ROMAIN — 15 AVRIL MDCCCC

SE VEND À L'ENSEIGNE DES TROIS-ÉCRITOIRES, AU VIEUX PARIS RUE DES VIEILLES-ÉCOLES.

L'ORIGINE DE PARIS.

AVANT L'INVASION ROMAINE, LE TERRITOIRE ACTUELLEMENT OCCUPÉ PAR LE DÉPARTEMENT DE LA SEINE ÉTAIT HABITÉ PAR LA PETITE PEUPLADE DES Parisii PROBABLEMENT D'ORIGINE BELGE. LEUR DOMAINE ÉTAIT FORT RESTREINT ET IL TENAIT TOUT ENTIER DANS UNE CIRCONFÉRENCE DE DOUZE LIEUES. ILS AVAIENT POUR PRINCIPALE VILLE LA CITÉ, L'UNE DES ÎLES DE LA SEINE, QUE DES RACCORDEMENTS SUCCESSIFS ONT RÉDUITES À DEUX AUJOURD'HUI. LA CITÉ ÉTAIT ALORS RÉUNIE AUX RIVES DROITE ET GAUCHE PAR DEUX PONTS DE BOIS, QUI SONT DEVENUS PLUS TARD LE PETIT-PONT ET LE PONT-AU-CHANGE ET ELLE S'APPELAIT LUTETIA C'EST À DIRE LA VILLE BOUEUSE

CE FUT 54 ANS AVANT JÉSUS-CHRIST QUE CÉSAR SE MIT EN RAPPORT POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS AVEC LES PARISIENS, IL RÉUNIT PLUSIEURS CHEFS GAULOIS À LUTÈCE ET OBTINT D'EUX UN CONTINGENT DE CAVALERIE POUR L'AIDER DANS SA CONQUÊTE MAIS L'ANNÉE SUIVANTE, LES PARISIENS SE SOULEVÈRENT CONTRE L'ENVAHISSEUR ET BRÛLÈRENT LEUR VILLE, QUE LE LIEUTENANT LABIENUS VINT ATTAQUER EN DESCENDANT LE COURS DE LA SEINE ; PUIS ILS PRIRENT PART AU MOUVEMENT NATIONAL SOULEVÉ PAR L'HÉROÏQUE VERCINGÉTORORIX ET DÛRENT SE SOUMETTRE AVEC TOUTE LA GAULE.

LEUR HISTOIRE DEVIENT ALORS FORT OBSCURE, IL FAUT ARRIVER AUX RÈGNES DE CONSTANTIN ET DE JULIEN POUR RETROUVER LA TRACE HISTORIQUE DE CE PETIT PEUPLE, DESTINÉ À JOUER UN RÔLE IMMENSE DANS L'AVENIR. AU TEMPS DE JULIEN LES PARISIENS ÉTAIENT SOBRES ET CHASTES ; ILS FUYAIENT LES THÉATRES ET LEURS REPRÉSENTATIONS LASCIVES SI L'ON EN CROIT CET EMPEREUR, ET ILS

SE DISTINGUAIENT DÉJÀ PAR CET ESPRIT GAULOIS QUE QUINZE SIÈCLES N'ONT PU AFFAIBLIR. L'EMPEREUR JULIEN RÉSIDA PENDANT CINQ HIVERS CONSÉCUTIFS, DE 355 À 360, SOIT DANS LE PALAIS DE LA CITÉ, SOIT DANS LE PALAIS DES THERMES QUI S'ÉLEVA SUR LA RIVE GAUCHE DE LA SEINE ; À CETTE ÉPOQUE QUELQUES VILLAS S'ÉTAIENT DISPERSÉES SUR LES DEUX RIVES DU FLEUVE ET UN CAMP ROMAIN OCCUPAIT L'EMPLACEMENT ACTUEL DU LUXEMBOURG

Jules Verne

ON NE PEUT OUBLIER PARIS ; STRABON

PARIS COMPREND TOUT PARDONNE TOUT, MÊME LE RIDICULE DE VIVRE EN PHILOSOPHE = L'EMPEREUR JULIEN.

Fig. 2. *Gazette du Vieux Paris. Rédigée par une société d'écrivains des Annales Politiques et Litteraires*, n. 1 – *Numero Gallo-Romain*, 15 Avril 1900, cover. Copy at the British Library.

Techno-apocalypses

By the beginning of the Twentieth century, the imagery related to future wars already had precedents, having been a topic touched upon in future-set narratives across different textual genres since the Seventeenth century. Early examples had used ominous depictions of future invasions and scenarios of armed conflict to argue in favour of specific political options in texts whose primary aim was to influence the political debates of the day. This was the case of the above-mentioned *Aulicus his Dream of the King's Sudden Comming to London*, a 6-pages pamphlet written by Francis Cheynel in 1644 to encourage his readers to act upon the terrifying image of Charles I gaining the upper hand against Cromwell and his Parliamentary forces.[68] In early future fictions such as *The Reign of George VI*, military triumphs (e.g. of England over France) were part of the success of a Bolingbrokeian monarch in the year 1900.[69]

Between the French Revolution and the Napoleonic years, a handful of plays, tracts and pamphlets envisaged a French invasion of Great Britain. "At the height of the Napoleonic wars between Britain and France, the propaganda machine on both sides presented various scenarios of the potential outcome,"[70] such as in *La descente en Angleterre* (1797) by Jean-Corisandre Mittié, in the anonymous "The Invasion of England" (1803), and "The Armed Briton" (1806). These narratives projected future scenarios in order to "give a realistic edge to straightforward propaganda,"[71] as did a wealth of satirical engravings and caricatures, such as the series *Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion, -or- Forcible Reasons for Negotiating a Regicide Peace* (1796) and *Consequences of a Successful French Invasion* (1802-1803) by James Gillray. In fact, drawings and posters were the most popular media used to disseminate worries and fears about French armies invading England, after the Channel was crossed by hot air balloon in 1785 (Figure 3).

During the first years of the nineteenth century, however, future-war literary fictions were few in number, while war technologies were of course object of fantastic representations also unrelated to future settings, a notable example being Baron Munchausen's adventures on battle fields and on cannonballs becoming means of transport across Earthly territories and even to the moon.[72] Future settings were also exploited by prophetic novels imagining remote futures for humanity or one subject

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[68] CLARKE, "Future-War Fiction: The First Main Phase," 387.
[69] C[HARLES] OMAN, "The Editor's Preface," in [Anonym], *The Reign of George VI. 1900-1925: A Forecast Written in the year 1763*, Republished, with Preface and Notes by C. Oman (1763; [London]: Rivingstons, 1899), vii-xxvi, see viii; GUIDO ABBATTISTA, "Il *Re patriota* nel discorso politico-ideologico inglese del Settecento," in LORD BOLINGBROKE, *L'idea di un re patriota, traduzione, introduzione e commento di Guido Abbattista* (Rome: Donzelli, 1995), xxi-lxxxviii.
[70] MIKE ASHLEY, "The Fear of Invasion," *British Library*, Discovering Literature: Romantics & Victorians, 15 May 2014, https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-fear-of-invasion.
[71] CLARKE, "Before and after," 35.
[72] [RUDOLF ERICH RASPE], *Gulliver revived, or The vice of lying properly exposed. ... Also an account of a voyage into the moon and Dog-Star; with many extraordinary particulars relative to the cooking animal in those planets, which are there called the human species* (London: Printed for C. and G. Kearsley, 1793).

as the sole survivor of a catastrophe indebted to Romantic inspiration (e.g. Restif de la Bretonne's *Les Posthumes* in 1802, Jean-Baptiste Cousin de Grainville's *Le Dernier homme* in 1805, Félix Bodin. *Le Roman de l'avenir* in 1834).[73] While important milestones were reached in later decades by Louis Geoffroy's alternative history *Napoleon et la conquête du monde 1812-1832: Histoire de la Monarchie universelle* (1836),[74] and by the American Civil War imagined by two American authors, Nathaniel B. Tucker (*The Partisan Leader*, 1836) and Edmund Ruffin (*Anticipations of the Future*, 1860), future-war narratives did not become a codified sub-genre until the 1870s.[75] By then, the presence of intertextual references to similar texts, a shared encyclopaedia of recurring motives and *topoi*, and textual devices implying a recognition of existing readers' expectations had gradually led to the sub-genre taking shape, helped by the emergence of a mass market for magazines and books, a rich breeding ground for popular publishing formulas. Particular attention has been paid by recent scholarship to the seminal role of George T. Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* (1871), given the innovative nature of a setting located in a very near future, and the public debate that followed its publication in England, originating sequels, editions, and translations over a number of European countries and the US. Designed to encourage reform and modernisation in the British army, Chesney's book was written after the Franco-Prussian War, and envisaged a scenario in which Germany had taken France's place as the invader able to cross the English Channel.[76] According to Mike Ashley, "Chesney's alarmist story had catapulted the genre of future-war fiction into the public arena."[77]

The ensuing decades saw waves of imagined conflicts-to-come especially notable in England and Germany, in the short-story form as well as in serialized long narratives and volume-length novels. Depicted conflicts were consumed between European powers, as well as on a global scale (such as Robida's *La guerre au vingtième siècle*, and Giffard and Robida's *La guerre infernale*). Invasions from the east were relevant to the codification of the Yellow Peril theme (e.g. M. P. Shiel's *The Yellow Danger,* 1898), and threats from mad scientists and terrorist organizations were also imagined (e.g. George Griffith's *The Angel of the Revolution*, 1893). In H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* (1898), the novelty of having extraterrestrials as invaders made explicit the relationship between ideas of progress and the recourse to the future as an imaginative device for

[73] MARC ANGENOT, "Science Fiction in France before Verne," in *Science Fiction Studies* 5, no. 14 (1978), 58-76.
[74] Published anonymously until 1841; PIERRE VERSINS, *Encyclopédie de l'utopie, des voyages extraordinaires & de la science-fiction* (Lausanne: L'âge d'homme, 1972), *ad vocem*.
[75] DARKO SUVIN, "Victorian Science Fiction, 1871-85: The Rise of the Alternative History Sub-Genre," in *Science-Fiction Studies* 10, no. 2 (1983), 148-169; see also BRIAN M. STABLEFORD, "Future War", in *SFE: Science Fiction Encyclopedia*, JOHN CLUTE, DAVID LANGFORD, PETER NICHOLLS, GRAHAM SLEIGHT, eds, 2005, last version 2018, http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/future_war.
[76] First published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and reprinted as a stand-alone pamphlet. A contemporary edition is in CLARKE, *British Future Fiction*, vol. 6, 1-44; on its reception: CLARKE, "Before and after," 42-44; on its innovative role see also: ALKON, *Science fiction before 1900*, 40.
[77] ASHLEY, "The Fear of Invasion."

conducting hypothetical experiments, informed by conceptualizations of historical time as characterized by a unidirectional flow. As John Rieder has argued, "... Wells asks his English readers to compare the Martian invasion of Earth with the Europeans' genocidal invasion of the Tasmanians, thus demanding that the colonizers imagine themselves as the colonized, or the about-to-be-colonized. ... the analogy rests on the logic prevalent in contemporary anthropology that the indigenous, primitive other's present is the colonizer's own past ... The confrontation of humans and Martians is thus a kind of anachronism, an incongruous co-habitation of the same moment by people and artifacts from different times."[78]

In the years immediately preceding World War I, future wars became part of a proto-science fiction repertoire, in works written, published and read as entertainment.[79] Notable cases include William LeQueux's bestseller *The Invasion of 1910* (1906), and Saki [Hector H. Munro]'s *When William Came: A Story of London Under the Hohenzollerns* (1913), apt examples of the coeval Germanophobia caused in England by the perception of an increasing Teutonic menace.[80] Imagined conflicts became a fairly well-established subgenre, in which technology supplied a spectacular element, while being a focal point for anxieties related to the increasing speed of technological progress and world connections, as well as of international relations characterized by instability and/or by the emergence of non-Western actors such as Japan and China, with their economic and demographic power.

To understand and critically assess the wave(s) of future-war narratives that characterized European illustrated periodicals and book markets before 1914, we need to look at the historical circumstances that provided fertile ground for this production. While writers and artists might have been aware of current events and political circumstances that contributed to the subsequent First World War outburst, we may resist the temptation to make any simplistic teleological connections between works of fiction written at the turn of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century and the terrible events that then ensued. In fact, authors and illustrators were presented with rich sources of inspiration in the recent past and contemporary history of Europe, with societies that, in the space of just a few years, had been changed forever by an astonishing mass of new inventions. The year 1869 saw the opening of the Suez Canal – connecting Europe to South and East Asia – and also of the first railroad to connect the East and West coasts of the United States, ushering in a phase in the history of technology characterized by rapid acceleration in change and innovation. Between 1873 and 1906, from the typewriter to the phonograph, the telephone, and radio broadcasting, from the steam engine to the automobile, from dirigibles to the

[78] RIEDER, *Colonialsm*, 5.
[79] STEPHEN KERN, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 90.
[80] CECIL D. EBY, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 33 and ff., 80 and ff.

airplane, an impressive series of milestone-inventions was made possible, to follow Daniel R. Headrick argument, by intensified and stable connections between scientific research and technology. This impressive amount of technological novelties accompanied broad changes in agricultural production, hygiene practices and medical science, urbanization process and literacy rates.[81]

A global dimension was experienced in daily life not only by an elite section of the population. New mechanized means of transport and of communication determined an increased dominion over space, while from 1884 onwards, the adoption of a common system in time computing based on the Greenwich meridian affirmed the present and a global simultaneity as a widely shared frame of personal experience. According to Stephen Kern, technology as a source of power over the environment also suggested new ways to control the future.[82]

Innovations such as railroads and the telegraph brought about profound changes in warfare, allowing armies and supply columns to be constantly on the move, and the chain of command to operate over unprecedented distances. Modern marvels also posed specific issues, from the necessary system of poles and wires that rendered the telegraph useless in mobile campaigns, to the limited manoeuvrability of mass armies over a territory despite new means of transport. Technological innovation as applied to warfare dramatically increased the destructive power of weapons: machine guns, magazine-fed rifles, quick-firing and heavy artillery improved the range, accuracy, and firepower of infantries. The extension of the so-called "deadly zone," "the area in front of the defender's positions covered by the concentrated fire of his weapons,"[83] increased from 150 meters in the Napoleonic era to 300-400 meters during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871, with casualties among the attackers reaching percentages between 25 and 50), and then tripling to 800-1,500 meters by the mid-1890s.

Long-range rifle fire was decisive in defeats of numerically superior forces such as the British in the opening battles of the Second Boer War (1899-1902), in which knowledge of the territory and strategic choices and tactics nonetheless continued to be crucial, as the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) would also confirm.

Important developments in naval warfare, such as the accuracy of self-propelled torpedoes, steel battleships, and underwater mines, occurred regularly from the Russo-

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[81] DANIEL R. HEADRICK, *Technology: A World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 111 and ff; JÜRGEN OSTERHAMMEL and NIELS P. PETERSSON, *Geschichte der Globalisierung: Dimensionen, Prozesse, Epochen* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2003, Eng. transl. *Globalization: A Short History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), ch. V.

[82] KERN, *The Culture*, esp. 90 and ff.; see also Vanessa Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time: 1870-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (2009; Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), esp. 69 and ff.

[83] ANTULIO J. ECHEVARRIA II, *Imagining Future War: The West's Technological Revolution and Visions of Wars to Come, 1880-1914* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger Security International, 2007), qt. 28. I am indebted to Echevarrias's work for the technical notes on warfare in this paragraph.

Turkish War (1877-1878) onwards. Following British investments in steam-powered battleships equipped with small-calibre guns and in new classes of armoured mine-sweepers, by the mid-1890s many European powers were investing in innovations in naval gunfire, vessel manoeuvrability, self-propelled submarines, and wireless communications. The Russo-Japanese War would be a reminder to all "that large-scale naval battles were still possible."[84]

As for aerial warfare, the development of lighter-than-air balloons – used for reconnaissance – led to better manoeuvrability, with France at the forefront in aviation technology from the late 1870s onwards, followed by Germany. After Zeppelin's flight across Lake Constance in 1900 in an aluminium airship filled with hydrogen and the Wright brothers' flight in 1903, investments in aircraft research and production by Western powers such as Germany and the US increased significantly. Aerial assaults such as those carried out during the Italian invasion of Libya (1911-1912) and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) established a new role for aerial warfare not only in the gathering of intelligence but also in combat, to attack and destroy buildings, artillery, and troops on the ground.

In Europe, Russia and the US, in fact, its potential military applications were one of the main attractions of air-mindedness – that "popular fascination with airships" that gave rise to a host of "glider clubs and rocket societies, air-shows and air races."[85] Attacks from the sky were soon to be found in works by key-figures in the history of speculative imagination such as Jules Verne (*The Master of the World*, 1904) and H. G. Wells (*The War in the Air*, 1908; *The World Set Free*, 1914). Air-ground battles and airborne weapons quickly became a staple in future-war narratives throughout the twentieth century.

As John Rieder has argued, "the arms race is one of any number of sites where ideas about *progress* link the various threads of colonial discourse to one another and to science fiction."[86] This technological competition opened up a critical power gap between those cultures and territories which owned certain technologies and those which did not. In doing so, it widened the gap between the industrialized hearts of colonial empires and their peripheries.

Locating war and warfare at centre stage of the European mind during a pivotal phase between the 1870s and the 1890s, Matthew D'Auria has highlighted how during these years the representation of the violence of war influenced conceptualizations of and reflections upon European identities on the part of intellectuals and writers.[87]

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[84] ECHEVARRIA, *Imagining Future War*, 34.
[85] CSICSERY-RONAY JR, "Empire," qt. 365.
[86] RIEDER, *Colonialism*, 29.
[87] MATTHEW D'AURIA, "Progress, Decline and Redemption: Understanding War and Imagining Europe, 1870s-1890s," in *Making Sense of Violence: Intellectuals, Writers, and Modern Warfare*, MATTHEW D'AURIA, ed., *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoir*e, 25, no. 5 (2018): 686-704, doi: 10.1080/13507486.2018.1471046.

Furthermore, technical means of image production and reproduction had a deep impact on how violence and war were represented, disseminated and perceived in European public discourse, especially from the American Civil War onwards, with the regular use of photography to document death and slaughter in popular illustrated magazines beginning around 1900.[88] Illustrations and sketches were common in popular periodicals to document conflicts happening outside the European borders before the advent of photography, contributing to the circulation of news, ideas, and stereotypes across geographical and linguistic borders.[89]

[88] MARK HEWITSON "Introduction: Visualizing Violence," *Making Sense of Military Violence*, eds, MATTHEW D'AURIA and HEWITSON, *Cultural History* 6, no. 1 (2017): 1-20, esp. 10, doi: 10.3366/cult.2017.0132.

[89] E.g. "La Guerra in Cina. Cronaca illustrata degli avvenimenti in Estremo Oriente" published in Italy by Aliprandi, in 20 installments in 1900 covered the Boxer rebellion using as sources other periodicals from Italy (e.g. "Natura e Arte"), Anglophone countries ("Times," "New York Herald"), France ("Le Journal illustré"), Germany ("Kölnische Zeitung"), Russia ("Novoye Vremya"). "La Guerra in Cina" would make for an interesting case study as regards the representation of Oriental cruelty and yellow-peril stereotypes.

Fig. 3. Argaud de Barges, "La Thiloriere ou Descente en Angleterre: Projet d'une Montgolfiere capable d'enlever 3.000 Hommes et qui ne coutera que 300.000 Francs [etc.]," etching and pointillé gravure (Paris: Chez Boulard, 1803), Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed via Gallica, identifier: ark:/12148/btv1b8509550q.

Visualizing a global war: *La guerre infernale*

La guerre infernale was written precisely in this cultural milieu by Pierre Giffard and illustrated by Albert Robida.[90] Published in weekly instalments in 1908, *La guerre infernale* gives the future-war genre a satirical edge, offering a scenario in which a global conflict of massive proportions breaks out in consequence of an argument between the German and the English ambassadors over the serving order of the dessert at a dinner. To add to the irony, the dinner is taking place during the *Conférence de la paix*, the annual meeting of a philanthropic organization founded by Nicholas II of Russia in 1895. In 1937, the protagonist and narrator is covering the conference periodical summit at the Hôtel de l'Entente Universelle in La Hague, for the Paris newspaper *L'an 2000*, when the war breaks out. While the conflict is triggered by a disagreement between European powers, the role of Japan and China in its outcome is a clear reminder of the Russo-Japanese War of a few years before.

Novelist, reporter, illustrator, watercolourist and engraver, Albert Robida (1848-1926) is today regarded as one of the founding fathers of science fiction, and recognized as a key figure on the cultural scene of the French Third Republic. He extensively worked as editor and collaborator of Paris periodicals such as *La Caricature*, and imagined visionary portrayals of a future society shaped by the technological inventions exhibited at International World Fairs such as Paris 1881, 1889, and 1900. During his life, he illustrated ninety-four books, of almost fifty of which he was sole author.[91]

With Giffard – a fellow journalist specialized in sport, who covered the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 –[92] Robida collaborated in various editorial projects already during the 1880s-1890s. These included the pictures for the humorous *La vie en chemin de fer* and *La vie au théâtre* (1887-1888) and *La fin du cheval* (1899) on the means of transports that were soon to replace horse-drawn carriages and the socio-economic advancements that they would bring about.

Giffard himself (1853-1922), after taking part in the 1870 war as one of the youngest lieutenants in the French *armée auxiliaire*, had become a journalist. He collaborated with numerous newspapers and periodicals including *Le Figaro*, covering,

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[90] PIERRE GIFFARD, *La guerre infernale*, illustrated by Albert Robida (Paris: Édition Mèricant, 1908), 30 weekly instalments, in-4°, 952 pp.

[91] For an overview on recent scholarship on Robida and indications for further reading: IANNUZZI, "The Cruel Imagination," 194-195; secondary sources of particular note are: PHILIPPE BRUN, *Albert Robida, 1848-1926. Sa vie, son œuvre. Suivi d'une bibliographie complète de ses écrits et dessins* (Paris: Editions Promodis, 1984); DANIEL COMPÈRE, ed., *Albert Robida du passé au futur. Un auteur-illustrateur sous la IIIe République* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2006); SANDRINE DORÉ, "Albert Robida (1848-1926), un dessinateur fin de siècle dans la société des images" (doctoral thesis, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, 2014).

[92] JACQUES SERAY, *Pierre Giffard, précurseur du journalisme moderne. Du Paris-Brest à l'affaire Dreyfus* (Toulouse: Le Pas d'oiseau, 2008); C.G.P.C.S.M.-Fontaine d'histoire, *La Famille Giffard* (Fontaine le Dun: Fontaine d'histoire, 2007).

among other things, the technological developments in transport and communications exhibited at Paris 1878, and travelling the world as a correspondent, from war zones such as Algeria and southern Tunisia amongst others. Creator of French cycle and car races, he became editor-in-chief of *Le Petit Journal* in 1887, until moving to *Le Vélo* in 1896 after a few years of collaboration under a pseudonym, and then to *L'Auto* in 1904.

One may assume that one of the reasons Giffard mentions for choosing a humorous slant in his work on the railway in the "Préface" of *La vie en chemin de fer* also applies to *La guerre infernale* : "… avec la forme humoristique l'auteur a pu s'assurer le concours de l'un des crayons les plus spirituels de notre époque, et c'est là un gros atout dans son jeu, pour ne pas dire plus."[93] He is referring to none other than Robida, of course, whose contribution is very likely to have been more than just illustrating: many themes and inventions are reprises of ideas and scenarios already imagined in the above-mentioned *Le vingtième siècle*, and its sequel *La guerre au vingtième siècle*, including means of instant communication, aerial means of transport, innovative weapons.[94] Furthermore, *La guerre infernale* shares with other works by Robida an interest in social aspects (such as the role of women, Figure 6),[95] and in the consequences of technology for everyday life and customs and habits. As Philippe Willems has summarized, "What really distinguishes Robida from other nineteenth-century writers of conjectural fiction is the depth of his portrayal of the future, the real-life dimension … halfway between Jules Verne's detailed mechanical explanations and H. G. Wells's psychological realism."[96]

The global backdrop against which the protagonists' adventures take place, unlike the mainly French and Parisian setting of *Le vingtième siècle* and *La vie electrique*, is reminiscent of the *Voyages très extraordinaires de Saturnin Farandoul* (1880).[97] Paris serves nonetheless as a barycentre for the adventures of *La guerre infernale*'s protagonist. It is

[93] "... thanks to the humorous form, the author was able to secure the collaboration of one of the wittiest pencils of our time, who was a big asset to his work, to say the least." PIERRE GIFFARD, *La vie en chemin de fer*, illustrated by Albert Robida (Paris: A la Libraire illustrée, [1888]), vii, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, ark:/12148/bpt6k1028744.

[94] MARC ANGENOT, "Albert Robida's Twentieth Century," *Science Fiction Studies* 10, no. 2 (July 1983): 237-240; BRUN, *Albert Robida*, 33; PHILIPPE WILLEMS, "A Stereoscopic Vision of the Future: Albert Robida's Twentieth Century," *Science Fiction Studies* 26, no. 3 (November 1999): 354-378, esp. 358 and note 7.

[95] On Robida's representation(s) of women: *Robida et l'émancipation de la Femme*, thematic issue of *Le Téléphonoscope. Bulletin des amis d'Albert Robida* 21 (2014); SANDRINE DORÉ, "Albert Robida," vol. 1, 98, 150-152, 244 note 825, 296-299; SANDRINE DORÉ, "Entre caricature et anticipation, la Parisienne définie par Albert Robida (1848-1926)," in *L'art de la caricature*, sous la direction de Ségolène Le Men (Nanterre: Presses universitaires de Paris Nanterre, 2011), electronic edition, doi: 10.4000/books.pupo.2233; LACAZE, "Albert Robida," II, 72-73. Depictions of women in the army by Robida are to be found in *La Vie parisienne*, as early as 1875, and in *Le Vingtième Siècle* (1883).

[96] PHILIPPE WILLEMS, "A Stereoscopic Vision," 360.

[97] ALBERT ROBIDA, *Voyages très extraordinaires de Saturnin Farandoul dans les 5 ou 6 parties du monde et dans tous les pays connus et même inconnus de M. Jules Verne* (Paris: Librairie illustrée-Librairie M. Dreyfous, 1880), Eng. trans. *The Adventures of Saturnin Fanandoul*, trans. Brian Stableford (Encino, CA: Black Coat Press, 2008).

to the French capital that he returns between his adventures in the Atlantic and in Russia, and it is to Paris that knowledge and news always flow and are collected and sorted, near the palaces where crucial decisions are discussed by French authorities.[98]

In fact, *La guerre infernale* plays up a global dimension brought onto the stage of individual experience and perception by the use of new means of transport and communication that earlier works by both Giffard and Robida had represented in different contexts and/or with different strategies.[99] The first instalment, tellingly entitled *La Planète en feu*, presents the idea of a global dimension compressed by the instantaneous nature of the telephone: awoken in the middle of the night by a massive fire starting in La Hague, the protagonist discovers that a war has started, but is unable to track down the incident that originated it. He will receive news of what happened in the very same hotel he is staying at only via a colleague in Paris, who gets a phone call from La Hague at the Café Krasnapolski. Similarly, it is the telephone that makes it possible to deliver ultimatums and institutional communications in real time, activating the various alliances that cause the conflict to escalate first to a European and then to a global dimension.[100]

Means of transport are at the centre stage from the very first pages, allowing the protagonist and his companions to travel throughout Europe and across the globe. They use an *aérocar* to head back to Paris, since the editor-in-chief asks the protagonist to cover the conflict for the newspaper *L'an 2000*, only to be redirected to the French aerial arsenal at the base in Mont Blanc.

The massive Mont Blanc arsenal (to the description of which the second instalment, *Les Armées de l'air*, is almost entirely devoted) includes a Leviathan formation composed by 150 attacking aircraft, supported by a regiment of bicycle-sized, extremely manoeuvrable flying machines operated by couples of pilots and gunners (Figure 4). Furthermore, aerial warfare brings about consequences in the life of civilians (e.g. the use of individual shields and the construction of subterranean cities), in terms of tactics and strategies, and in the existence of specific authorities (e.g. the *ministère de l'Aérotactique*, ministry of aerotactic, already imagined in *La vie électrique*).[101] A German bombing strikes the chemical section of the compound, where bacteriological weapons are being developed,[102] causing 150 deaths. But tragedy of

[98] On the representation of France at war and its ideological ambivalence in *La guerre infernale*: PAUL BLETON, "La guerre telle qu'elle pourrait être," in *Lublin Studies in Modern Languages and Literature* 39, no. 1 (2015): 64-75, see 67, 70.

[99] On the global conflict evoked in *Le Vingtième siècle*: Lacaze, "Albert Robida," II, 74.

[100] See also ANDRÉ LANGE, "En attendant la guerre des ondes: les technologies de communication dans les anticipations militaires d'Albert Robida," in *Le Téléphonoscope. Bulletin des amis d'Albert Robida* 11 (2004), 7-17.

[101] On Robida and aerial warfare: ALAIN BERNARD, "Robida et les dirigeables," in *Le Téléphonoscope. Bulletin des amis d'Albert Robida* 10 (2003): 10-11; MARCELLIN HODEIR, "La guerre aérienne à travers la science-fiction: Albert Robida," in Compère, *Albert Robida*, 117-126; here especially 120 for Robida's inventions as extrapolations from technologies of his time.

[102] On the possible influence of Robida on Well's imagination on biological warfare: HELENA COSTA

even bigger proportion is reported from Belfort, blown up by a massive quantity of explosives that German soldiers placed under the city using a gigantic tunnel excavated from the Black Forest.

The first part of the novel is devoted to the conflict as it unfolds in Europe, with the German Reich attacking the French Mont Blanc base as well as bombing cities in France and bringing war to the other side of the English Channel. After an aerial battle in the skies above London, the protagonists and his friends end up stranded above the Sargasso Sea, where the only way to allow the others to regain altitude and leave the polar region is to drop the body of a dead companion (Figure 5). The passage to the Atlantic marks the passage of the narrative backdrop from a European to a global scale.

Along with submarines and *hommes-crabes* (6), the naval warfare is no less impressive: over the Atlantic the protagonist admires the American warship *Minnesota* on patrol (Figure 8): "Mille tonnes de deplacement, cinq turbines, trois arbres à helicer, un developpement al 15000 chevaux faisaient alors du Minnesota le Croiseur le plus rapide du monde" (instalment 12: 380). When cholera is used to wage bacteriological warfare in Russia against Chinese armies, a "train sanitaire" operates between Orenburg and Rostov, to help infected "whites" (instalments 25 and 26).

Economic interconnectedness is also put to use by battling countries. During the first days of the war, Britain floods Germany with false Deutschmarks in order to sink its economy (instalment 5), and when European powers coalesce against the threat of an invasion from China a "yellow tax" is approved within the alliance to fund the war against Asian powers (instalment 21).

In fact, while there is a treaty in place at the beginning of the war between Japan and France and Japanese aviators are perfecting their training with the French Voleurs corps (instalment 8). When he arrives in North America, the protagonist learns that Japanese immigrants in California had long been preparing for the invasion of America, and that now, supported by troops from Japan, are engaged in terrible battles which caused thousands of deaths, and left every American survivor deranged due to the trauma, hospitalized in a dedicated facility.

Japan and the US fight a naval battle of epic proportions between the Bahamas, Cuba and Florida (instalments 15, 16). From Canada to Africa, the Japanese multiply their invasion plans, acting as the leading force behind which the Chinese are also mobilized. It is against the backdrop of the Atlantic space and with the Asian arrival on the scene that the conflict starts to assume a fully global scale and at the same time a clear racial connotation: the "yellow" threat leads "white" nations to overcome their

and JOSEP-E. BAÑOS, "Bioterrorism in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Wells and 'The Stolen Bacillus,'" in *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2016) 1-11, see 6-7, doi: 10.1080/23311983.2016.1224538.

current disagreements and strike up new alliances. The American president arguing for a pact with the British warns about the prolificacy of Asian populations, contrasting it with the demographic decline of the "whites" (instalment 16). Japanese and Chinese armies invade California and block the Panama Canal (instalments 18 and 20), while Europeans helps Russia to construct a "*muraille blanche*," "white great wall," against the Chinese plans to invade Europe (instalment 21). The assassination of Tsar Nicholas II and a riot or revolution demanding a new constitution leaves Russian open to Chinese occupation (instalments 21-23).

By 1908, the stereotypes and racialized representation of Asian populations used in *La guerre infernale* – such as the demographic pressure and willingness to sacrifice millions of individuals (instalments 16, 24), the comparisons with insects such as ants (instalment 23, *Les fourmis jaunes*), the *topoi* of Oriental cruelty – were well established in popular Western yellow-peril narratives and propaganda.[103] Bacteriological weapons are used to reduce their numbers (instalment 25, *A nous le choléra!*) but soon these weapons pollute the waters and affect the "whites" as well. Among yellow-perils coeval narratives, Jack London's "The Unparalleled Invasion" ought to be mentioned for a similar idea of an annihilation of Chinese people operated – successfully in London's case – by Western powers with bacteriological weaponry, after the realization of China's potential for world domination thanks to its demographic strength. Written around 1907 and first published in 1910, London's short story is mainly set in 1976, and it is framed as written retrospectively from a yet even more distant future. According to John Swift, "The Unparalleled Invasion" "clearly gives expression to an uneasy premonition, in London, in his culture, or in both, of the precariousness of white racial supremacy; but, more interestingly, it pays homage in language and plot to an emergent science and scientism that made racial anxieties simultaneously more frightening and more manageable."[104] The parallel might help today's reader to better grasp the significance of the yellow peril theme at the time, and to see how a grotesque exaggeration and satirical elements are exploited by Giffard and Robida's in expressing in words and images racial fears.

The fear of an overwhelming wave is aptly represented by the image of an

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[103] THORALF KLEIN, "The 'Yellow Peril'," *EGO – European History Online*, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-media/european-media-events/thoralf-klein-the-yellow-peril; JOHN KUO WEI TCHEN and DYLAN YEATS, eds, *Yellow Peril! An Archive of Anti-Asian Fear* (London: Verso, 2014); JOHN W. DOWER, "Yellow Promise / Yellow Peril: Foreign Postcards of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)," in *MIT Visualizing Cultures*, 2008, see especially section 'Yellow Peril', https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/yellow_promise_yellow_peril/yp_essay04.html. See also MICHAEL KEEVAK, *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011).

[104] JOHN N. SWIFT, "Jack London's 'The Unparalleled Invasion:' Germ Warfare, Eugenics, and Cultural Hygiene," in *American Literary Realism* 35, no. 1 (2002): 59-71, qt. 60; see here 67 for remarks on the narration's grotesque detachment, elements of a dark Swiftean approach, and an ironic distance between London and his narrator. On London, the Russo-Japanese war, and yellow peril fears see also DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX, "Jack London: The Adventurer-Writer who Chronicled Asian Wars, Confronted Racism- and Saw the Future," in *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 8, no. 4.3 (2010): 1-10.

artificial hill made by soldier with their bodies, which the Chinese army erects on its march towards Moscow so that the officers can get a better view of their surroundings (instalment 28, *Les Chinois à Moscou*, Figure 9). The scene is described with horror by the narrator, who is following the Chinese army as a prisoner with other Westerners (Figure 10). In Moscow, horrible tortures and painful deaths await them, drawing on the *topos* of Oriental cruelty, not unprecedented in Robida's work, nor isolated in popular French and Western publications, where, by the end of the 1880s, Chinese torture had become a fairly common topic in public discourse, thanks not only to the interest in Chinese society and culture created by developments in East-West political and cultural relations such as the opening of a Chinese embassy in London in 1877 and the Chinese section at the 1878 Paris International Exhibition, but also to the proliferation of specific tropes in popular literature[105] (instalments 28 and 29, *Dans l'avenue des supplices*, Figure 11).

Throughout the novel, nature is bent and shaped by technology: tunnels of gigantic proportions are excavated both by the Germans when they attack France, and in England where the Tube is re-purposed as a bomb shelter, transferring the entire capital underground (instalments 8 and 9).[106] The famous London fog is cleared with specially developed acetylene guns (instalment 10). To ward off Japanese battleships, the Americans create a cage of fire on the water using a system of oil pipes off the coast of Florida. Thanks to the genius of an inventor by the name of Erikson, the US Department of Power and Electricity manages to jam the Japanese compasses, and to freeze the water by suddenly removing the oxygen from it (Figures 5 and 12). Thousands of Japanese corpses are burnt, poisoning the air with a terrible stench. Similarly, by altering the chemical composition of the atmosphere, and by electrifying the soil (Figure 5), thousands of casualties are caused on land, in a terrible exercise of "scientific massacre" (*La tuerie scientifique*, instalment 17).

La guerre infernale, as the precedent *La guerre au vingtième siècle*, with its rutilant imagination, and its narrative frame ultimately neutralizing tragedy and destruction as part of a dream from which the protagonists wakes in the last pages, testifies Robida's as "one of the very few ... who found it possible to be funny about 'the next great war.'"[107] It is worth noting that the experience of the First World War will radically change his approach. Immediately after the conflict, Robida published a short illustrated in-folio album - *Le Vautour de Prusse* – and a 302-pages novel - *L'Ingénieur Von Satanas* – developing the same anti-Prussian reflections, and revisiting the war

[105] ANDRÉ LANGE, "Le rire et l'effroi. Supplices et massacres orientaux dans l'oeuvre d'Albert Robida", in *Le Supplice Oriental dans la littérature et les arts*, ANTONIO DOMINGUEZ LEIVA and MURIEL DETRIE, eds, (Neuilly-lès-Dijon: Editions du Murmure, 2005), 135-169; JEROME BOURGON, "Les scènes de supplices dans les aquarelles chinoises d'exportation," 2005*, Chinese Torture / Supplices Chinois*, accessed January 21, 2020, http://turandot.chineselegalculture.org/Essay.php?ID=33.
[106] On the precedent of the tube in *La vie electrique* see also LACAZE, "Albert Robida," I, 65.
[107] CLARKE, "Future-War Fiction: The First Main Phase," 398.

theme with a more pronounced anti-militarist spirit.[108] *L'Ingénieur*'s second prologue, taking place in the fictional "Peace Palace" in La Hague where a pacifist international conference is inaugurating the palace, in 1909, seems to suggest a direct reprise of *La guerre*, followed by its pessimistic fulfilment. Scientists, politicians, philosophes, and millionaires from all around the world are championing a pacific progress and greeting the beginning of a new global golden age, brought about by techno-scientific progress. But scientific marvels become means of mass destruction in the hand of the greedy Prussians, corrupted by the evil engineer Von Satanas, a diabolical figure recurring through the ages, that might as well be seen as the embodiment of human nature's dark side and inclination towards violence and conflict. In 1929, Europe and the whole world have become home to a new prehistoric and barbaric civilization, a post-apocalyptic land, with survivors living underground. Endless irregular lines of trenches, bomb craters, burrows and tunnels disfigure the Earth surface and render the similar to the Moon's.

Without losing the adventurous edge that characterized *La guerre* as well as other Robida's earlier works, *L'Ingénieur* offers a rather more pessimistic and sinister take not so much on science *per se* – which is presented as the key to a possible future of harmony and prosperity – but on the human ability to put differences aside and resist belligerent instincts.

Conclusive remarks

In conclusion, *La guerre infernale*'s case study can today foster a better understanding of how the representation of the future begun to work as a malleable setting for speculative narratives, and how related genres emerged and found success in early-contemporary European cultural consumption.

This 1908 feuilleton invites today's reader to mind a plurality of levels, exploiting critical tools at the intersection of different scholarly traditions, so that it might in turn be used to provide concrete evidence of phenomena involving complex historical traditions and communicative circuits. In other words, what one might call a global microhistory of Giffard and Robida's fiction locates its object against the backdrop of a long history of ideas, as an apt expression of the emergence of a world technology-mediated interconnectedness in its specific early-contemporary European historical and cultural context, and as a unique embodiment of its author(s) ideas.

[108] ALBERT ROBIDA, *Le Vautour de Prusse* (Paris: Georges Bertrand, 1918); ALBERT ROBIDA, *L'Ingénieur Von Satanas* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1919), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, identifier: ark:/12148/bpt6k14217576. A brief mention is in WILLEMS, "A Stereoscopic Vision," 376-377, note 18.

Speculations about the future between the late-modern and the-early contemporary periods – from Guttin's *Epigone* to *Macaria*, from Madden to Mercier and Condorcet – represent through fiction the deep changes that affected ideas of time in the European mind in the age of colonial expansion. Knowledge from remote parts of the globe and close encounters with other societies generated an information flow towards the centers of imperial powers, which fed new attempts at comprehend and systematize the varieties of the human life. Literature and illustration exploited – and some time, in the hands of authors such as H. G. Wells, called into question – the consolidation of history as progress. A consequent hierarchization of human experiences, from the mid-nineteenth century on, informed the juxtaposition of spatially and temporally distant civilizations in complex cultural artifacts such as international exhibitions and fairs.

Tapping into the same cultural background, futuristic fictions interpreted the increasingly central role that science and technology had in shaping everyday life, and, on a different scale, power relations through the globe. Literary and visual cultural products to be found in popular magazines and illustrated book collections, such as Robida's works, shared the thematization of the future and the imaginative use of techno-science as wonder that characterised international expos especially from the 1880s on.

Satirizing the present, extrapolating possible consequences from coeval inventions and trends, offering a device to produce awe – or horror – in its readers, and putting techno-science at center stage in its narrative invention, Robida's tomorrow is today all the more fascinating as it epitomizes a phase in the cultural history of the future in which the deep structures that informed the conceptualization of historical time underpinned new forms of mass cultural consumption. In so doing, Robida's imagination shows at work the genre's distinct treatment of causal mechanisms in time: "These projections … playfully represent the colonization of the future by the present, through the forceful extension of contemporary trends, and, at the same time, the returning feedback-colonization of the present by the future, the reified anticipations, anxieties, and projects of our technoscientific problem-solving."[109]

[109] ISTVAN CSICSERY-RONAY, JR., *The Seven Beauties of Science Fiction* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), 91.

Between the seventeenth and the early nineteenth century, future-conflicts scenarios were used to argue political options and to reflect on a secularized history, in which society might be shaped by human action. These works are precedent to the codification of future wars as a speculative fiction subgenre with a recognizable set of conventions, appealing to a specific horizon of expectations. Technology as means of world interconnectedness as well as spectacle and source of wonder, anxieties fueled by tensions between European powers and by the emergence of non-Western actors provided fertile ground to the fortunes of future-war narratives during the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Imagined conflicts to come put into focus the critical relations between technology and globalization and between technology and power relations that characterized a mature phase of European imperialistic expansion.

In *La guerre infernale*'s representation of future warfare and its effect on society, an imagination that extrapolates from the compression of a global space-time through technology is at work, drawing on exhibitionary mechanisms made popular by those international expos with which Albert Robida was familiar, such as Paris 1981, 1989, and 1900. Robida's case illustrates how shared mechanism between fiction and expos might be interpreted in light of an isomorphism derived from the existence of a common matrix – a shared set of roots in the same cultural-historical context – as well as of a complex set of mutual influences, including the adoption of the same science-fictional mechanisms by the creative agencies involved.

Like other future-war narratives, *La guerre* projected fears of a techno-scientific driven modernity applied to armed conflicts. After 1918, war experienced in the heart of Europe will favour the pessimistic shift represented by *L'Ingénieur Von Satanas*. Yet, already before 1915, many recent experiences outside the European space (from Southern Africa with the Anglo-Zulu and Anglo-Boer Wars, to Manchuria with the Russo-Japanese War, from French Indochina with the Franco-Siamese War to China with the Boxer rebellion) gave an immediate evidence to fears that took centre stage in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century European mass media. Giffard and Robida's feuilleton, with its serialized formula, exploitation of sensational plot elements, and ability to tap into widespread anxieties, was again an excellent example of that in many ways.

Acknowledgments

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Fig. 4. French military *aérocars*, each manned by a pilot and soldier firing a machine gun. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Èdition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 2, *Les armées de l'air*, cover.

Fig. 5. The American scientist Erickson shows to the protagonist his electro-magnetic station. Employing one hundred engineers and three hundred electricians, the station powers Erickson's inventions, capable of electrocuting thousands of men by transmitting electricity through the ground, and freezing the water on the surface of vast bodies of water, Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 16, *La mer qui gèle*, 497.

Fig. 6. A women's battalion in the North American army. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 13, *La cohue des fous*, 415, reference to text 412. Courtesy of Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste.

Fig. 7. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 12, *Perdus dans l'Atlantique*, 362, reference to text 362. Courtesy of Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste.

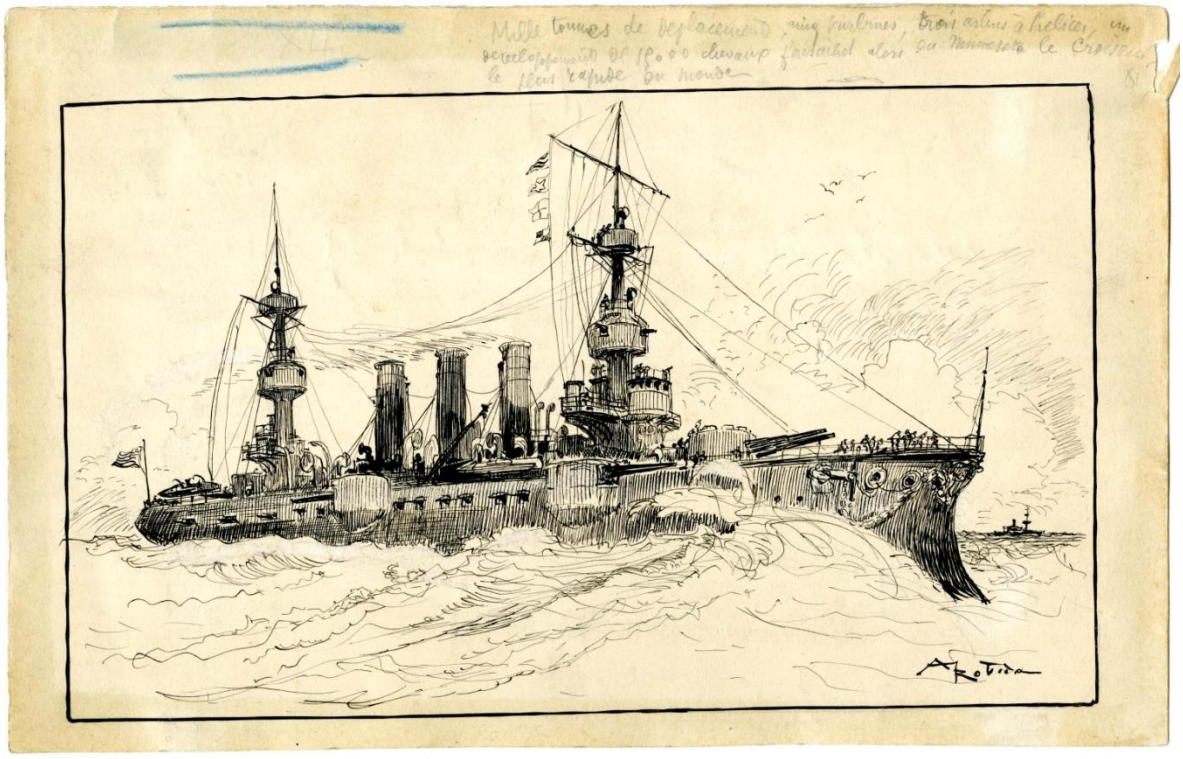

Fig. 8. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 12, *Perdus dans l'Atlantique*, 380, reference to text 382. Courtesy of Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste.

Fig. 9. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 28, *Les Chinois a Moscou!*, 885, reference to text on page 882. Courtesy of Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste.

Fig. 10. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 28, *Les Chinois a Moscou!*, 895, reference to text on page 592. Courtesy of Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste.

Fig. 11. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 29, *Dans l'Avenue des supplices*, 898, reference to text on page 899. Courtesy of Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste.

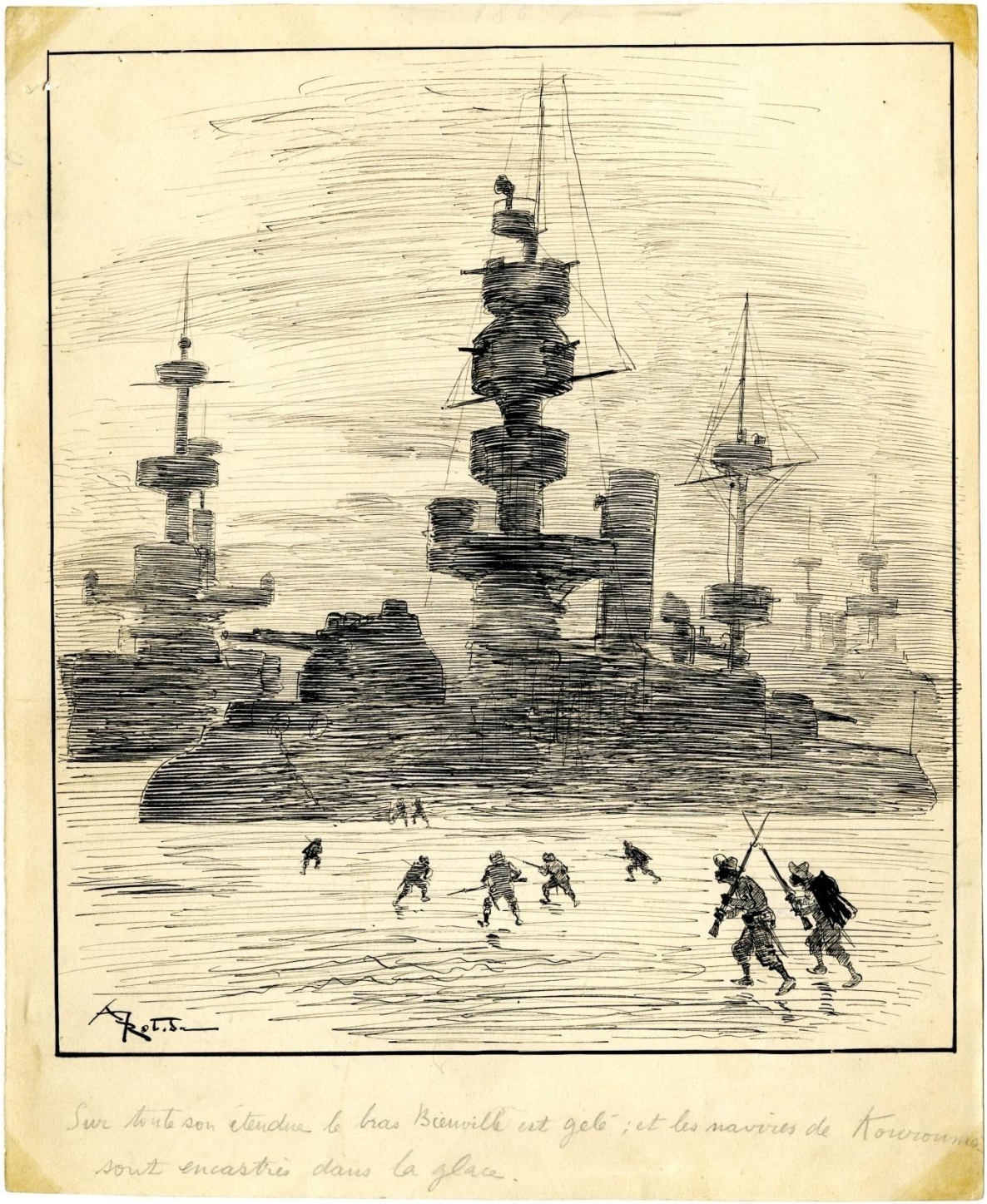

Fig. 12. Albert Robida, illustration for *La guerre infernale* by Pierre Giffard (Paris: Édition Méricant, 1908), published in instalment 16, *La mer qui gèle*, 507, reference to text on page 512. Courtesy of Civico Museo di guerra per la pace "Diego de Henriquez" of the City of Trieste.

An Interview with Steven Nadler

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Steven Nadler (Columbia, Ph.D. 1986) is William H. Hay II Professor & Evjue-Bascom Professor in Humanities at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He has also been a visiting professor at Stanford University, the University of Chicago, the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (Paris), the École Normale Supérieure (Paris), and the University of Amsterdam (where he was the holder of the Spinoza Chair in 2007). Most of his research has been devoted to the study of philosophy in the seventeenth century, including Descartes and Cartesianism, Spinoza, and Leibniz. He has also examined antecedents of early modern thought in medieval Latin philosophy and (especially with respect to Spinoza) medieval Jewish philosophy, and has written on medieval Jewish rationalism (especially Saadya ben Joseph, Maimonides, and Gersonides). His publications include *Spinoza: A Life* (Cambridge, 1999; second edition, 2018); *The Best of All Possible Worlds: A Story of Philosophers, God, and Evil* (Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 2008; paperback, Princeton 2010); *The Cambridge History of Jewish Philosophy: From Antiquity through the Seventeenth Century* (2009), co-edited with Tamar Rudavsky; *A Book Forged in Hell: Spinoza's Scandalous Treatise and the Birth of the Secular Age* (Princeton, 2011) and *The Philosopher, the Priest, and the Painter: A Portrait of Descartes* (Princeton, 2013). *Heretics: The Wondrous (and Dangerous) Beginnings of Modern Philosophy* (Princeton University Press), a graphic book (with Ben Nadler), was published in 2017. His most recent books are *Menasseh ben Israel: Rabbi of Amsterdam* ("Jewish Lives", Yale, 2018) and, as co-editor, *The Oxford Handbook to Descartes and Cartesianism*.

Can you tell us something about your personal history, education, influences, and encounters that have oriented your intellectual trajectory?

I am from New York originally, and went to college at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, where I majored in philosophy. I was fortunate to study there with Richard Popkin and Richard Watson, leading scholars of early modern philosophy who inspired my interest in the history of philosophy. From them I learned what really good scholarship looks like: how to respect sources (in their original languages), how to bring philosophical analysis and assessment to bear on historical texts, and especially the importance of studying the historical, philosophical, political, scientific and religious contexts of philosophy in the period. Then, in graduate school at Columbia University, in New York, I wrote a dissertation on the Jansenist theologian and Cartesian philosopher Antoine Arnauld, which became my first book. I remain very interested in a number of topics in Descartes and Cartesian philosophy and its legacy: What role do ideas in the mind play in human knowledge? How do early modern philosophers, some of whom were quite religious (even priests) achieve coherence between their theological commitments and their philosophical views? For

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example, how did Cartesian philosophers who were Catholics hope to explain Eucharistic transubstantiation in light of Descartes's metaphysics of body? I became especially interested in the theory of occasionalism, a theory of causation motivated in part by Descartes's metaphysics and physics according to which God is the only genuine causal agent in the universe. The motions of bodies and thoughts in the mind are only "occasions" for God to bring about some other motion in a body or mental event.

My interest in Spinoza came only later after I had published rather technical and specialized work on Cartesians such as Arnauld, Nicolas Malebranche, Arnauld Geulincx and others. At this point in my life I wanted to work more closely on the Jewish tradition, something that – because I am Jewish – would be a bit more meaningful from a personal and familial perspective, and would allow me to spend more time studying Jewish texts and history. I also wanted write something more accessible to a general audience, something that would be read by more than just fellow specialists. But I also wanted to continue working on seventeenth-century philosophy. And then there is my interest in Golden Age Dutch culture. When I noticed that a full-length, up-to-date biography of Spinoza, who was born in Amsterdam and spent his entire life in the Netherlands, was sorely needed, I thought it was a perfect project: it combined seventeenth-century philosophy, a Jewish angle, and a Golden Age Dutch topic, and as a biography it would get read by a relatively broad audience – maybe not a blockbuster, but a significant non-academic readership, especially in the Jewish world. It has been translated into twelve languages, which really pleases me.

How did you meet Spinoza?

Primarily by "fishing" around for a new project beyond my work on Cartesian philosophy in the seventeenth century. I started reading Spinoza's *Ethics* more closely than I had before, then the *Theological-Political Treatise*. At the same time, I began doing research on the history of the Jews in the Dutch Republic, which was a story I become totally fascinated with. It all seemed to merge quite nicely: Spinoza, his family, the history of the Portuguese-Jewish community in Amsterdam, his "excommunication", his radical ideas, his circle of acquaintances, the religious and political context of the Dutch Republic, etc... I usually don't start writing until I have a very strong sense of the narrative in mind. In the case of Spinoza, the challenge was to build a compelling story despite the very few extant documentary facts about Spinoza's life, especially his early years in the Portuguese-Jewish community. This meant, with respect to his youth, creating him as a kind of silhouette within the historical facts available, "building around him", so to speak, so that his figure somehow emerges. It was a real literary challenge, if I may say so. And once you get Spinoza in your blood, you are hooked. There is so much to study in Spinoza's few works, so many things you think you understand until you read them again, and you

realize you have even more questions than when you started. I find Spinoza to be more difficult every time I read him – more and more things perplex me, and I want, *I need* to figure them out. It is very easy to get obsessed with Spinoza, and much of my scholarship subsequent to the biography has been related, more or less directly, to that first project on him.

You did work a lot on the place of medieval Jewish philosophy in modern philosophy: what, if any, was the role of Renaissance philosophy as a mediator between the two? I am thinking, for instance, of the importance of Jewish kabbalistic and philosophical thought for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, among others.

I think that the role that Renaissance philosophy played in the rise of modern philosophy is still under-studied, and a lot of work remains to be done. For some reason, the Renaissance tends generally to get passed over in Anglo-American philosophical scholarship (and I am no less to blame here than others). There are those who work on medieval philosophy, and those who work on early modern philosophy, but somehow the Renaissance – especially from the late fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries – gets a lot less attention than it deserves. (When I was at Columbia in graduate school, Paul Oskar Kristeller, a giant in the field of Renaissance philosophy, had recently retired, so I never had the opportunity to study with him.) My own focus has been on medieval Jewish philosophy's relationship to Spinoza's philosophy in particular, especially Maimonides and Gersonides, and to show how Spinoza's views on a variety of topics – divine providence, virtue and happiness, immortality – cannot really be understood in isolation from medieval Jewish rationalism, and is in fact a kind of logical and natural, if extreme, extension of that tradition.

Your biograhpy of Spinoza is a great example of narrative talent and concern for philological detail: what were your models of biographical writing?

I love reading biographies – of intellectuals, artists, and simply people who have led interesting and consequential lives. I think Ray Monk's biography of Wittgenstein is a model for writing a biography of a philosopher, in terms of getting the right balance between life and ideas. So is Annie Cohen-Solal's biography of Jean-Paul Sartre. The ideal is to present the basic ideas without going into too much detail on the argumentation behind them (except where necessary), lest you lose the attention of the general reader, and then to situate those ideas in a very concrete life. You have to have an engaging and entertaining story to tell. But, at the same time, when someone picks up a biography of a philosopher they presumably want to learn something about his/her ideas – especially with Spinoza. Most lay people have heard something, more or less, about Spinoza, his life and ideas, and thus are curious about his views on particular topics like God, free will, happiness, miracles, the Bible, and so on. Thus, a biography of Spinoza has to address this curiosity and cannot be too superficial with

the philosophy. What I tried to do with Spinoza is give an extended but relatively accessible overview of the main themes of his thought and the reasons that motivated him, probably more than you would find in a typical biography of an intellectual. But I would not call my biography of Spinoza an "intellectual biography". The subtitle is "A Life", and that's what the focus is on.

As a historian of philosophy, what are your favorite historians tout court?

If you mean "historians of philosophy", then I would have to say I greatly admire the work of Popkin, Watson, and, more recently, Daniel Garber, Catherine Wilson, Susan James, Edwin Curley and others who have very much changed the way we do history of early modern philosophy in the Anglo-American world, in a sense bringing it closer to what European scholars have long done. While remaining interested in the analysis of theses and arguments, they have also shown us how these and other aspects of a philosopher's works can be illuminated by also studying the social, historical, political, and religious contexts. They have also taken the lead in expanding the "canon" to include so-called "minor" figures (e.g. Arnauld, Malebranche. Simon Foucher, Anne Conway, Elisabeth of Bohemia). These scholars have also shown us the importance of an ecumenical approach to what counts as "philosophy". Popkin demonstrated how much doing history of philosophy involves a good deal of detective work and digging in obscure literature to illuminate the contexts of philosophy. Garber's and Wilson's work, among others, reminds us that in the early modern period, there was no real distinction between philosophy and "science"; the latter was just "natural philosophy". And so, for example, Descartes's epistemology and Leibniz's metaphysics cannot be really understood apart from their projects in physics. I am also an admirer of – and indebted to – the great French historians of early modern philosophy: Henri Gouhier, Martial Gueroult, André Robinet, Genevieve Rodis-Lewis, and Etienne Gilson. This tradition still exists among scholars like Denis Kambouchner, Jean-Robert Armogathe, Denis Moreau, and others. As for historians generally, I enjoy and am always inspired by the work of Peter Brown, Anthony Grafton, Lisa Jardine, and Simon Schama, as well as biographies by Jenny Uglow, Claire Tomalin and David McCullough, not to mention autobiographies and memoirs. I enjoy immersing myself in the life and times of a fascinating character, whether that person is famous (John Adams, T. E. Lawrence, Iris Murdoch, Charlie Chaplin) or not-so-famous (Agnes Smedley, Anthony Blunt; and I recently enjoyed reading the memoir of the Japanese scholar Donald Keene.)

What is your view on the relationship between philosophy and history of philosophy in the present days? Are analytic philosophy and history incompatible?

They are absolutely compatible. In fact, one of the questions I always resent being

asked is: "Besides doing history of philosophy, do you also do philosophy?" I think that doing history of philosophy *is* doing philosophy. You are interested not only in the grand ideas per se, but also in the very detailed theses and arguments behind those ideas, and assessing the theses as true or false and the arguments as valid or invalid, sound or unsound. Philosophy is a dialogic enterprise, and historians of philosophy are philosophers who just happen to be in philosophical dialogue with thinkers long dead. There is a difference between doing history of philosophy and doing intellectual history, in my views. While the intellectual historian is primarily interested in explaining the ideas and perhaps the lives and times behind them, as well as the transmission, ancestry, and legacy of the ideas, such historians are typically not interested in asking what is "true", or whether an argument is a good one, or what a thinker could have, should have or would have said in response to this or that objection. The historian of philosophy, on the other hand, is a philosopher. Thus, not only is s/he interested in knowing who said what, but s/he cannot avoid asking just those questions about truth, validity and soundness that are central to philosophy. The historian of philosophy wants to know: Did this philosopher get it right? Does she offer good arguments for her position?

Your readers invariably acknowledge your narrative talent even when it comes to hard philosophical issues. Have you ever thought about becoming a novelist? More broadly, what is your view about fiction and non-fiction literature?

I am convinced that writing fiction is a totally different skill set from writing narrative non-fiction. The creation of characters with personalities and dimensions, the convincing construction of dialogue, all of this requires a real talent. I did try, at one point, to start a novel about Spinoza, but I quickly realized that it was no good; it read like a scholar trying to write a novel. That said, I do believe that some of the skills that serve a novelist are useful for non-fiction: knowing how to tell a good story, how to move things along so that the pacing keeps the reader engaged, and structuring things – especially when it comes to explaining philosophical ideas – in a way that is accessible but not condescending and simplistic. Both the novelist and the scholar need to keep their audience in mind: who are they writing for, how are they going to maintain their attention, etc. In short, really good non-fiction, especially a biography, should read like a novel.

The attention paid to the audience is in itself a political choice, isn't it? With regard to this, Spinoza always seems to be a case in point. You were part of the advisory committee that should advise the Amsterdam rabbi in order to lift the 1656 ban issued by the community against Spinoza. Whereas you have already explained that there were no good historical or legal reasons for lifting the ban (which was also the rabbi's view), I was wondering whether you ever reflected upon the place of Spinoza in contemporary society and especially in the media. I am asking this because you probably know that the most important satyrical

blog in Italy is indeed called "Spinoza", which hints at his still remarkable fame as a critical thinker from a political point of view.

It is quite remarkable how Spinoza has seeped into popular culture: novels, theatrical drama, films, the visual arts, even opera and rock bands -- and, as you say, a blog. We even have "Spinoza Bagels" in the United States. Something about his life and ideas have struck a chord among a lay audience that really is quite singular; you don't find a lot of people outside academia being so taken with Aristotle, Descartes, Locke or Hume, for example. There is something about Spinoza that appeals to the popular imagination. Part of it, I think, is the opacity and complexity of his ideas, which make them somewhat mysterious and enticing. But there is also, I think, the radicalness of his philosophy -- Spinoza was way ahead of his time, really the first truly modern thinker, which makes him a kind of avant-garde rebel, and everyone loves a rebel, especially one who was attacked as a heretic by his contemporaries. Then there is the mystery of his life, since we really have so little concrete information, especially about his early years and the *herem* he received from the Amsterdam Portuguese-Jewish community as a young man. All of this makes him somewhat fascinating. Perhaps above all, Spinoza's popularity derives from his continued relevance. There are not many Cartesians or Leibnizians around today; in fact, it may not even make sense to say that you are a Cartesian or Leibnizian. However, it is perfectly reasonable to say, today, that one is a Spinozist. In my view, Spinoza got it all right, and to the extent that we believe in a secular, democratic, liberal and tolerant society, and reject the superstitions that characterize some religions, we are the heirs of Spinoza.

Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics

Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche eds
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Between the late 10th and early 16th centuries, for more than half a millennium Egypt's metropolis of Cairo was a central node in the many networks that tied together people, objects and thoughts across the medieval Afro-Eurasian world. These regular flows of men, commodities and words that were meeting in Cairo intensified in particular in the thirteenth century. At that time, unprecedented Mongol campaigning from Inner Asia transformed not only Egypt into a bulwark of Muslim leadership, but also the entire Eurasian landmass into a world that was more intensely connected than ever before. In subsequent centuries, state formation, commerce and religion continued to provide for all kinds of impulses to maintain both these connections and Cairo's centrality. Cairo's Citadel of the Mountain was one of those rare medieval places where one could meet envoys of the rulers of France in Europe, Borno in West-Africa or Malwa in central India and see them impressed by the sultan's Chinese porcelain. Between the worlds of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, all kinds of goods, resources and ideas changed hands and heads on Cairo's many markets and in its numerous religious infrastructures. For three centuries the Syro-Egyptian Sultanate of Cairo provided an occasionally heavily contested framework of local and regional power, order and sovereignty for these Afro-Eurasian exchanges, impressions, meetings and flows. Only in the early sixteenth century, upon the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516 and 1517, a different, Ottoman framework took precedent, and the priority of Cairo's centrality was definitely lost to the Ottoman sultan's court and metropolis in Constantinople.

In September 2012, Frédéric Bauden and Malika Dekkiche, both at that time related to the university of Liège (Belgium), organized a major conference dedicated to understanding this trans-regional positionality of late medieval Cairo. The conference explored this especially from the perspective of state formation, leadership interaction and political communication, and invited a whole host of different specialists to consider the relationships that connected the court in Cairo to all kinds of other courts and leaderships in Europe, Asia and Africa. Bauden and Dekkiche have

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subsequently turned to the daunting task of bringing together many contributions to this conference in a single and coherent volume. For this they employed the double thematic rubric of 'Mamluk' diplomatics – the study of documents of political communication involving the sultan's court in Cairo – and 'Mamluk' diplomacy, or diplomatic history —the study of practices and discourses of political communication and exchange at and with the sultan's court in Cairo. The result is this gigantic volume, entitled *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies. Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics*. True to this title the volume demonstrates in impressive and rich detail how the sultan's court in Cairo was actively related, through highly formalized personal and written negotiations of mutual interests, to a world that stretched from China through Sub-Saharan Africa and the Pontic-Caspian Steppe to Northwestern Europe. It also shows how current understandings of the making, changing and results of those relationships remain in many cases uneven, for reasons of scant sources, limited scholarship, or both. Last but not least, *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies* presents itself successfully as a solid new touchstone that can reinvigorate these types of studies and enable them to move forward and tackle that unevenness. It takes comprehensive stock of how the wide-ranging field of pre-modern diplomatic history research has considered trans-regional relationships involving the Sultanate's court in Cairo, identifying the available source material and its multivalent interpretations and demonstrating the variety of mostly descriptive voices with which scholars continue to speak. At the same time, *Mamluk Cairo* invites to bridge this occasionally discordant diversity of sources, interpretations and voices by at least invoking the analytical benefits that may be won from 'connected history' approaches as well as from a turn to 'new diplomatic history' and its more critical social and cultural concerns.

The entire volume consists of no less than 28 chapters, 26 of which are organized in seven distinct parts. Five parts consist of a combination of survey chapters and case studies of how Cairo was related with five particular politico-geographical spaces that were identified and organised as such distinct entities in Cairo's chancery practice (Mongol dynasts and their West-Asian successors; Turko-Mongol and Turkmen rulers in West-Asia; Muslim dynasties in North-Africa and on the Iberian Peninsula; monarchs and leaderships in Arabia, India and Africa; kings, lords and communities in the Latin West). The first part takes an entirely Cairo-centric perspective and engages with diplomatic practices and conventions at the Sultanate's court, and with their meanings. The final, seventh part consists of cases that involve the material dimensions of political communication and circulation. A short preface and two long introductory chapters precede these seven parts. Whereas the preface explains the volume's making, rationale and structure, the two chapters present in painstaking detail the current state of research on, first, diplomatics (by Bauden) and, secondly, diplomatic history (by Dekkiche). Combined they act as a referential framework for both the volume's subsequent parts and for the field more in general. A long list of figures and tables illustrate the different chapters and their arguments. A

detailed index (843-881) allows for the volume to be used as a highly beneficial work of reference.

In chapter 1 Frédéric Bauden presents a complete survey of the rather limited and specific extant documents (30 originals and 100 translations; most in Barcelona, Florence and Venice; mostly letters, decrees, safe-conducts and lists of gifts) as well as of the alternative sources (chancery manuals, formularies and letter collections) that are available for the study of diplomatic contacts involving Cairo. He furthermore takes stock of Mamluk diplomatic research, points out the relatively meagre state of its understanding of typologies of documents, their formal features and their genesis and handling, and identifies the work that still needs to be done – and redone – before any genuine manual of Mamluk diplomatics can be made. A most useful appendix with a pioneering 'survey of documents (originals and/or copies) related to the diplomatic relations by and with the Mamluk Sultanate and preserved in archival repositories' (66-85) closes this chapter. In the second chapter Malika Dekkiche considers the study of political communication from and with the Sultanate's court in Cairo within the wider research contexts of diplomatic history and premodern Islamic history. She furthermore surveys scholarship on the contacts with different Afro-Eurasian powers, and draws attention to increased interest in material dimensions of these contacts. Dekkiche demonstrates above all how a traditional diplomatic approach, with its textual focus on authentic documents and a single-minded interest in issues of war and commerce, is opening up to a complex variety of much richer and historiographically more rewarding topics, from claims to legitimacy and sovereignty to a multiplicity of diplomatic actors and occasions.

The three contributions to the volume's part 1, 'Diplomatic Conventions', give insight into this widening understanding of the complexity as well as richness of the relations between historical leaderships. Dekkiche's chapter stresses that chancery scribes' creative engaging with formal rules of letter writing to various rulers represented performative acts that imagined the world politically. Reinfandt's "Strong letters at the Mamluk court" continues this line of argument, demonstrating how also letters between the court in Cairo and its own agents and representatives performed claims to hierarchy, order and sovereignty. Frenkel's "Embassies and ambassadors in Mamluk Cairo" complements these two chapters with a description of ceremonial receptions and gift giving in diplomatic contexts, as other sets of practices that equally performed the court's sovereignty, hierarchy, organization and imagination of the world.

Part 2, 'The Mongols and their successors', consists of five contributions. Anne Broadbridge looks more closely at envoys from Cairo, concluding that mostly military men of lower status only were sent to Ilkhanid Tabriz and that theirs was a very difficult and onerous job. Marie Favereau's chapter reconstructs in the fullest of details the realities, strategies and ambitions involved in the first years of exchanges and

alliances between the leaderships of the Sultanate and of the Golden Horde on the Pontic-Caspian steppe. Reuven Amitai considers what may be said about different intentions informing the correspondence between the Sultanate's and the Ilkhanate's leaderships between 1260 and 1301. Hend Gilli-Elewy presents a local perspective on these relationships between Cairo and Tabriz, as seen from the perspective of Baghdad's transforming connections to both in the later 13th and 14th centuries. Patrick Wing finally takes account of a post-Ilkhanid Jalayirid ruler's three very different visits to Syria, and how that informs about the changing nature of claims to sultanic sovereignty in Cairo. Part 3, 'The Timurids, the Turkmens, and the Ottomans', consists of three contributions that all focus on 15th century Turko-Mongol and Turkmen successors of Mongol and post-Mongol rulers in West-Asia. Michele Bernardini retells the story of Timur's (r. 1370-1405) Syrian campaign of conquest, as reported in contemporary Persian sources. Frédéric Bauden reconstructs and interprets a chancery document that was re-used as scrap paper by the Cairo historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) but began its life in 1415 as a letter from the QaraQoyunlu Turkmen chancery to the sultan in Cairo. In chapter 13 Kristof D'hulster identifies the adjustment of rules of letter-writing to the changing relations between the sultans of Cairo and of Constantinople in the 1460s; echoing Dekkiche and Reinfandt in chapters three and four as well as more in general John Wansbrough's seminal study *Lingua franca in the Mediterranean* (1996), D'hulster considers this adjustment a function of the performative interplay between, on the one hand, the claims to sovereignty, hierarchy and political order that these rules represent and, on the other hand, the shifting balances in the endless negotiation of mutual interests between leaderships.

The three chapters that make up this volume's part 4, 'the Western Islamic lands', include two general introductory appreciations of diplomatic practices and relationships in Nasrid Granada and Hafsid Ifriqiya by Barbara Boloix Gallardo and Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi respectively; both chapters offer more insight into the changing relationships with Cairo between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries in particular, concluding that interaction remained a one way Granada-to-Cairo affair only in the former Nasrid context and changed from inimical to friendly in the latter Hafsid context. An example of this more constructive Hafsid connection is presented in chapter 16 by Lotfi Ben Miled, who tries to reconstruct in some detail Hafsid mediation between the Ottoman sultan and his counterpart in Cairo in the late 1480s and early 1490s. Part 5, 'Arabia, India, and Africa' groups together a diverse set of five chapters. Eric Vallet's "Diplomatic Networks of Rasulid Yemen in Egypt" offers – against a general background of introducing Qalawunid-Rasulid relations – an important and thought-provoking reconsideration of the nature of Rasulid missions to Cairo, as part of more deeply entangled and more permanent networks of local and regional interaction and involving many more actors than just sultans and their agents. John Meloy considers an exchange of letters between Cairo and the Malwa sultanate in India in the mid-15th century related to events that had unfolded in Mecca in the

Arabian Hijaz. In the jointly authored chapter 19, Stephan Conermann and Anna Kollatz survey the relations between the courts of Cairo and of Delhi and Ahmadabad, explaining how the latter two's search for some form of legitimacy from the former should (not) be interpreted. The final two chapters of this part shift the focus to the political landscapes of Africa, where the even sparser than general survival of relevant source material complicates any comprehensive understandings of diplomatic relations. This is the case for the Christian ruler of Ethiopian Abyssinia, introduced in the fullest possible detail by Julien Loiseau, as well as for the Borno sultanate in the North of present-day Nigeria, appearing, as Rémi Dewière argues, from a sole surviving letter from 1391 to be fully integrated into the Arabo-Muslim epistolographic and political universe.

Part 6 is composed of five chapters that turn the attention to the regions for which most authentic documentary materials have survived, the Latin West, represented here especially by the mercantile communities of Florence and Venice and the dynastic politics of Portugal and Cyprus. Pierre Moukarzel first presents a generalizing descriptive overview of diplomatic missions and political communication between European powers and the Sultanate. Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros zooms in on the contexts and meanings of the only letter and diplomatic mission from Portugal to Egypt, in 1454; she understands this mission from the Muslim community of Lisbon to the sultan in Cairo especially from the very peculiar perspective of the politics of Catholic kingship on the Iberian Peninsula. Nicholas Coureas surveys the exchanges of envoys and missions between Lusignan rulers of Cyprus and Cairo sultans, from the latter's submission of the former in 1426 onwards and shifting from negotiations over tribute payments to settlements of disputes regarding succession to the Lusignan throne. Gladys Frantz-Murphy uses the identification of a document as a draft commercial decree between Venice and the last sultan of Cairo to demonstrate that such commercial decrees had always been the highly variable outcomes of very context-specific negotiations of commercial stipulations and conditions. In this part's last chapter Alessandro Rizzo offers a new dating and interpretation of three letters from the late 1490s, as informing about particular changes in the commercial relations between Florence and Cairo as well as in leadership arrangements in both political centres. The two chapters in this volume's final part, 'Material Culture', present extant samples of metal pen-boxes (by Ludvik Kalus) and China ware (by Valentina Vezzoli) from, especially, 14th century Egypt. In both cases, these objects appear as physical remains and direct witnesses of practices of letter writing, gift giving and court ceremonial, and thus of late medieval Cairo's centrality as a crossroads for embassies and a meeting place for people, ideas and objects from the Afro-Eurasian world.

These many contributions to *Mamluk Cairo* demonstrate the great richness and diversity both of that late medieval world and of how a wide range of actors in Cairo and elsewhere tried to carve out their own spaces within it. As Dekkiche in the second chapter concluded for both the field in general and this volume in particular,

scholarship deals increasingly with «the role of diplomacy in the process of establishing a state's legitimacy», «recent research also shows a greater plurality of actors involved in diplomacy and diplomatic contacts […][as well as] the great multiplicity of occasions that could generate contact between courts», and «non-verbal communication, and the subliminal messages they contained, is now increasingly being studied» (159-160). Obviously not all 28 contributions have been equally successful in making this turn to a new diplomatic history that is open to considerations of multi-causality, interpretive fuzziness and processes of negotiation of multiple interest, instead of more traditional top-down and civilizational explanations. At the same time, certain questions and widespread assumptions certainly also remain open for further debate. These include some of my personal hobbyhorses, such as what shared historical qualification 'Mamluk' actually refers to, or at least what is 'Mamluk' about a long range of different sultans and their courts in the urban center of Cairo that were never identified as such in any of the documents and other sources used in this volume, especially considering the explanation (105, fn. 5) that the term refers here to «all members of the military and civilian elites that served the interests of the sultan […] [and] is used as opposed to the term of '*mamlūk*' that refers to military slaves» (a subtle negative qualification that does not necessarily return in contributors' use of the term throughout the volume). Another issue for further debate concerns the typical naivety with which many of the volume's authors tend to take for granted historical descriptions and explanations in the many narrative sources of the period, while at the same time adopting increasingly critical attitudes in readings and interpretations of rare surviving documents. Evidently, there is no reason to not also consider the former narrative sources as 'strong' texts, negotiations between genre-specific conventions and shifting socio-cultural realities, and prescriptive as much as descriptive world-making projects that were devised by a plurality of actors. As Bauden and Dekkiche make very clear, however, these are not this volume's main concerns and claims, and perhaps rightly so. It rather represents a first of its kind gathering point to open and further debates, discussions and research along these and many other avenues of the late medieval Sultanate's post-positivist scholarship and, especially, its 'new diplomatic history'. All one can conclude is that *Mamluk Cairo* has certainly been successful at that, and that it will deservedly become the first point of calling for anyone interested in 'Mamluk' diplomacy and diplomatics.

Towards a Revival of Analytical Philosophy of History: Around Paul A. Roth's Vision of Historical Sciences

Krzysztof Brzechczyn ed.
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Paul A. Roth is one of the most authoritative figures in current philosophical debates about historiography.[1] The contributions that make up the volume under review discuss his work from a plurality of perspectives. In particular, two main issues are the centre of focus. The first is the scope and purport of the philosophy of history; the second is the explanatory function of historical narratives.

The collection of essays originates from a symposium on "Naturalizing the Humanities. A View from the Analytical Philosophy of History," which took place in Poznań in 2015. After a short introduction, the book begins with Roth's keynote address from the Poznań meeting, entitled "Reviving Philosophy of History." Twelve contributions follow, which can be diveded into three groups. The first group (Herman Paul, Piotr Kowalewski, Chris Lorenz, Jouni-Matti Kuukkanen) locate Roth's work within the discipline to which it belongs, namely the philosophy of history. The second group (Serge Grigoriev, Eugen Zeleňák, Stephen Turner, Krzysztof Brzechczyn) discuss some of his most significative theses. Finally, the third group (Rafał Paweł Wierzchosławski, Géza Kállay, Nancy D. Campbell and Laura Stark, Dawid Rogacz) bring these theses to bear on new fields of inquiries. Roth's "Comments and Replies" close the volume.

Krzysztof Brzechczyn's "Introduction" begins by recalling the recent growth of interest in the philosophy of history, as witnessed by the current blossoming of journals, research centres and discussion fora worldwide. However, the very title of the book reminds us that this is not the whole story. One of the theses put forth by Paul Roth is, indeed, that the tradition he calls "analytical philosophy of history" is not taking part in this upsurge of interest and, thus, needs to be "revived."

As becomes clear when reading the first group of papers, however, the very meaning of 'analytical philosophy of history' is open to debate. While there is an obvious connection to analytical philosophy at large, its precise definition is quite hard

[1] His last book is *The Philosophical Structure of Historical Explanation* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2020).

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to pin down. In general terms, one may take the 'analytical' approach to the philosophy of history to stand for an investigation centred on the epistemological problem of explanation and on an analysis of historiographic language, rather than on the detection of general patterns of historical development. In this sense, it dates back to logical positivism, and in particular to Carl G. Hempel's epoch-making paper from 1942, "The Function of General Laws in History." However, the phrase only became fully established two decades later, when Arthur Danto published his *Analytical Philosophy of History* (1965). This introduces an interesting ambiguity, because Danto's book – like the almost contemporary work of Thomas Kuhn – was aimed at casting doubt on precisely the kind of ahistorical, deductive-nomothetical model of explanation that resulted from Hempel's work. It was only after the reception of Danto started to fade that a real "decline" (Herman Paul) of the analytical philosophy of history began. This decline proceeded in parallel with the rise of narrativist positions, such as Hayden White's. The latter emphasised the role of historical narrative without paying equal attention to the problem of explanation.

The work of Paul A. Roth is best understood as coming out of this background. Roth wishes to reconcile the analytical interest in explanation with some narrativist insights, by asking in what sense a historical narrative may fulfil irreducibly explanatory functions. To do so, he retains a willingness to look at historiography as cognate with the natural sciences, but is very careful not to underestimate its specificities.

In particular, Roth places much emphasis on one specific idea of Arthur Danto's, later expanded upon by Louis Mink: the concept of *narrative sentences*.[2] These sentences describe an event of the past in terms of information that could not have been accessible at the time that event took place. For instance, the statement «'The Thirty Years War began in 1618' […] is true of 1618, but not knowable in 1618» (14). Roth claims that the kind of explanation produced by historical narratives can only be understood once this specific feature of narrative sentences is fully taken into account.

One major implication of this argument is the following. As time goes by, new historical accounts emerge, which were not foreseeable at a previous time. As a consequence, there cannot be any ultimate standard description of historical events. In other words, one should break with the dream of a "Universal Chronicle," or with the hope of reaching full consensus among historians, and be content with the idea that there will always be a plurality of equally valid historical accounts. This pluralistic insight is expanded upon by many contributors to the volume. Wierzchosławski, for instance, remarks that yet another reason why we cannot hope to reach universal consensus in historiography is the existence of conflicting "extra cognitive interests" of historians (173).

[2] A.C. DANTO, "Narrative Sentences," in *History and Theory* 2, no. 2 (1962): 146–79; later in *Analytical Philosophy of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965): L.O. MINK, *Historical Understanding*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987

Even more importantly, Roth's pluralism results in a decidedly constructivist position. Historical events, like the Thirty Years War of the example above, are not given but *constituted* by historical narratives. That is, historians do not describe, but create the very events that they wish to explain by means of narrative tools. This, to be sure, is not tantamount to saying that historians are free to construct their object of inquiry as they wish. Not all constructions are equally good or acceptable. It is true that some of the book's contributors (most notably Gera Kállay) seize on Roth's philosophy as a means to weaken the distinction between history and fiction. However, it seems to me that Roth's emphasis on the explanatory function of narratives should protect him against such a form of historical scepticism. For to talk about narratives as explanatory means that they are "part of a justification of a claim to know" (13). Hence, it means that we have to grant the existence of normative criteria according to which a given narrative may be accepted or refuted.

However, the reader is left wondering what exactly these normative criteria of acceptability are. Roth's lecture does not say much on this topic. In fact, the lecture closes with an example that only makes the problem more evident, namely the example of the Holocaust. This has been a classical stumbling-block of debates about historiography at least since the important volume edited by Saul Friedländer in 1992.[3] And indeed, it is the best example to make clear that sticking to a robust conception of historical objectivity and rejecting any confusion between history and fiction has not only epistemological but also moral and political motives. Jouni-Matti Kuukkanen puts the matter very clearly, in his reply to Roth: "I take it that a description through a racist theory, for example, would not do (either morally or epistemologically). There must be something that limits acceptability but at the moment we are left in the dark as to what this may be" (88).

Kuukkanen tries to fill this gap by articulating an approach that he has elsewhere called "postnarrativist": although books of history "contain narratives," the *practices* of historians cannot exhaustively be described as the "production of narratives" (82).[4] If this is true, then the assessment of historical objectivity has to focus on the holistic web of *reasons* given by historians to defend their own reconstruction. To go back to Roth's example: the account of the Holocaust given in Hilberg's *The Destruction of European Jews* is closer to the truth than any Holocaust denial because of the better reasons it gives, both at the level of facts and at the level of value.

On a different path, Stephen Turner explores a Weberian solution to the problem of objectivity and truth. Namely, he posits the existence of "sub-units of historical explanation that are true independently of the narrative as a whole." These

[3] S. FRIEDLÄNDER (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). See also Roth's essay, "Hearts of darkness: 'perpetrator history' and why there is no why," *History of the Human Sciences* 17, no. 2/3 (2004): 211–51.
[4] See JOUNI-MATTI KUUKKANEN, *Postnarrativist Philosophy of Historiography* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

sub-units are true because of their ability to depict with probabilistic approximation the causal connections that led to a given event. When these causal connections are absent, narratives become fictional (137). Turner's paper also has the merit of reminding us that large-scale historical events such as "the Holocaust" or the "Great War" are often "constituted by the wider culture, and not a construction of historians" (130). Thus, the constructive operations that Roth deals with are not limited to historiographical activity.

Finally, yet another way to reconcile objectivity and constructivism might be reached by discussing the precise meaning of the word "event," as used by Roth. This is indeed a point where another disagreement with Kuukkanen emerges. Although the two philosophers share similar constructivist assumptions, Kuukkanen remarks that "what is constructed is not an event in the past itself, but in the writing of history" (82). It is probably for this reason that Kuukkanen is more willing than Roth to talk about "concepts" (or "colligatory concepts"), rather than "events," when referring to such complex units of historical explanation as the Holocaust or the Thirty Years War. But what about the less complex, more atomic units of our historical narratives? Kuukkanen observes: "If we consider this meeting here today (in Poznan, 13 October 2015), it is not trivially clear that this is an 'event'." There need to be some specifications that give "a unity and boundaries" to an otherwise unconnected "series of practices" (81-82).

This remark invites a further observation. The kind of constructive operation that historians perform when they talk about large-scale events that "could *not* have been known prospectively" (Roth, 20) is not necessarily equivalent to their identification of smaller-scale events, such as a meeting occurring at a specific time and place. To be sure, to say exactly what this difference consists in is a very difficult task, because in doing so it is easy to relapse into a rather untenable dualism between 'pure facts' versus 'interpretations.' Still, while historians can variously construe those smaller-scale events when they embed them into their narratives, their narratives are in turn powerfully constrained by the need to take those events into account. This point can be defended without denying that our knowledge of historical facts is never direct, but always filtered through interpretation, mediated by sources, and open to corrections.

Some contributors, such as Kuukkanen, Grigoriev and Zeleňák, voice the important advice to reflect on the methodology of history only in connection to an analysis of actual historical practices. In this spirit, I will end by signalling one particularly noteworthy paper from the book's third part: Nancy D. Campbell's and Laura Stark's essay on "Making up 'Vulnerable' People: Human Subjects and the Subjective Experience of Medical Experiment" (reprinted from *Social History of Medicine*). This essay deals with how people who were subject to medical experiments in the past recollect their experiences at a later moment. Dealing in particular with LSD-studies that were conducted in the United States during the 1950s, the authors

argue that the vocabulary of the civil rights movement made retrospectively possible to some of those people – specifically, Afro-American people who had been recruited from inmates – to describe their participation in the trials as a violent act of coercion. The authors use the theories of Roth and Ian Hacking to argue that our retrospective articulation of past experiences can change the experience itself. It is a remarkable insight, which, however, raises some new questions. First, what is the boundary between «experienc[ing] one's own past in a different way» (Hacking, as quoted on p. 229) and putting forth a *new* account of the *same* experience? Second, what changes should be made to Roth's theory when we move from a description of historiographical practice to acts of individual recollection?

The book will be of much interest not only to specialists in the field, but also to philosophers of science who are interested in historiography, as well as to historians interested in methodological discussions.

Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity Rome China Iran and the Steppe ca. 250-750

Nicola Di Cosmo Michael Maas eds
Cambridge Cambridge University Press 2018
[ISBN 9781107094345]

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This is an excellent and innovative volume, one which is likely to open up a brand-new field of research – or, at least, a useful and intense debate – as it introduces the scholarly world to the concept of 'Eurasian Late Antiquity.' In 1971 Peter Brown's *The World of Late Antiquity* had already expanded the geographical limits of this crucial period well beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire;[1] however, as noted by the editors in their articulate *Introduction*, «Late Antiquity, as a historical concept, remains rooted in the Mediterranean» (7). This volume however adopts a very different perspective by considering the Mediterranean as just one part of a much broader picture which extends to the Eurasian continent as a whole: it argues that in the five centuries from roughly 250 to 750 CE the main cultural and political blocks of the Eurasian continental space (namely Rome/Byzantium, the Sasanian empire, China, and the nomadic communities of the Inner Asian steppes) «were subject to forces that brought them closer together» (1), and that the 'granularity' of the period demands an approach which connects local events to large-scale dynamics, in order to understand the momentous transformations which occurred in the half-millennium under scrutiny.

The volume includes twenty-six contributions of very high quality – most of them originally written for the conference "Worlds in Motion: Rome, China and the Eurasian Steppe in Late Antiquity", held in 2013 – divided into three sections and followed by an epilogue by Averil Cameron.

The first section ('Historical Thresholds') includes eight chapters that describe the historical context in which the interchanges among Eurasian communities, between the third and the eighth centuries CE, became stronger than ever before. In their essays, Michael Maas and Nicola Di Cosmo take into consideration the unprecedented pressure from nomadic warriors felt by Byzantium and China

[1] PETER BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity: from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad, AD 150-750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).

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respectively, while Matthew Canepa focuses on Sasanian Iran and on the enormous influence that the representation of a divinely inspired kingship exercised on both the Mediterranean basin and Central Asia. Trade and contacts along the 'Silk Road(s)' are the subject of the following three contributions. Richard Lim stresses that, although exchanges in premodern Eurasia were mostly local, long-distance trade existed even before the foundation of the cosmopolitan empires of the Tang and Abbasid dynasties, and was primarly meant to satisfy the elite demand for luxury goods; in this trade, as Rong Xinjiang reminds us, Sogdian merchants played an absolutely preminent role. But luxury goodswere at the same time 'charismatic' goods: as Peter Brown emphasizes, extremely expensive and rare commodities such as silk carried a symbolic charge which made them tokens of power, comparable, in a sense, to modern «enriched uranium» (100). In her contribution on Sui and Tang China, Valerie Hansen uses the concept of 'Eurasian synthesis' to describe the new style of governance that combined Chinese traditions with Central Asian elements introduced in the fourth century by the Northern Wei. Finally, Giusto Traina argues that even if Romans started to collect more precise information on Central Asia at least from the second century CE, their knowledge of the eastern world remained superficial and continued to be heavily influenced by the traditional view elaborated at the time of Alexander the Great's expedition.

The second section ('Movements, Contacts, and Exchanges') includes nine chapters which concentrate on mobility and interconnections, in their various forms. In his innovative contribution, Patrick Geary shows the possibilities which ancient DNA can offer in the study of barbarian migrations in the West, although genetic approaches provide no definitive solution and cannot be separated from a careful reconstruction of the historical context. Barbarian migrations as a historiographical *leitmotiv* are the subject of Michael Kulikowski's essay. He warns western historians who move to Eurasian history against the risk of applying familiar patterns of historical epistemology to unfamiliar evidence; on the other side of the continent, Luo Xin draws attention to the historiographical dilemma concerning the Northern Dynasties from Inner Asia: while the Chinese perspective, in fact, emphasizes the continuity between the Han and Tang dynasties, the Asian perspective recognizes the ruptures between these two periods. The question whether a relationship existed between the European Huns and the Xiongnu of Chinese sources, is addressed once more by Ursula Brosseder, who denounces the use of archaeological data to 'map' migrations or identify specific ethnic groups as methodologically weak. In this regard, Walter Pohl emphasizes that ethnic identity in the steppe was flexible, being «the result of a series of acts of identification and distinction» (192) rather than of common origin, and besides self-definition it provided external observers with a «cognitive tool» (203) to distinguish and bring some order to the multifarious nomadic world. The main subject of the following three chapters is the transmission of religious and cultural elements: in his contribution, Scott Johnson draws attention to Syriac as a *lingua franca* in the

spread of Christianity from the Middle East to China: the 'Nestorian Monument,' a carved stele with inscriptions in Chinese and Syriac set up in the Tang capital of Xi'an in 781 CE, bears valuable witness to that. But in those centuries Buddhism too arrived in China: Max Deeg argues that Buddhism exerted its strongest influence in the period between the fall of the later Han dynasty and the rise of the Tang, thanks to the translation of both texts and ideas by monastics from India and Central Asia. Another element which crossed political boundaries, as Frantz Grenet aptly points out, was astrology: in Sasanian Iran and in Central Asian countries under its influence, astrological lore had an important role, even though astrologers did not influence political or military decisions. Iran and neighboring regions are also the subject of Joel Walker's essay, which describes how pearls – "charismatic" goods par excellence – became insignia of royal authority.

Section three ('Empires, Diplomacy, and Frontiers') includes the last nine contributions of the volume, which focus essentially on the diplomatic strategies of the great Eurasian empires. While Mark Whittow takes into consideration the development of a Byzantine 'Eurasian policy' in the age of the rise and expansion of the Türk empire, Daniel Potts analyzes the relationship of Sasanian Iran with its northeastern neighbors, in particular the Kidarites and the Hephthalites. Michael Drompp for his part emphasizes that even if Inner Asian empires – such as the early Türk empires – did not produce physical and literary remains comparable to the sedentary empires, this does not mean they were insubstantial: the 'infrastructures of legitimacy' (as stated in the title of the essay) on which they founded their ideology and organization were in fact perfectly suited to their steppe-based way of life. However, given the absence of compelling economic reasons for centralized leadership in the steppes, Peter Golden shows that statehood always remained embryonic among the nomads. In any case, nomadic elites were eager to represent themselves as legitimate rulers: the sixth- and seventh century Türks, according to Sören Stark, achieved this by adopting and combining a great variety of features drawn from Chinese, Iranian and even Byzantine models. From a different perspective, Ekaterina Nechaeva points out that as nomadic power grew stronger the Byzantines adjusted their modes of international communication, adding practices which were once reserved only for Roman-Persian relations to low-level protocols – thus creating a more flexible and effective diplomatic strategy. If Valerie Hansen refers to the Tang governance style in terms of 'Eurasian synthesis,' Andrew Eisenberg, on the other hand, speaks of a 'Eurasian hybrid' with reference to the Northern Wei, once they conquered northern China and converted their nomadic confederacy into a relatively stable empire. This combination of Chinese and Inner Asian elements is apparent also in the imperial title of 'Heavenly Qaghan' adopted by the Tang emperor Taizong in the seventh century, which mixed Confucian and Turkic traditions: however, as Jonathan Skaff notes, this is just one example of the ideological competition and the close cultural entanglements which existed between China and Inner Asia.In the last essay, Naomi Standen

challenges the traditional image of nomadic empires as systems of power based only on coercion and violence and emphasizes the importance of patron-client relations (that is, of voluntary subordination) in the formation of political entities in Northeastern Eurasia.

This volume is in many ways valuable, first and foremost because it compels scholars of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages to move beyond the familiar Eurocentric vision and recognize the many threads which, since the third century CE, linked different parts of the Eurasian continent – including the Mediterranean basin. There are, however, a few points which I would like to discuss. While the editors convincingly justify the chronological limits of the volume – the third century CE saw in fact the rise of the Sasanian dynasty in Iran and the collapse of the Han dynasty in China, whereas the year 750, «with the rise of the Abbasids, roughly coinciding with the fall of the Türk empire, [...] the defeat of Tang armies by the Abbasids on the river Talas and the beginning of the devastating An Lushan rebellion in China, appears as a suitable stopping point» (6) – the choice not to include the Indian subcontinent raises some perplexities. At the beginning of the fourth century CE most of northern India was united by the Gupta dynasty, which established an empire that annexed the southern part of the Kushan empire and reached its apogee during the reign of Chandragupta II (ca. 375-415). The Gupta empire eventually fell, towards the middle of the sixth century, under the pressure of Central Asiatic invaders (such as the Hephthalites), and northern India was again split into different regional kingdoms, until the foundation of a new empire by Harsha of Kannauj in the seventh century (606-647). In the same period, the ancient Tibetan people, the Bod, created a strong unified monarchy which contended with the Tang and the Arabs for supremacy in Central Asia. It would have been very useful to include these events, even if only marginally, in the chapters of the volume.

As regards the long-standing debate about Hun-Xiongnu identity, a higher degree of consistency would have been welcome, even in a collection of essays. After reading Ursula Brosseder's contribution, which firmly rejects the attempt to find a connection between these groups, statements like «Among the Huns [...] there may have been few who were actually descended from the core group of the Xiongnu» (Pohl, 199), or «The Huns [... a]lmost certainly descendants of the Xiongnu» (Whittow, 276), can create confusion; a footnote or a few words in the *Introduction* should have drawn attention to this much debated topic.

Lastly, one might wonder whether the concept of 'Eurasian Late Antiquity' really fits the intentions of the volume. In fact, even though the editors clearly stress that «the central significance of this approach is not the extension of an established historiographical concept (Late Antiquity) to the rest of Asia» (8), this is however the impression that one gets after reading the book. As Averil Cameron puts it in her concluding remarks, «[f]or all its breadth, the study of Late Antiquity as it has

developed from the 1970s onwards has been framed basically as a Mediterranean project» (424), and the very concept of 'Late Antiquity' cannot but irresistibly recall the final stage of Greco-Roman civilization before the beginning of the Middle Ages – a 'Eurocentric', Mediterranean-based perspective that the addition of the adjective 'Eurasian'is not able to conceal. Twenty years ago, Andrea Giardina referred to the chronological elephantiasis of Late Antiquity in recent historiography in terms of 'explosion:'[2] again, with the geographical dilatation put forward by this volume «the familiar concept of Late Antiquity literally explodes. [...] Is this a new Eurasian Late Antiquity, as editors hope, or is the conception of Late Antiquity that has served us so well for more than forty years in fact dissolving into a broader kind of global or transnational history?» (Cameron, 424). This, in my opinion, is the fundamental question raised by this volume, whose pioneering and valuable contribution will be surely at the center of scholarly debate over the next few years.

[2] ANDREA GIARDINA, "Esplosione di Tardoantico," *Studi Storici* 40 (1999): 157–80.

JaHyun Kim Haboush
The Great Asian War and the Birth of the Korean Nation

William J. Haboush and Jisoo M. Kim eds
with Sixiang Wang, Hwisang Cho and Ksenia Chizhova Kim
New York Columbia University Press 2016
[ISBN 9780231172288]

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This work is a very evident labour of love and of collaboration to prepare and publish JaHyun Kim Haboush's working drafts on a topic that preoccupied her for such a long time before her untimely death in 2011. For readers familiar with Kim Haboush's earlier article and chapter publications, this represents an important consolidation of her key arguments. However, there are also frustrations that newer ideas do not perhaps have the full development for which one might have wished, or equal analytical depth across all themes in the varied chapters; that is to say, much that reminds readers of Kim Haboush's innovative thinking that will be sorely missed in this scholarly community.

The over-arching thesis of Kim Haboush's work is that the Japanese invasions of Korea under Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, known in Korea as *ImjinWaeran* 임진왜란 (1592-98), and the subsequent Manchu Qing attacks, *Pyŏngchahoran* 병자호란 (1627, 1636-7), left the Kingdom of Great Chosŏn 조선 with a far clearer sense of its identity as other than either Chinese or Japanese. This, she posits, was achieved in part through the rise in use of the vernacular Korean language and script (*han'gŭl* 한글) alongside the classical literary Chinese that had hitherto dominated intellectual culture and written forms of expression and communication. These were changes, she argues, in which many could participate, producing flourishing writing across genres by a broad range of individuals, all of whom were shaping what it meant to be Korean. These threats were of different orders, and so too were the resulting ideas that emerged from them: against the Japanese, Chosŏn distinctiveness was ethnic and historical, against the Manchu it was cultural, a matter of civilisation. The period's probing of the duties and responsibilities of the individual to the king and state, and the state to its subjects and community, are part of what Kim Haboush terms the emergence of a 'discourse of nation' at the end of the sixteenth century, one that was reshaped and intensified after the Manchu conquests that would mark in China the transition from the Ming 大明 dynasty to the Qing 大清 in 1644.

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The hold of the Chosŏn dynasty on the throne of Korea pre-dated this period of national transition (established in 1392) and it would outlive it in a way neither the Chinese Ming or Japanese Toyotomi dynasties managed. Instead of destabilising its political structures, these new notions of nation and of identity would help to secure the Chosŏn on the throne until 1897. This was achieved, Kim Haboush suggests, in part through a mobilisation from, and of, the Korean civilian population hitherto unseen – an 'activist loyalty' (5) – and the adaptive forms in which the associated expanded ideas and participatory acts of nationhood were employed then and subsequently.

A strong thread through much of the work's insights is this period's significant affective dimensions. Kim Haboush does not employ the scholarship of the now burgeoning history of emotions (we must remember that all these works were drafted before 2011) but the importance of specific emotional expression and labour in these events and the arguments that she constructs about them is evident. Seen through this lens, Kim Haboush's work highlights a significant avenue for further analysis on this topic using humanities emotions methodologies and frameworks, which will be of interest to both scholars of premodern Asia and of historical emotions. One wonders how this study might have been elaborated differently if conceptualised as an emotional community with its attendant performative affective behaviours.

Kim Haboush readily acknowledges the challenges of working within frameworks for concepts such as state and nation that have been principally developed for use in European and/or modern contexts (a challenge that remains the case the scholarship of the history of emotions likewise). However, she argues the need for pragmatic 'mutual accommodation' in the interests of drawing new examples, geographies and cultures into our discussions of what such ideas and practices mean and can mean in different times (10) and places. This work is framed very much as the start of a new conversation about how we study the Imjin Wars with alternative methodologies and questions to those, typically politico-military, that have dominated to date.

The first chapter examines exhortations to resist Japanese invaders as part of the movement that produced the well-known volunteer, 'righteous army' (*Ŭibyŏng* 의병), not as incidental or simply reflective of it, but as integral to the discourse of nation that then emerged. Awe and wonderment, she suggests, were key to the narrative about this unanticipated movement's foundations. Kim Haboush terms these explicitly emotional literary works as operating in an unprecedented horizontal space of communication created by army leaders and supported by government officials but employed increasingly by elite men as private citizens. What quickly emerged in these textual forms was a series of tropes, evoking the terrible violence wrought upon the Korean people, culture and soil that articulated the destruction of Korea's much-prized civilisation as a loss of humanity, and made all Korean people responsible for the land

that had nurtured them. This committed all inhabitants across class and region to restore Korea – actively and collaboratively. Tellingly, in the first year of conflict in 1592, verse was already circulating that «the people are the wall» (33). While the inclusiveness of class, literacy and regional differences are emphasised by Kim Haboush in these formulations, what is never elaborated is how women were envisaged, or could participate, in these concepts of 'the people' and the nation that they represented and stood to defend. Whether they were encouraged to fight actively, to resist, supply food or protect children, or were they simply embedded symbolically as pitiful rape and murder victims to inspire male acts of revenge, is unclear. Only three references across the book allude to women's active engagement: the heroine Non'gae 논개 who sacrificed herself to kill a Japanese general rather than be violated (23, 62), the women who threw boiling water on attackers (62) and others who used their aprons to carry stones (90). Kim Haboush's silence here may perhaps reflect the disinterest of the sources in carving a role for women as citizens of the nation, but it is nonetheless disappointing not to be addressed.

In the second chapter, Kim Haboush turns attention to how such exhortations were communicated. She analyses handcopying and woodblock printing, and distribution via previously government-employed postal routes, enabling copies to be read in local communities as collaborative, participatory acts that helped to develop a sense of community. So too were the practices of receiving and reading aloud the missives performative and community-building. These letters, however, were primarily composed in literary Chinese, not the language of most listeners, and thus had to be translated. Kim Haboush emphasises how contemporary sources stressed the significance of these letters in terms of how they moved people emotionally, rather than their content of common tropes, and highlights the social and emotional engagement that occurred through such group readings. However, it would be instructive to know more about how the emotional expression of literary Chinese translated into vernacular Korean and shaped the emotional expectations and realities of the non-Chinese literate majority. Kim Haboush's main point here though is that the key contribution of these texts, and the righteous army broadly, was symbolic, shifting relations between the king and his people towards interdependency. These works no longer told people to wait for his protection but to make an active engagement with and for the nation, to pay back two hundred years of peace and prosperity that they had enjoyed under earlier Chosŏn monarchs. Constructed within a neo-Confucian framework, these letters created a horizontal discursive arena and participatory model in which all (men?) were vested with the power and capacity to become moral citizens of the new national space, through their contribution to its protection and future creation. Moreover, she argues that this was not only an idea advanced by Korea's intellectual elite but one that they actually practised themselves in military engagements. These emerging genres and actions that commenced in 1592, Kim Haboush suggests, would remain to be reprised during the Manchu attacks and

even through to the 1905 Japanese colonisation of Korea (although this is unfortunately not elaborated in the current text or its notes).

We follow the unfolding Imjin conflict into Chapters Three and Four through the competing language choices of the three communicating groups – Japanese, Chinese and Korean – and the military engagements and political strategies in which they were located. Kim Haboush documents how King Sŏn-jo 선조 and his court begin to translate government edicts into *han'gŭl* and then employed han'gŭl directly for some. Since literary Chinese was accessible to both Ming and Japanese readerships and were used by both these forces to communication with Korean citizens, han'gŭl offered exclusivity for the king as part of a vertical communication to his subjects. Its appearance coincides with a key moment in international relations when Chinese and Japanese authorities began peace talks with each other about Korea's fate. Kim Haboush proposes that the king realised that Koreans needed to speak for, and to, themselves. This is a powerful argument, but the evidence cited suggests that these developments were largely haphazard. Afterall, the chapter concludes by noting that literary Chinese retained its communicative dominance in the inscriptional space through the subsequent Manchu crises, although she does not elaborate on how it operated there. Kim Haboush's principal claim here is that Korean had at least entered the inscriptional space where it could then interact with literary Chinese as another vehicle for conversations about Korean identity. Interesting but likewise not fully explored is the gender implications of her description of han'gŭl as a script that was perceived as secret, local and female in opposition to Chinese as transnational, public and male. How was han'gŭl, potentially problematic if it was understood as a language of women, and thus the subordinated or vulnerable, re-cast to be a viable medium of native expression – perhaps as familial and domestic? A potentially explosive discovery in the documents is Hideyoshi's reference to plans to supply local 'service women' for invading Japanese men in Korea. This represents a topic that warrants further investigation in the sources, but Kim Haboush simply observes that women who were raped were harshly treated by local communities, perhaps because their presence reminded men of their failure to protect them and the symbolic purity of the nation.

With Chapter Five, the focus shifts to commemorative sites, in particular, dream journeys, one literary genre that, Kim Haboush argues, gave space for articulation of grief and sorrow. While the genre pre-dated the Imjin conflict, she insists upon the special role that those produced after the war held in providing a site for continuing discussions about the role of the individual and the state. In these texts, dead bodies that speak to the living and which remain unburied preoccupied the male writers who created these texts for their male readers. Notable, however, is the role of women's voices and emotions in such texts, as the works question the established Confucian cultural and political order, the meaning of the sacrifices made by soldiers and their leaders, and asks whether the living were frankly good enough to bury the dead. Emotional expressions and practices are foregrounded within this literature, where

ghost soldiers can demand a narrator tell their story because of the power of his poetry to move them when they were alive, and where others, ordinary victims, lament their struggle to be recognised and buried as individuals and as members of families who will remember them. Two further works concern the period of the Manchu invasions, the only place in the work where these later events take centre stage. Kim Haboush argues that the psychological scar of the king's submission to these powerful 'barbarians' was perhaps greater, and more shameful, to Chosŏn's political and intellectual elite, than that left by the Imjin wars. The continuing dishonour of bearing tribute to these rulers sharpened, she argues, Korea's own sense of itself as the last bastion of Confucian culture, as the small brilliant centre (*sojunghwa* 소중화). The literature she explores here voices critiques made by a spectral female presence about the male political order as a 'bankruptcy of patriarchy' (144), one that compels some women to take on male virtues themselves. Fruitfully connecting these literary works to other ritual and material practices of memory, and to the production of commemorative monuments and acts established in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, will have to await another scholar.

This is a very important and ambitious work, at times saddening that Kim Haboush was unable to map out fully all the many exciting ideas that it contains, and to provide coherence across the chapters' analyses. Scholars will nonetheless be very grateful for what we do have, and for the team effort of Kim Haboush's colleagues, friends and family who have made sure we can all benefit from her intellectual labours. Bringing insights from cultural, emotional and literary approaches, its best legacy should be to serve as powerful impetus to new directions, questions and methodologies in this field.

Florence in the Early Modern World New Perspectives

Brian Jeffrey Maxson and Nicholas Scott Baker eds
Abingdon-New York Routledge 2019
[ISBN 978-1138313316]

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This volume, edited by two historians of political thought who work in the United States, is an ambitious attempt to study the history of Florence within a wider framework, that of the world of the Early Modern Age, leaving aside the historical narrative of an insular Renaissance while recognizing the importance of other influences on a global level.

The book includes eleven contributions – most of them originally written for the Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting of 2016 – starting from the editors' introduction, which aims to situate Renaissance Florence in the world of the Early Modern Age, trying also to face the challenge that the global turn has issued to the history of cities. It is not – as the editors of the volume point out – just a matter of scholarly trend. Following in the footsteps of Natalie Davis' invitation to decenter history, they tend to consider global history as the outcome of an older and wider process of decentering history in Western historiography after World War II, which led historians towards subaltern classes, women, non- Western communities and so on. «For Florence – Maxson and Baker go on – a de-centered approach might involve considering Renaissance culture as a product of global exchanges and connections as well as of Italian concerns with classical antiquity and political legitimacy» (p. 5).

Drawing on the studies that fought «the notion of Florence's historical insularity» (p. 2), Maxson and Baker note how Florence had been previosuly left behind in the studies that have tried to treat the history of the Italian peninsula in a transnational or even global perspective. Since at least a decade, the situation has changed and scholars have begun to study the history of Florence from that perspective. The introduction rightly recalls, among others, Lia Markey's studies on the Medici collectionism of objects from the New World, the conference (now a book) organized by the Medici Archivi Project on *The Grand Ducal Medici and the Levant*, and the volumes by Corey Tazzara and Francesca Trivellato about the global dimensions of the commercial traffics that departed from the port of Livorno. Among these studies, the volume aims to be both the point of arrival and to open up new perspectives of research. Let's see which ones.

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Florence in the Early Modern World is divided into three parts: the first dedicated to the "economic perspectives", the second to the "political" and the third to the "cultural" ones. The first part is in turn made up of four chapters. In the first ("Taking Architectural Theory on the Road"), Niall Atkinson shows how the architectural revolution brought about by the Renaissance was nourished by readings of the ancients, but also by the visual skills of travellers such as Benedetto Dei, Giorgio Gucci and Leon Battista Alberti who invariably took account of the cities they visited. This «method of quantifying experience» (p. 29), which was by no means the prerogative of the Florentines alone, was surely a way of turning foreign cities into quantifiable entities, thus shaping the relationship with other cultures when these travellers returned to Florence.

In his "'Tutto il mondo è paese': Locating Florence in Premodern Eurasian Commerce," Baker takes the reader forward in time, analyzing the intercontinental journeys of the well-known merchant Filippo Sassetti, who, after settling in Lisbon between 1578 and 1582, travelled to Cochin, Goa and the Malabar coast where he remained until his death and from where he wrote many letters to Florence full of ethnographic, linguistic and scientific observations (it is perhaps worth remembering that the same proverb mentioned by Sassetti was used by E.P. Tylor at the beginning of *Primitive Culture*). Moving from the still fundamental works by Marica Milanesi, his case-study shows how, on the one hand, the Florentines, due to their long expertise in transnational trade and cartography, contributed to integrate Spain and Portugal within a global system of trade, while, on the other hand, from the 16th century onwards, they had to build commercial networks by proxy, negotiating their action space among the interstices of the Iberian empires.

The assumption of the "mobility turn" as a point of view to look at the Florentine history is also evident when the book considers the city of Florence per se, that is not in its connection with geographically different entities and phenomena. This is particularly visible in the last two articles of the section, that of Nicholas Terpstra ("Mapping Gendered Labor in the Textile Industry of Early Modern Florence") and of Marta Caroscio ("Shaping the City and the Landscape: Politics, Public Space, and Innovation under Ferdinando I de' Medici"). The first one presents the outcomes of the DECIMA project (Digitally Encoded Census Information & Mapping Archive) based at the University of Toronto. Using data from three censuses of the city of Florence (1551, 1561 and 1632), the chapter aims at analyzing gendered labor in the Florentine textile industry paying great attention as to how the terminological shifts between reelers, spinners and weavers did (or did not) correspond to the steps of the social ladder. Caroscio's chapter partly shares the chronological framework of Terpstra's but moves from the structure to the superstructure, highlighting the ways in which the Grand Duke Ferdinand I has shaped the public spaces not only of Florence but also of the dominions. If anyone who has taken a walk through the center of Pisa or Livorno can rapidly have a clue of what is meant here, what is remarkable

in this chapter is the insistence on the fact that the public display of foreign materials and objects allowed visitors and subjects to be aware of the imperial and transnational claims of the Medici dynasty, performing at the same time the exotic as a daily experience.

The second part, which is devoted to the "political perspectives", opens with an apparently surprising chapter in such a collection: "'Nelle parti di Romagna'*:* The Role and Influence of the Apennine Lords in Italian Renaissance Politics", by Luciano Piffanelli. *Apparently* surprising because it introduces a narrowing of scale, which risks disorienting the reader, who does not expect to find in a book like this the political relations of Florence with the Visconti and with the combative lords of Romagna as the Alidosi, the Malatesta and the Manfredi, which notwithstanding were no less important than those woven over longer distances. The latter ones are the subject of the chapters of Brian Brege ("The Advantages of Stability: Medici Tuscany's Ambitions in the Eastern Mediterranean") and Katherine Poole-Jones ("The Medici, Maritime Empire, and the Enduring Legacy of the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano"). Brege's chapter is a portion of a larger research he dedicated to "The Empire that wasn't" (as the title of his PhD dissertation icastically goes), that is the Florentine ambitions to build (the only one among the Italian states) an empire on both coasts of the Atlantic. Between the Foundation of the maritime order of Santo Stefano (1562) – whose visual representations are brilliantly described by Poole-Jones in her chapter – and the sale of the fleet in 1632, Brege tracks the shift from an active, almost warlike, activism in the Mediterranean to a policy of neutral trade which culminated with the issuing of the *Livornine*, a series of legislative measures issued by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I de' Medici between 1591 and 1593, which called to Livorno merchants from very different backgrounds ("di qualsivoglia Nazione") in order to o promote the economic development of the city and the maritime economy of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. On the effectiveness of such a measure Brege is rather skeptical: «Livorno's role as a notorious nest of corsairs rather compromised its attractiveness as a center of peaceful trade» (p. 146). Observing the profound anti-Ottoman traits of the visual self-representation of the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano studied here by Poole-Jones (again, since a picture is worth a thousand words, a visit in the church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri in Pisa, where the flags stolen from the Ottoman ships during the battle of Lepanto are exhibited, is illuminating), one is inclined to agree with him.

The last (but not the least, talking about Florence) section deals with the cultural implications of this effort of broadening the scale of analysis up to a global level. This part, more than the others, runs the aforementioned risk that adopting too many scales of analysis is equivalent to not actually adopting any.

Clémence Revest's chapter 9 ("Poggio's Beginnings at the Papal Curia: The Florentine Brain Drain and the Fashioning of the Humanist Movement") is an important contribution to the reconstruction of Bracciolini's career at the Papal Curia

(a place, as is well known, decisive for the rise of Florence and the family of bankers who governed it – the Medici – to the role of transnational power). Perhaps Revest's chapter might have paid more attention to the relationship between Bracciolini and the Venetian traveller Niccolò de' Conti. During his travels, Niccolò converted to Islam, and on his return, as a penance, he was forced by Pope Eugene IV to tell his travels to the papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini, who included their description in Book IV of his De Varietate Fortunae (On the Vicissitudes of Fortune). To understand the importance of Niccolò de' Conti's account – extensively reworked by Poggio – for the early modern global world, let us just recall its timely translations into Portuguese (1502) and Spanish (1503).

Maxson's chapter shows that the Renaissance as a bubble was a myth, born as it was in the context of nineteenth century nationalism. In his view, the last and most celebrated example of such a historically untenable interpretation is Poggio's portrait painted by Stephen Greenblatt in his Pulitzer Prize winning book *The Swerve*, in which his peregrination to the Northern monasteries in search of the manuscript of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* is depicted as a journey of a stranger into the unknown. Be that as it may, the chapter highlights how Renaissance Florence was connected to the rest of Europe by diplomatic, commercial, and epistolary relations. Among the various examples put forward by Maxson to illustrate his point, suffice it to mention the analysis of Matteo Palmieri's chronicle *De temporibus*, claiming Florentine independence from any power and widespread all over Europe.

The final chapter by Sarah G. Ross ("New Perspectives on Patria: The Andreini Performance of Florentine Citizenship") contains many of the issues dealt with in the volume in the form of an individual, or rather family, parable, that of the Andreini, among the most celebrated *comici* of the Late Renaissance. Belonging to a physically and socially mobile category *par excellence*, Giovan Battista Andreini continued to define himself as Florentine even when other definitions would have done better for him. This shows, as Ross correctly emphasizes, that in the first place citizenship was something liquid, which was just an element – and an element much less crucial than others – in the identity of an individual. Secondly, to be so rooted in the Florentine origins allowed Andreini to fashion himself as the son of a city whose prestige as a cultural center of first importance did not seem to diminish well into the seventeenth century, at the sunset of that world that had created Renaissance Florence and that this book brings back to light in such a vivid manner.

What is the History of Emotions?

Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani
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Despite its recent success, the history of emotions is still finding itself according to Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, who are trying with this book to provide scholars with bearings or at least a map. That's why the book is conceived to give an overview for those interested in the research on emotions: from the modern insights coming from psychological sciences to the presentation of the main "schools" of historical thought dealing with this topic, without being afraid to assess the trends in current studies and predictions about their future.

The reader shouldn't expect to deal with a simple compendium, though. The two authors propose that "unexpected coherencies and patterns" in the field exist, hence the structure of their book and their focus on the different approaches to the study of bodies in the third chapter. They stress the relevance of their discipline in our time: the history of emotions "studies the emotions that were felt and expressed in the past; it looks at what has changed and what ties together their past and present". Helping a wider audience to reach a certain consciousness on the way they deal with emotional states seems one of the hidden aims of this book and of the whole discipline. The authors notice in fact how emotions have become an obsession in the last twenty-five years or so and historians' research topics represent no exception. Despite this trend, the words used by historians are sometimes quite slippery and the debate about how to define emotions is far from being closed.

This is why the review of the different definitions of emotions, past and present, is one of the most useful sections of the book, something students and all people interested in the history of emotions will find helpful to understand what is at stake in the jargon that researchers from different disciplines use when dealing with passions, affects, affections, sentiments, feelings.

After briefly mentioning the insights coming from Huizinga, Febvre and Elias, one of the core chapters analyses the four foundational approaches to the history of emotions after 1980s, when it started to gain the status of a historiographical field. Rosenwein and Cristiani explain in an effective way the *emotionology* of Peter and Carol Zisowitz Stearns, the *emotional regimes* and *emotives* of William M. Reddy, the notion of *emotional communities* made popular by Barbara H. Rosenwein's own work, and the way Gerd Althoff treated emotions as performances.

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From a didactic perspective, it is useful to see these different approaches applied to the text of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, as the authors do at the end of the second chapter. Following an *emotionology* perspective and its focus on basic emotions, the pursuit of happiness that the American colonists included among the inalienable rights would be in line with the «standards of happiness», that is with the major emphasis on cheerfulness that connoted the Enlightenment and modernity. Looking at *emotives* and emotional regimes, as Reddy would do, we might be tempted to consider happiness as the emotional refuge American colonists found to cope with the sorrow grief felt under the British rule. Historians of emotions working on *emotional communities* would insist on the collective biographies of the men who signed the Declaration: how obvious was the entanglement between happiness and independence both in personal and private for a Virginian man like Jefferson? Or is it better to look for the community built around the readership of Alexander Pope, who wrote consistently on happiness as the goal of man? Considering emotional display as a ritualized performance, instead, would bring us to seize the emotions in the Declaration as communicative modes – an approach Gerd Althoff and those who focused on the body would probably find more convincing.

Perhaps the most challenging part of the book is where Rosenwein and Cristiani try to give a sense of the different ways current historians make use of these four foundational approaches. Choosing to discuss how different understandings of the notion of "emotional body" shaped the discipline could provide a promising perspective for the reader. Nevertheless, their narrative sometimes veers into the territory of a review of works related to the topic. It is indeed instructive to assess how the history of emotions followed the pace of the long ride of historiography towards a new cultural history (gender, the study of social practices *à la* Bourdieu...). And it is even more important to convey the message that today's historians of emotions use a variety of approaches and strategies according to their questions and personal interests: the general challenge of giving a history to men's and women's emotional states led them to unchartered territories for the whole discipline. If it is somehow inevitable that Rosenwein and Cristiani's narrative sometimes is too fast and the chapter almost looks like a review article, their effort in finding the most common patterns and strategies is nonetheless what makes their book useful for all the historians seeking out collaborations or simply insights beyond their own historiographical niche. Following the narrative of Rosenwein and Cristiani, the reader will grasp the most popular trends of the discipline, be able to compare methods, and find common ground between the sometimes very different approaches adopted by those engaged in this field today. Among these is Monique Scheer's notion of emotions as *practices of the body* that led many historians to investigate the perceiving sounds, smells, and spaces of emotions – a "multimedia" approach that marks the works of Margrit Pernau and many researchers of the Center for the History of Emotions of the Max Planck Institute in Berlin directed by Ute Frevert.

In addition, the authors cause the reader to explore the challenges of affect theory or the possibilities opened by the renewal of the study of material culture, that is the materiality of emotional practices and the way also "things become emotionally meaningful" (Sarah Tarlow, "Emotion in Archaeology," *Current Anthropology* 41/5, 2000, 713-46: 729). By precisely picking up the reflections of archaeologists historians are starting to take more seriously the emotional meaning of objects. Making sense of this material is not always easy and those who tried often had to draw on the general cultural significance of these objects. This is somehow disturbing from the perspective of strict historical methodology. While it is hard to imagine a convincing historical understanding of the emotions carried by these objects without any help from written sources, it is indeed intriguing to conceive a historical work built on the idea that certain objects have their own emotional agency.

The last section is dedicated to the future of the discipline, but it is far from being a triumphant chant over its destiny. Rosenwein and Cristiani don't leave much space to wishful thinking and highlight the biggest challenges for the history of emotions. The first one comes from interdisciplinarity being so far one of the keys of this field. Historians have in fact traditionally played a major role in emotions research, as the variety of articles in journals like *Emotion Review* testify. The possibility of voicing again our insights in fields where the voice of historians is rarely taken into any consideration is indeed a good reason to engage with the methodology of the history of emotions. It is not easy path, though. As Peter Stearns wrote as recently as 2015, most of the historians of emotions today are less interested in interdisciplinarity than the generation of the pioneers in this field used to be: the most compelling challenge now seems being able to inform every historical inquiry. Those who work in the historical fabric of emotions want to be taken seriously by their colleagues in intellectual, political or social history. Winning that challenge would mean to accomplish a goal similar to the one accomplished by gender historians some decades ago. However, it is crucial to stress how some of the most important outcomes in the history of emotions came from the fruitful interactions with psychologists, philosophers and other scholars studying emotions – a favour that these scholars did not always reciprocate when dealing with topics where the history of emotions could be helpful if not essential.

There is yet another challenge waiting for historians who dare cross the walls of academia. As Rosenwein and Cristiani put it, «it is time to revolutionize the way we think of our emotional lives» (119). This is why the book encourages educators, politicians, religious leaders, parents, and media creators to engage with the history of emotions. If we now take for granted that feelings are so relevant in every aspect of our lives, it is then more important than ever to understand why and how. The history of emotions has the makings to help with that. Allowing students and professional historians to approach this field without fear, this book is another step toward achieving this goal.

Empires between Islam and Christianity 1500-1800

Sanjay Subrahmanyam
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This newly published work by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Empires between Islam and Christianity 1500-1800*, benefits from the decades-long devotion of the author to the study of empires. Starting with the Portuguese empire in Asia, Subrahmanyam has progressively broadened his interest to the Mughal, the Ottoman and the Ming empires. In his latest work, he not only offers a sample of his published research – ten of the eleven chapters are revisions of essays that have appeared in the last ten years – but also endeavours to give a coherent and comprehensive view of his reflections on empires.

Breaking with the single-empire framework that has characterised the bulk of works on this theme, Subrahmanyam insists that historians should take into account the connections between empires, as the majority of them existed not «in lonely splendour» but «in a wider inter-imperial context» (pp. 2-3). The book, then, is a successful attempt to address the theme of empires from the perspective of "connected histories". As Subrahmanyam states, the aim of "connected histories" is to bypass those conventional and often arbitrary geographical and spatial divisions that have become dominant in the historiography, given their aprioristic implications. The intention is therefore to look for connections – when they are present – in order to design, on a case-by-case basis, new and perhaps unexpected geographies that could offer fresh vantage points from which to survey the phenomena under investigation. These chapters brilliantly show the potential of «connected histories» in current historical debates, as a method that is well-suited to different geographical scales, besides the global, and that can be fruitfully combined with other methodological approaches, ranging from micro- and macro-history to intellectual history.

But what is an empire? Although providing a strict definition appears to be difficult and somehow misleading, Subrahmanyam agrees with Anthony Pagden's view on the few pivotal elements that characterise empires. In particular, what makes empires one of those «major sites of reflection» of historians and histories – namely a small group of concepts around which, according to Subrahmanyam, people have organized their comprehension of reality in different epochs and parts of the world –

is their «size» and their consequential tendency to be cosmopolitan, albeit not often "liberal", political systems. Because of their great territorial extent, all empires were called to rule over people of different religions, languages, and customs, and each of those empires proved able to cope with the intrinsic challenges of such diversity. A new image of empires as political actors that were able to develop a rich and varied array of political, institutional and cultural strategies allows us to dispense with a monolithic and simplistic vision of imperial history, based on settlement and economic exploitation, in which empires coincide with colonial powers.

Subrahmanyam thus charts the irreducible complexity of these diverse imperial experiences. As he points out in his first chapter, the main issues that he wishes to address and to analyse throughout the book are threefold: a problem of «synchronicity», one of «diachrony», and the «passage» from empires to nation-states. As regards the synchronic issues, Subrahmanyam maintains that account should be taken of the wide array of institutions and policies that the same empire could adopt in different parts of its territory, on a case-by-case basis. For example, regarding the Portuguese empire, the author examines the varying attitudes held by the Portuguese toward their Asian and Brazilian territories, and the image he offers us of that empire is one of «a composite politico-fiscal system» (p. 147). In this fashion, it would be easier to understand «the very different trajectories followed by societies in Asia and America in face of European empire-building projects» (p. 3), namely the reasons why the same empire had very different long-term effects on the various territories under its rule.

Not only does Subrahmanyam offer a useful epistemological instrument by which to recast or reset the study of empires, but he also challenges the ideological assumption whereby early modern empires are seen as archaic political structures. Most historians nowadays agree that there is a clear watershed between the empires of the early-modern period and those established after 1750, between an Iberian imperialism deemed to be obsolete, intolerant and oppressive, and the purportedly liberal, secular Anglo-French imperialism that arose after the Enlightenment – say, an «empire of liberty» (p. 188). Against this teleological and ideological bias, Subrahmanyam invites us to reconsider the continuities between the early-modern and modern empires and to face this diachronic problem in a different way. If we are accustomed to think of the *translatio imperii* as an ideological, political and institutional legacy extending over time and entailing a linkage between different empires, Subrahmanyam invites us to take a broader view, and to envisage a "transfer of imperial models and notions" (p. 114) crossing the porous borders of multiple empires both chronologically and geographically.

At the same time, the putative archaism of empires must be related to the likewise putative, and somehow complementary, "modernity" of the nation-states. In Subrahmanyam's view, nation-states are, like empires, both a concrete historical and political realisation and one of those «major sites of reflection» through which people

have in the past read and still do read the world. It is no wonder that nation-states, as a historical-geographical category, appear to be one of Subrahmanyam's main targets. Not only are they an anachronistic tool to analyse the early-modern world, but they also constitute the Trojan horse of an – unfortunately – not wholly superseded idea that serves to link modernity with European society. Forged in Europe, the nation-state, or so the argument went, would have progressively spread across the world bringing with it, in the guise of a new Prometheus, the torch of modernity. Against this Eurocentric exceptionalism and its ideological implications, Subrahmanyam rejects the idea of a monopolistic and unidirectional «transition between the world of empires and that of nation-states» (p. 14) in order to show how empires, and of course not only the European ones, were also themselves able to foster certain political and institutional strategies that brought about the birth of nation-states. So, for example, in chapter six the comparison between the Habsburg, Ottoman, and Mughal empires leads Subrahmanyam to identify three models of empire, namely the colonial model, the empire founded on toleration and on a decentralization based upon respect for the customary privileges of its various regions, and, lastly, the empire built on an institutional centralisation that allowed non-Muslim peoples to be included in a trans-religious élite sharing a common Persian culture. According to the author, this last «politics of élite integration» (p. 183) can explain why, some centuries later, in those territories that were once under the Mughal empire a united nation-state – namely the Republic of India – was born, instead of the myriad nation-states that replaced the Ottoman and the Habsburg empires. In other words, as different models of empire existed, so too were the «longer-term trajectories for political institutions that they produced» (p. 150) divergent, as of course were the nation-states that sprung from those empires.

To analyse more closely the structure of the book, after chapter one – which serves as a theoretical introduction – it can be divided into three main parts. The first part – which comprises chapters two, three and four – deals with the Portuguese *Estado da India* in the first decades of the sixteenth century, covering a range of different problems and adopting various different geographical scales. Chapter two addresses the macro-problem of the so-called first "long decade" of the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean (1498-1509). Its aim is to investigate the reasons and the extent to which the original Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean was able to change the commercial and political equilibrium both locally and, through the opening of the new Cape Route, in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Subrahmanyam stresses the limited ability of the Portuguese to realise locally the projects designed in Lisbon. While in Lisbon the king, Dom Manuel, was interested in building new fortresses in the Indian Ocean in order to interdict the trade with the Red Sea, locally the viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeria opted for a "minimalistic" intervention, aimed at the control of spice production in Cochin and Malabar. Moreover, Subrahmanyam approaches critically the testimony of fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Venetian sources regarding

the destructive consequences of the new Cape Route on the Venetian spice trade – a theory that too many historians have uncritically accepted. Drawing on the work of Jean Aubin, the author shows that the decline of the spice trade in the eastern Mediterranean was in fact linked to the political crises in Yemen and in Hijaz which at that date were having a devastating impact on the commerce in the Red Sea, the main route between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.

This leads the author to identify two problematic aspects of the initial Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean, which he develops in the following chapters: on the one hand the importance of knowledge – namely, the pivotal role of people who were able to provide pieces of information about the Indian Ocean as well as supervising logistical arrangements to strengthen the imperial presence on the territory – on the other hand the emergence within the empire of various contrasting voices "from below", namely groups with different interests. In chapter three, through the life of the Corsican galley builder Sylvestro Corco and his family, the author analyses the role played by Italians and Corsicans – communities whose presence in the Indian Ocean had already been consolidated during the Middle Ages – in the emerging Portuguese empire, pointing out on the one hand the Italians' inability to establish their own power in Asia and, on the other hand, the importance of their know-how for the new Portuguese empire. In chapter four the author moves on to analyse the discontent and the opposed interests of local social groups – namely the Asian merchants of Melaka and the so-called Portuguese *casados moranodres* – and their dialectical relationship with the Portuguese Crown.

In the second part of the book, Subrahmanyam addresses the already mentioned theme of the *translatio imperii*, the transfer of institutional, political and ideological arrangements from one empire to another. In chapter five he focuses on the Spanish and Portuguese empires in order to show how, already before the Iberian Union of 1580, the borders of these two empires were highly porous. Subrahmanyam thereby suggests that the extent to which the Spanish and Portuguese empires influenced one another, the strong commercial, cultural and institutional links that connected these two imperial systems over time can explain the difficulties that arose in these two empires after the Restoration of 1640, because «disentangling a congeries of assets and projects that had become thoroughly entwined proved to be not a simple matter» (p. 148). In the already mentioned chapter six and in chapter seven – a chapter coauthored with Anthony Pagden –, Subrahmanyam tries to outline some examples of long-lasting political and institutional legacies of empires. Here, Subrahmanyam highlights the importance of the Spanish and, even more, the Portuguese examples for the birth of the British empire in India by stressing the continuities between these imperial experiences, for example the sharing of the same sources of legitimation.

The last four chapters focus on some forms and strategies through which peoples across the world have shaped their – factual and fictional – world. The birth

of "world history" as a new historiographical genre in the sixteenth century is investigated in chapter eight, while in chapter nine the author analyses the contemporary tendency of both Christian and Islamic culture to delight in the representation of wonders and monsters. All such examples indicate a need to write a truly global intellectual history, a project discussed in chapter ten. Arguing for the fashioning of a new atlas, one featuring a multiplicity of «cross-cutting intellectual networks» (p. 24), the author adumbrates an intellectual history in which ideas do not exist in a vacuum but move along the trails followed by real people and cross borders with them. In other words, we have to reconstruct the intellectual networks in which ideas moved during the Early Modern period across the borders of empires, throughout the world.

Thus, in the final chapter the author shows how "Asia" itself can be seen not only as a geographical space in which historical connections and clashes between different imperial projects occurred, but also as a cultural creation born of the stratification of antagonistic ideologies. When in 1730 Philip Johan Von Strahlenberg moved the borders of Asia towards the Urals, he was, above all, redefining a European identity: the deeper the gap between ourselves and the "other", the more stable our own identity would be.

Much food for thought is in this way provided by Subrahmanyam's book, and the implications of his reading about empires in the Early Modern age are manifold. For example, particular attention should be paid to Subrahmanyam's concern to underline the very different ways in which nation-states were born, not only from the aggregation of pre-existing polities, but also from the empires that preceded them. If some nation-states can be seen as heirs of the empires' multi-ethnic character, others coincide only with the old imperial centre, and still others are a consequence of the fragmentation of empires into smaller political units. From this point of view, one can ask if this book might also be seen as an attempt, albeit partial, to address a long-lasting historiographical problem that so far has been underestimated by Global History and more generally by scholarly works on empires, that is, the nature of the state in the Early Modern period. Since the last decades of the twentieth century, the supposed crisis of the national state has revived the historiographical debate on the nation-state and its origins. Some participants in that debate see the national-states as a natural development of early-modern states, while others, being resolutely opposed to this teleological vision, stress the discontinuities of those political institutions. But, in either case, even if the crisis of the national-state is often linked to nascent globalisation, the analyses of the early-modern state are still centred on European events, and barely anything has been said about what happened outside Europe. By looking beyond Europe, by «detaching the history of the state from its European trajectory and

focusing on the multiple connections between states and empires across the world»,[1] as Giuseppe Marcocci pointed out some years ago, it should be possible to add complexity to our view of the birth of the state and to recast in a different light this historiographical issue. Subrahmanyam's reflections about the manifold transitions from a «world of empires» to that of nation-states can bring new life to this debate, although the image that he suggests of an early-modern world as «a patchwork of competing and intertwined empires, punctuated by the odd interloper in the forms of a nascent "nation-state"» (p. 113) still cannot explain the essence, the peculiar nature of the state in the Early Modern age, unless one is willing to see the Early Modern state as a political form teleologically directed towards the nation-state.

What is certain is that, thanks to his use of «connected histories» as a starting point for the study of empires, and to the wide range of primary sources which he has drawn upon – including texts of different languages and less usual sources such as the tombstones of Agra's Christian graveyard or maps – to create a useful antidote to teleology, Subrahmanyam manages brilliantly to bypass aprioristic historiographical and geographical categories with their heuristic bias and ideological implications. At the same time, broadening the geographical scale of inquiry means that the reader must leave her or his "intellectual – too often Eurocentric – comfort zone" and deal with unfamiliar «terms such as *rasa*, *dhvani*, *zikr*». In other words, this book is a plea to expand our own «conceptual vocabularies, to take on board new and unfamiliar concepts (and even whole conceptual constellations)» (p. 343) in order to reject sterile and simplistic explanations of irreducibly complex historical phenomena, and to overcome boundaries that sometimes exist only in our own imaginations.

[1] GIUSEPPE MARCOCCI, "Too Much to Rule: States and Empires across the Early Modern World," *Journal of Early Modern History* 20 (2016): 511–25.