

ABSTRACTS

GENDER, MODERNITIES AND THE GLOBAL ENLIGHTENMENT Valencia, 23-25 February 2022

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SESSION 1. Rewriting through Translation

Mirella Agorni (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

The Role of Women in Translation History: Translating and Collaborating in the Reshaping of Italy in the Early Romantic Period

Translation enables the circulation of knowledge and makes newness and originality travel. It plays a crucial role at times of transition, yet the role of translation on the development of new female modes of expression has rarely been analyzed. The main reason for this neglect is the derivative nature of translation, considered as a secondary activity in comparison with original writing. Hence, feminist critics have generally paid more attention to literary genres perceived as more empowering for women, such as the novel.

I will argue that the specificity of women's contribution to translation may prove to be a highly productive source for historical analyses of cultural developments. A focus on gender enables critics to question the definition of translation as a unified category, by effectively bringing a set of peripheral textual and interpersonal practices to the fore (such as editing and reviewing for example). The lack of attention to collaborative strategies in cultural production has very often contributed to the general silencing of women. In previous research (*Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century*) I have traced women's appropriation of an imagined Italy and their exploitation of this cultural geography in the framing of discourses that could be productively used for the development of British women's writing in the eighteenth century. The fact that women referred to a feminine transcultural tradition of writing in their works can be viewed as a fitting example of a collaborative effort.

This essay will focus on the early nineteenth century, in a reversed perspective, taking into account the function of intercultural practices, and translation in particular, in the shaping of Italian culture in the first half of the nineteenth century. The role played by women in the renovation of literature and in the introduction of new approaches to translation in this historical period has hardly been paid sufficient attention, although some of them were praised for their efforts by reviewers at the time. This essay will attempt to bring to the fore the specificity of women's cultural activity. In this respect, the introduction of the new genre of the pedagogical novel into the Italian literary system via translations produced by women appears particularly significant.

Luisa Simonutti (CNR, Milan)

Elsewhere. Women Translators and Travelers in Europe and the Mediterranean Basin in the Age of Enlightenment

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, accounts of travel, and often imagined journeys, were an important source of reflection for women, firstly as readers of travel books but also often as translators and travellers in their own right. Travel as sentimental education, travel as cultural transfer and translation of texts, ideas, and emotions. Between

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this area became a place of expression for important female figures. Not only women philosophers and women scientists, prophetesses and religious, but also translators such as Elisabeth Wolff and writers and travellers, such as Lady Anna Miller and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her correspondent Mary Astell. What comes to the fore in the accounts of these women translators and travellers are language, emotions, personal and social arguments, the narration of the external world and interpersonal relationships. Most importantly, this builds into the self-representation of the female universe described by women themselves, as compared to the contemporary descriptive typologies of the female world in European and Mediterranean societies and the Near East.

This paper intends to present some of these lesser-known authors and the most significant pages of this often neglected literature. Not only figures like Nausicaa, ready to listen to narratives, but women like Jeanne Barè, ready to be protagonists. These cultured women, often familiar with several languages and translators themselves, through this activity of mediation not only describe but interpret and reinterpret the surrounding world. This is the case when they were able to undertake a journey, albeit accompanied by acquaintances and family members, but above all these writers imagined narrating, describing and painting territories they would have liked to visit. So, for example, Lady Damaris Masham, not being able to go to Holland herself, asked her friend John Locke to visit the village of Wieuwerd because, from her readings and from the stories that philosopher and religious friends had told her, the community of pastor Yvon represented a model of a society that was tolerant and emotionally respectful of diversity. As in this case, these are often imagined and utopian places. Other and better worlds, elsewhere.

Elias Buchetmann (University of Rostock)

Meta Forkel's Politics of Translation

This paper will present a case study of 'Cultural Mediation and the Making of Gender', centered around the life and work of Meta Forkel, who translated both successful novels written by women and radical political works from English into German in the 1790s. It will feature Forkel's background and education; her personal and professional fortunes; her practice of translation, individually and as part of Georg Forster's so-called 'translation factory' in Mainz; her professional network; and the political motivations (broadly understood) underlying her choice of titles to be translated. This paper thus offers the story of a woman who acted both politically and as a cultural broker by translating extremely contentious tracts, such as Volney's *Ruins* or Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, towards the close of the eighteenth century. More broadly, this biographically centered case study will illustrate the workings of cross-cultural transfer, inviting reflection on its conditions, the role of women as cultural mediators, and connectivity across borders, two hundred years ago as well as today.

Several of the novels which Forkel translated, such as Elizabeth Inchbald's *A Simple Story* (1791; transl. 1792), Charlotte Smith's *Desmond* (1792, transl. 1793) and William Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794, transl. 1795), are prominent exhibits of the so-called English Jacobin novel and thus convey a sense of Forkel's political allegiances. In fact,

it seems unsurprising that somebody from the circle of the so-called German Jacobins in Mainz undertook these translations – Forkel’s brother Georg Wedekind and her friend Georg Forster were the joint leaders of the Mainz republicans. This paper will explore the way in which Forkel used the medium of translation to present radical ideas about politics – including gender politics – to the German public without having to take full responsibility for them. In effect, she emerges as an active contributor to the cause of revealing ‘the modes of domestic and unrecorded despotism’, as Godwin put it in the preface to *Caleb Williams*.

An obvious aspect of the texts selected and promoted by Forkel is their engagement with the question of education, and especially its ‘female’ variant. Starting from Forkel’s own ideas on education as contained in her novel *Maria* from 1784, this paper will pay special attention to her engagement with the Countess of Carlisle’s famous *Thoughts in the Form of Maxims Addressed to Young Ladies* (1789). Forkel, who was notorious among contemporaries for her unconventional lifestyle, chose to translate this work. It appeared in 1791, but not without ‘the translator’s essay on female delicacy’, which was well received by contemporary critics and presents a poignant example of how gender was circulated and adapted in the process of cross-cultural transfer.

Elizabeth Franklin Lewis (University of Mary Washington)

Translating Genre and Gender for Madrid Audiences. The Case of María Rosa Gálvez

This essay will highlight the importance of translation for eighteenth-century women writers, giving special focus to the life and work of María Rosa Gálvez (1768-1806), the most successful Spanish woman writer of her day and a member of a family with important positions in the Bourbon administration of colonial American. She composed thirteen original dramas and translated four plays from French, almost all of them published during her lifetime; eight performed in the most important Madrid public theatres of the period. She wrote openly about her professional struggles to see her work pass censorship to be published and presented on the public stage, and dreamed of achieving renown through her plays. She was one of the few European women and the first Spanish one to work in the operatic form. The one-act “lyrical opera” *Bion*, her longest running theatrical production, was translated less than three years after the piece upon which it was based—*Bion*, by French composer Étienne Méhul, libretto written by playwright François-Benoît Hoffman—premiered at the Opéra-Comique in Paris in December of 1800. Opera gained in popularity in Spain throughout the eighteenth-century, due in no small part to the Bourbon dynasty and its Italian queen consorts; with this translation, María Rosa Gálvez was riding its wave of popularity.

We will consider Gálvez’s comments on translation, theatre, and lyric, as well as the international texts that she adapted, translated, or imitated to understand better her attempts to gender the Madrid stage. A focus on her “lyrical opera” *Bion* and a comparison of it to Mehul/Hoffman’s original version will reveal the multiple levels of Gálvez’s gendered translation and adaptation, drawing some conclusions about translation as a professional pursuit for Spanish women and, more generally, for women writers during the Enlightenment.

Elisavet Papalexopoulou (European University Institute)

Trans-Adriatic Enlightenments: Maria Petrettini's Italian Translation of the "Turkish Embassy Letters"

In 1838, in the typography of the government of Corfu, Maria Petrettini, a Greco-Venetian aristocrat, published a translation of Lady Mary Wortley Montague's *Turkish Embassy Letters* from English into Italian. Her project of uncovering the stories of women writers had already begun in 1814 when she published *La Vita di Cassandra Fedele*, an original text about the life and work of the famous Quattrocento female scholar and went on with more translations and pamphlets with which she aimed to provide examples of women that would encourage female freedom through education. In this essay, taking as a focal point Petrettini's translation of the *Letters*, I aim to unravel the story of a text that challenged religious and political presuppositions both in the original and as a translation. In the work of Petrettini and Montague, the view of the Turk as a savage is deconstructed through a gendered perspective. The writer and translator propose that a traveler-writer can know a foreign land only if they are able to penetrate all aspects of public and private life. A feat that only a woman scholar can accomplish. Therefore, all other renditions of the Islamic Ottomans are incomplete and false. This proposition renders the writing of the *Letters* and the ostentatious act of their translation in the idiosyncratic mix of Greek, Venetian and Tuscan dialects that Petrettini used, revolutionary for their contemporaries and very interesting for historians.

But apart from the importance of the *Letters* and their translation, focusing on a scholar like Maria Petrettini, allows us to broaden our gaze to the intellectual possibilities available to high class women in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans; the multiple strategies for women's political representation within an era of Revolutions; the mosaic of religious, political and ethnic affiliations and the ways in which enlightenment and romantic ideas merged into each other within the framework of the Greco-Italian intellectual milieu providing us with a transcultural, trans-Adriatic Enlightenment.

SESSION 2: Religious Sensibilities: Catholicism and Modernity

Inmaculada Blasco (Universidad de La Laguna)

When Catholicism Met Modernity: Some Reflections from Recent Spanish Gender Historiography

My contribution to this conference on "Gender, Modernities and the Global Enlightenment" will be mostly based on the excellent research of Spanish historians on rethinking Spain's historical exceptionalism and on revisiting dominant narratives of the nation's past. The persistence of these narratives among European historians is underpinned by the marginality of Spanish (and South European) historiography in general accounts and debates on the European past. A key structure of these narratives (as well as explaining exceptionalism) is the treatment of Catholicism as both monolithic and unchangeable through time. The image of Catholicism as the major and continuous exponent of antimodern views and notions has obliterated its ability to accommodate,

resist and adapt to the challenges of modernity (“defensive modernity”). I will provide a more in-depth analysis for a broader explanation of past actions and subjects, and will address some of the central topics and recent debates covered by historians of Catholicism and gender when exploring late-19th (and early 20th-) century Spain. One topic is related to the shaping of liberal–modern notions of gender and their interaction with Catholic views on women; another examines the possibilities opened up by those views for the discontinuous but persistent public agency of Catholic women against secularization. I will end my intervention by reflecting on the study of the place of 19th-century devotions in fashioning gendered sensibilities through a transnational, informal and soft Catholic network.

Patrizia Delpiano (Università di Torino)

Women and Novels. Educating Female Public in the Age of Enlightenment

This paper deals with the issue of governing female *public* in *the Age of Enlightenment*. The aim is to analyse the strategies that ecclesiastical hierarchies and Catholic moralists adopted in Italy, Spain and France in order to rule over the emerging female audience in a century characterized by important political and cultural changes particularly in what concerns the secularization process.

The paper is organised into three parts. The first part analyses the reasons which led ecclesiastical hierarchies, censors and moralists to condemn the novel. Deemed able to attain a vast public – above all women and the so-called «incautious» readers –, the novel was more and more assessed as one of the instruments of the Enlightenment and, as such, a vehicle for the spread of immorality, lust and irreligion. The second part analyses the origins and the use of the *antiphilosophique* novel as a strategy useful for offering antidotes against the «itch for philosophizing» and for educating women. I will study this genre, whose objective was to oppose the principles of the Enlightenment, in the wider context of South Europe. I will analyse some novels published in the 1770s-1790: for example, *Les Helviennes, ou lettres provinciales philosophiques* (1781–1784) by the former Jesuit Augustin Barruel; *Emirena* and *Donna Urania* by Benvenuto Robbio di san Raffaele, and *Eusebio* (1786) by the former Jesuit Pedro Montengón. In many cases they are accounts of the misadventures of women who came into contact with Enlightenment books. In the third part I will analyse some translations of these novels from Italian and French into Spanish and from Spanish into Italian in order to highlight the European character of the *antiphilosophique* movement (so far studied mostly within the confines of individual states) and of its political and cultural project aiming to govern female reading.

In conclusion, the paper aims at contributing to a reflection on the problem of the paths leading to modernity paying attention to the relationship between gender, Catholicism and Enlightenment.

Helena Queirós (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle/Universidade do Porto)

Fans and Enthusiasms: Embodying Political and Religious Change during the Reign of D. José I

When, in 1779, the nuns of the convent of Louriçal addressed to the *Real Mesa Censória* a request to print the sixty-two letters that the Poor Clare nun Joana do Louriçal had written to her confessor and director of conscience, they might not have expected their project to be frustrated. Several faults are pointed out: comparisons with the model of Saint Teresa of Avila, poor logical organisation and questions of style, no publication intention of the author, lack of modesty. But above all there is a devout body that is no longer up to date: misogynistic prejudices limit Joana to her sex; bloody penance provokes horror; stigmata arouse mistrust; problems of Christian doctrine put the spiritual direction at stake. A dispute over the use of fans by ladies during Divine Office will push the consequences of this new enlightened faith far and wide. The political context had changed and with religious sensibilities. From 1750, an "enlightened" king, D. José I reigned. Devotion now wants to be "regulated". The name of D. Miguel da Anunciação, who at the time of the publication was Bishop of Coimbra and who ordered the opening of the informative process following the death of the nun and entrusted Brother José Caetano with the final composition letters from Joana to her director of conscience, had become *persona non grata* between 1767 and 1777.

This paper will focus on the reasons for the refusal of publication of the letters, all the more surprising given that the censor who first signs the report of the *Real Mesa Censória*, Brother Joaquim de S. Ana, religious of Saint Paul the first hermit, was already in 1762 one of the *qualificadores* of the tribunal of the Holy Office who had seen nothing contrary to the Christian faith in the *Memórias da vida e virtudes da serva de Deus soror Maria Joana*, which are based on the content of the letters, and were published in Lisbon, in 1762.

María Tausiet (Universitat de València-CIRGEN)

Enlightened by God. Female Sensibilities and the Rhetoric of Submission

Autobiographical writings are one of the richest and most interesting sources of knowledge about female sensibilities throughout history. Some female penitents were asked by their confessors to write about their lives, and one notable example of this kind of "autobiography by mandate" is that of Teresa Dusmet (1723-1773). Not only did she chronicle her spiritual experiences, she also collaborated in writing another, far more detailed account of her life, one which provides privileged access to her private thoughts. Both texts illustrate the evolution of female consciousness, as well as the progressive rationalisation of religious experience in the so-called Age of Enlightenment. Prosecuted by the Inquisition for alleged heterodoxy, Teresa was targeted not because of her ideas but because of the "audacity" or assertive attitude she showed in remonstrating with an influential clergyman. Beneath a characteristically female rhetoric of submission, her writing reveals considerable levels of self-esteem and self-confidence. And, in contrast to the cliché of the coercive confessor, it also introduces us to an area little studied to

date: the support and spiritual love that many women obtained from their confessors – something very different from the abusive situations they were enduring within their marriages.

SESSION 3. Women of Letters Across Frontiers

Vanda Anastácio (Universidade de Lisboa)

“Full of wit, gentleness and grace”: poetry, erudition, and other forms of participation in transnational communities of practice

D. Leonor de Almeida Portugal (1750-1839), better known today as the Marchioness of Alorna, had an unusual trajectory. Shortly after Queen Maria I ascended to the Portuguese throne she married a German officer, the Count of Oyenhausen, for whom she obtained the post of plenipotentiary Minister in 1780. The couple lived in the Imperial Court of Vienna for the next five years, taking part in the salons and gatherings of the polite society. They moved to the South of France (Avignon and Marseille) in 1785, where D. Leonor followed with interest the activities of the Academy of Sciences of Marseille, from which her husband became a member. When the Oyenhausen's returned to Portugal in the 1790s she held a salon and had a central role in Lisbon intellectual life. She became a widow in 1793, took interest in the French counter-revolution and moved to London by the time Napoleon's army was entering the Iberian Peninsula. She lived in England, in close contact with the partisans of the French counter-revolution and emigrés of different origins, for the next 10 years, before returning to Portugal in 1814.

D. Leonor's transnational circulation makes her an interesting case of study, which can illuminate gendered strategies of participation in cultural networks and communities of practice in this period. The fact that D. Leonor used her skills as a poet and as a translator as privileged means to establish personal connections, to act as a mediator between cultures, to integrate social and intellectual networks, and to fashion her reputation as a woman of letters is especially relevant in this discussion. This inquiry can be deepened by taking into consideration the selective way in which the Marchioness of Alorna used manuscript and/or print for the diffusion of her writings in different periods of her life. Examining D. Leonor's cultural agency invites the scholar to think about “gender” in an intersectional manner, and to consider this historical category of analysis in its relation to other important aspects like class, religion, and/or political affinities in the period of the Enlightenment.

Esther M. Villegas de la Torre (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Gendering Readers, Authors, and Translators through Print, 1670-1700

Despite countless efforts arguing for its erasure, in some scholarly quarters there continues to be a divide in historiography over the role and importance of women in the Republic of Letters —as late medieval, early modern, and Enlightenment individuals

called the literary profession. The alleged view that women only marginally and/or transgressively contributed to this public sphere until, perhaps, the eighteenth century, is old and pervasive. Certainly, even in the seventeenth century, when the literary product underwent a rapid process of commercialization which brought with it the professionalization of the writer's career, learned women still faced criticism based on their gender and continued to be outnumbered by their male counterparts. Nonetheless, these facts somewhat lose significance, if contrasted with the invocation of ancient and modern models of female intellect and creativity circulating throughout the period—not to mention, if contrasted with the abundance of public works intended for and about women (many also authored by women themselves) since the Middle Ages. In fact, learned women had cultural capital and financial worth, which only increased over time. This especially holds in light of the recurrence with which women engaged, directly and indirectly, with scribal and print publication—the latter's *raison d'être* is profit—across borders. Arguably, then, facing opposition and being outnumbered was not univocally damaging, since learned women also constituted a recognized group identity within the Republic of Letters.

This paper seeks to revisit the late seventeenth-century Republic of Letters, particularly, in order to examine the evolution of cultural transfers connecting the Luso-Hispanic and Anglo contexts. Taking a transnational stance informed by book history and gender theory, the analysis will reflect on the degree of importance of women's agency, chiefly as readers, authors, and translators; that is, by locating changes and consistencies in publishing strategies across borders, as reflected in key works by Aphra Behn, Isabel Rebecca Correa, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. In short, the paper aims to contribute to the aforementioned historiographical debate by presenting alternative readings relating to notable cases, which, as will be seen, call into question the pervasive tendency to prioritize ideologies over practices in the study of female authorship.

Amélie Jaques and Beatrijs Vanacker (KU Leuven)

Transnational Women of Intellect: (De)Constructing Gender Stereotypes in Various Voices

In the late Enlightenment, linguistic pluralism was an omnipresent fact. Members of the Republic of Letters built networks that stretched across national borders and through which they shared knowledge and entered into dialogue. In the past, scholars argued that French, as a *lingua franca*, united the transnational elite. Recent scholarship has nuanced this long-standing belief and has put forward the image of a multilingual eighteenth-century Europe where members of the elite were familiar with French, English, Dutch, German or even Italian.

By mastering foreign languages, the intellectual elite had access to cultures expressed in those languages as well, giving way to different types of transcultural or transnational writing practices, such as translation or adaptation, or other forms of contribution to cultural and textual transfers. Within gender studies, the past few decades have witnessed an increasing scholarly interest in the transcultural and transnational practices of Early Modern women writers. Yet, the specific link between multilingual and transcultural

writing practices – and more specifically, the strategic use of multilingual writing practices in relation to practices of translation or mediation – largely remained underexplored.

Drawing examples from the letters of two women writers who lived and wrote (partly) in the Northern Netherlands, namely Isabelle de Charrière (1740-1805) and Betje Wolff (1738- 1804), this paper will explore the way in which eighteenth-century European women writers from the *periphery* made strategic use of multilingualism in order to strengthen their position as a *female* intellectual, author and/or cultural mediator in the transnational Republic of Letters. Their life writing in particular, we argue, as a means of cultural and intellectual self- exploration and -representation, sheds new light on these – often strategically chosen – alternations between languages, on the one hand, and references to the multilingual practice of the (female) transnational elite, on the other. We will, furthermore, address the extent to which these women’s processes of intellectual identity formation, informed by multilingual writing practices, come with a (de)construction or reinforcement of *gender* stereotypes. In other words, to what extent is the (de)construction of the image of the *modest* or *unlearned woman* intertwined with the (de)valorization of multilingual writing practices and hence the shaping of an image of the self as an author and/or cultural mediator? Studying this specific relation between language and learnedness in de Charrière’s and Wolff’s life writing will then offer new perspectives on both the role of female authors from the periphery as cultural mediators in the transnational Republic of Letters, and the adoption, adaptation and transformation of notions of gender in Enlightenment Europe. It will, moreover, shed new light on the multilingual character of eighteenth-century Europe and the specific correlation between linguistic spread and cultural diffusion.

Lieke van Deinsen (KU Leuven)

Female Author Portraits and The Dissemination of a New Imagery of Gendered Intellectual Authority across Enlightenment Europe

In the course of the early modern period printed author portraits started to play an increasingly important role in the construction of auctorial identity. The growing demand for these portraits, presented women writers – who increasingly participated in the intellectual debate and found their ways to the printing presses – with a notoriously thorny dilemma. For, as numerous historians have argued, despite the growing autonomy of the individual, women’s possibilities in the public sphere remained starkly limited. If publicly speaking and writing already considered as challenges to the prescriptive definition of modest female behaviour, printing their picture available for purchase and circulation among a wide and often unknown audience seemed all the more scandalous. As a consequence, it has long been assumed the number of circulating female author portraits was relatively low. Recent large-scale digitization projects have brought to light that, contrary to what is often believed, faces of female intellectuals became very visible in the early modern period.

This paper will analyse how these popular female author portraits challenged the gender hierarchy in the transnationally oriented European intellectual field, as they imaginatively

united two seemingly incompatible socio-cultural categories: being *woman* and being *learned* in one image. As visual signs, these portraits proved particularly effective in transferring new emancipatory ideas on female intellectual authority across national and linguistic borders. Crucially, these portraits were not only included in books, but also collectible items in their own right: as such, they were exchanged between members of the Republic of Letters, the long-distance intellectual community, displayed in (public) libraries and included in compendia of learned men and women. Even when the texts that was often included in the image was not immediately understandable for the new public, the image transmitted an alternative vision on women's potential to become knowledgably human beings in the male-dominated early modern world of learning.

By focussing on the circulation of female author portraits, my paper will generate insight in the ways female author portraits proved effective in enabling alternative gender role models all over Europe. I will pay particular attention to the construction and circulation of printed portraits of learned and literate women from the South of Europe, including Laura Bassi and Maria Gaetana Agnesi. Who were the agents were involved in the production and distribution of their portraits and how were these images creatively appropriated in other local/national contexts?

Eve-Marie Lampron (Université du Québec à Montréal)

“Since France Now Looks Down on Italy”: National Identity's Impacts on Relationships amongst Women Writers

During the last decades, literary scholars and historians have successfully highlighted the depth and extent of female literary networks in Enlightenment Europe. An emerging scholarship seeks now to detail the numerous ways in which literary encounters among women took place (see amongst others Lachaise et al. 2018, Brown & Dow 2011, Gilleir et al. 2010). Whether by reading each other's works, corresponding with one another, or organizing in-person meetings, women writers formed networks on national and transnational levels. However, these relationships remained strongly grounded on the context from which they had emerged, especially regarding national identities : whether culturally – Paris stood as the strongest cultural center (Van Damme 2005) as Italy's own position declined (Waquet 1989) – or politically, most of Italy being under foreign influence or dominance in the 18th century, and then conquered by French revolutionary/imperial armies. To what extent do national identities impact the relationships built on the shared identity of female writers ?

This paper will highlight the challenges faced by Italian journalists Carolina Lattanzi (1771-1818) and Elisabetta Caminer Turra (1751-1796), author of this paper's title quote, and salonnières and authors Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi (1760-1836) and Giustina Renier Michiel (1755-1832) in developing literary connections with French women, whether through literary (books or correspondence) or face-to-face encounters. Moreover, as the four women come from two different cities/regions of Italy (Milan, Venice), the paper will also allow to explore the tensions between local, national and cosmopolitan networks. In addition to the question of Nation, I will subsequently highlight other factors that must be considered in order to characterize the extent, depth and success (or lack thereof) of

these French/Italian relationships among women writers: class, common networks with prominent men of letter (thus acting as agents of encounters between women) and, of course, women's own views on gender. Overall, this paper postulates that the goal of defending literary activities provides common ground rooting to these women's literary relationships, notwithstanding the political and cultural forces at work to divide them, at a time when, not only literary activity, but also the political and cultural context in which it was framed, were undergoing great transformation.

SESSION 4. Making Publics, Mediating Knowledge

Laura Beck (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Jurisprudence Among Cooking Recipes: Notions of Law in the German, the Italian, the Iberian and the Mexican Contexts

Several literary and pedagogic genres addressed to the female readership flourished during the eighteenth century throughout Europe and the Americas: encyclopedic and miscellaneous volumes, *bibliothèques*, reprints and translations of the catalogues of illustrious women, philosophical and scientific works as well as the so-called “dictionaries” for women (known in the German-speaking area as *Frauenzimmerlexica*). This process of “popularization” of scientific knowledge affected also the field of jurisprudence, probably the most self-referential of the academic disciplines, together with dogmatic theology. Even if jurisprudence “*was not part of ladylike erudition*”, the editors of a Halle weekly magazine wrote in 1748, some of these *lexica* for women encompassed references to basic notions of law. This was the case of the popular *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon*, published by the lawyer and poet Gottlieb Sigmund Corvinus under the pseudonym *Amaranthes* (Leipzig, 1715; reprinted in 1739 and 1773). Legal definitions, juridical rules regarding widow's rights and privileges, or practical advice for signing contracts and for bringing cases to court, were dispersed among cooking recipes, household management instructions, principles of “universal wisdom” and lives of legendary women who had allegedly excelled as philosophers, judges, legislators and lawyers.

Focusing on Corvinus' construction of the “woman reader”, this paper will address some of the marginal attempts of popularizing legal knowledge for women. Latin was still the dominant professional language in the world of law, but during the eighteenth century (as never before), legal literature began to be written or translated into vernacular languages. In this context, the dangers “*of making law intelligible for women*”, as Florez Velasco wrote in his translation of Justinian's Institutes of civil law (Salamanca, 1736), became a frequent topic among jurists. Besides a few isolated attempts of writing legal primers for women, such as J. Kratzenstein's *Institutes du droit civil pour les dames* (Helmstedt, 1751), explicit mentions to women as readers and users of law books are found in the praxis-oriented legal literature of the time. This paper will offer a comparative overview of examples of this phenomenon found in the German, the Italian, the Iberian and the Mexican contexts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (such as the Leipzig jurist Carl Hommel in 1773 or the abridgements of the eighteenth-century Valencian jurist Juan Sala printed in Mexico). These works functioned as frontier

zones between the world of professional jurists and the lay audience of women readers. What kind of legal knowledge did these (male) authors consider “suitable” for the imagined female readership? What kind of reader did they “construct” and what motivated them to engage in the “popularization” of law for women? Were these legal notions appropriated by female readers, for practical purposes? Could jurisprudence find a place among the new “popular” scientific, historical and philosophical genres, promoted in certain enlightened circles?

Margaret Boyle (Bowdoin College)

Making and Testing Recipes across Languages. Multilinguistic Recetarios

This essay will consider the topic of women’s recipe circulation in the Iberian context, demonstrating ties between England and Spain, the global circulation of ingredients (including cacao from the Americas), and variety of preparations. I will focus specifically on two multilingual collections including their making and afterlives: the Granville manuscript (1640-1750) and *Libro de Recetas de Portugal para hacer peuetes y pastillas y adreçar guantes perfumados* [*Book of Recipes from Portugal to make tablets and pills, and addressing perfumed gloves*] (1637). The first collection was authored by three generations of English women — Mary Granville, her mother Mary, and her daughter Anne D’Ewes. The collection includes recipes in Spanish and English and conversation across generations. The lively editing within the manuscript indicative of refining and testing over time. Sarah Hughes’s 1637 recipe book *Libro de Recetas de Portugal para hacer peuetes y pastillas y adreçar guantes perfumados* [*Book of Recipes from Portugal to make tablets and pills, and addressing perfumed gloves*] contains about 40 folios of Spanish recipes, including medicinal remedies like the one for a pill designed to cure “reumas y dolor de cabeza” [rheumatism and headache], assorted dental treatments (pastes and washes), as well as a long list of recipes for perfumed gloves.

These collections along with others provide specific evidence of cross-cultural circulation of knowledge pertinent to health and well-being. The organization of these multilingual collections are varied: side-by-side translations, bilingual editions (one copy following another), and hybrid forms (multiple languages used within a single recipe or imperfect translations). As stand alone volumes or in conversation with one another, the multilingualism of these collections raise challenging questions concerning audience and readership, cultural knowledge, dissemination, and appropriation. Through the study of recipes, we can also recover new narratives about the lives of early modern women, who were authoritative though frequently contested administrators of domestic life. Women made and used recipes to attend to themselves and their families, for a wide range of purposes: treating ailments, self-fashioning, preparing meals, and complying to gendered aesthetic and social norms.

Susan Dalton (Université de Montréal)

Mediating the Moral World: Women Popularizing Art and Literature in early 19th-Century Venice

This paper seeks to highlight both the importance and the gendered dimension of popularization (or popular education) in early nineteenth-century Venice through the published works of two of the city's most famous salon hostesses, Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi (1760-1836) and Giustina Renier Michiel (1755-1832). Both women moved in rarified social and intellectual circles, developing fruitful relationships with some of the best known men of letters in the period, including Ugo Foscolo, one of the leading Italian romantic poets, and Melchior Cesarotti, the famous translator of Ossian. After hosting these men in conversation in their homes, Teotochi Albrizzi and Renier Michiel began to publish in a variety of different genres, from literary portraits, to translation, to theatre criticism, to art criticism to history. In these works, it is clear that both women faced gender expectations that they were eager to meet by emphasizing their sensibility and their status as mothers. When placed in the context of the transition from the Enlightenment to the Romantic era, however, it becomes clear that the very quality that defined them as women (their supposed abundance of sensibility) was also valued by contemporaries as tool for ensuring the public good. Women were recognized by many authors in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century as the moral sex, motivated by fellow-feeling to help the less fortunate. (A-L Thomas, S. Bettinelli) Moreover, contemporaries believed that their sensibility allowed them to recognize morality in others. Historiography has recognized that their "moral nature", coupled with the primacy accorded to their role as mothers, led women to be tied increasingly to the education of small children. Some female authors capitalized on the association by publishing in the nascent area of children's literature. An analysis of Teotochi Albrizzi and Renier Michiel's work demonstrates that women were also accepted as popularizers able to simplify complex material for adults, and not only in the area of science. (P. Findlen, D. Aubin) Although Teotochi Albrizzi and Renier Michiel often *dedicated* their publications to their children, the core of their works targeted adult readers who could not help but benefit from the examples of virtue presented to them in a variety of formats. By returning continually to the theme of virtue, by interrogating it, describing it, defending it and modeling it in their own reception, Teotochi Albrizzi and Renier Michiel filled the role of cultural intermediary, ensuring the moral edification of the general public. Why were such intermediaries necessary? As I will show, contemporaries were not at all certain that the public could understand the moral messages presented to them in plays, sculptures, paintings and historical works. They needed to be guided to the appropriate reading of these works and calls to ensure this guidance demonstrates even more clearly the stakes of moral edification for Enlightenment and Romantic authors and artists in Italy. Reading Teotochi Albrizzi and Renier Michiel's publications as responses to these calls highlights the fact that the *transmission* of culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was considered a vexing problem that elite women could help solve.

Carolina Blutrach (Universitat de València-CIRGEN)

For Ladies and Other Readers: Popularizing Knowledge in the Spanish Monarchy and the Role of Translation in the Making of New Audiences

The drive to systematize and collect knowledge was part of the spirit of the 18th century, symbolized by the *Encyclopédie*. This included wide-ranging collections addressed to a female audience, although -as has been widely studied in the case of popular science publications- the claim "for the ladies" implicitly included broader readerships of both sexes: libraries composed of novels, short stories, fairy tales. One of the best examples is the *Bibliothèque universelle des dames* (1785-1797) in 156 volumes ranging from literature to science.

In Spain, three significant examples of this type of collections, all of them composed by translations of French or English originals, were launched, with different degrees of success, between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1797, the *Biblioteca entretenida de damas*, a collection of stories and novels; in 1806, *La biblioteca selecta de damas*, a clear emulation and adaptation (in length and content) of the French *Bibliothèque*; in 1807, the *Bibliothèque britannique ou recueil extrait des ouvrages anglais périodiques et autre* (Geneva, 1786-1815), a work that contained materials for use by families for educational purposes.

Taking the paradigmatic *Bibliothèque universelle des dames* as a starting point, this essay analyses similar collections and their circulation in Spain and colonial Latin America from a comparative point of view. This genre, which has not been sufficiently studied, was eminently transnational due to the central presence of translations. Taking a close look at it will help to unravel the complex relationship between the moral construction of the "woman reader", the social, commercial and cultural processes of collecting and popularizing specialized knowledge and the actual experience of women's reading. To do so, I will analyse the content and paratexts of such collections, trace their presence in the periodical press and private libraries, and map the processes of translation and adaptation that allowed the transnational circulation of texts and ideas and favoured the dissemination of knowledge among non-academic sectors. All this in a context where the order of knowledge and of publics were being redefined.

Laura Guinot (Universitat de València-CIRGEN)

The Production and Circulation of Literature for Women Between Europe and America: A Perspective from the Hispanic-American World

Scholarship about the production and circulation of "literature for women" and about the making of female readerships in the eighteenth century has resulted in numerous studies, specially about Britain and France, and some about the south of Europe (Spain, Portugal, and Italy). Colonial Latin America has hardly figured in those accounts. This essay is a first step towards the study of the production and circulation of books aiming at a female readership, focusing on Spain and New Spain and its connections with Europe.

The starting point is the comparative study of two multivolume bibliographic catalogues: José Toribio's compilation of all books published in colonial Latin America since the first presses (a collection of more than 20 volumes published between 1875 and 1904) and Francisco Aguilar Piñal's bibliography of Spanish book production during the eighteenth century (*Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, 1981-2001). This will allow to offer an estimate of the volume of books written "for women" in both spaces in the long eighteenth century, which is relevant empirical evidence that has not been established up to now. In this production, it is important to distinguish between original printed works, reprints, and translations. Also, to assess the commercialization of books between Latin America and Europe, which has already been widely analysed through the registers of traders, shipments, and bookshops, but I will for the first time consider in its gendered dimension. As the periodical press had a key role in the distribution of this printing material, advertisements in journals such as the *Gazeta de México* will be searched to analyse which books were given publicity, which were their place of publication and, if possible, the audiences they targeted.

The aim of the essay is to evaluate the similarities and differences in the production and circulation of women's literature between New Spain and peninsular Spain, and its connections to Europe. To what extent did that literature travel, potentially both ways? How were its contents and forms adapted via translations or reprints? Was there a marked difference in the balance between religious and secular literature? The aim is not to contrast sharply between indigenous and imported literature, but rather to interrogate the appropriations and specific forms in which the so-called literature for women was shaped in the Hispanic world.

THURSDAY 24 FEBRUARY

SESSION 5. Debating Gender in Transnational and Transatlantic Settings

Mariselle Meléndez (University of Illinois)

Contesting Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spanish American Newspapers

Eighteenth-Century newspapers such as the *Mercurio Peruano*, *Papel periódico de la Ciudad de Santafé de Bogotá*, *Primicias de la cultura de Quito* and *Gazeta de México*, were established indifferent territories of colonial Hispanic America under the pursuit of cultural and social reform centered upon Enlightenment views of religion, politics, science, literature, art, education, economy, and philosophy. Within this frame women many times became the focal point of discussion and a pretext to discuss the current state of their respective nations. Race, gender, and sexuality became key factors in these discussions which ultimately appealed to diverse patriotic epistemologies.

My paper will focus on how the editors of these newspapers contested gender and how their arguments were contested by female subscribers of these newspapers. Particular attention will be paid to the role that race and social class played in such gender constructions. Finally, I will also discuss some eighteenth-century legal cases that dialogue and question some of the gender assumptions that circulated in such

newspapers. Geographically, the analysis will focus on cases pertaining to eighteenth century Nueva España, Nueva Granada, and Perú, paying particular attention to circulation of ideas and texts between those different territories, peninsular Spain and other European countries.

Clorinda Donato (California State University, Long Beach)

Translating Transgender in Eighteenth-Century Europe: The Mediatic Ecosystem of Transmission, Reworking, and Circulation of The Brief Story of Catterina Vizzani

The life story of Catterina Vizzani, the Italian woman who transitioned to male to become Giovanni Bordoni, was first told in a 29-page novella whose title, *Breve storia di Catterina Vizzani*, or *Brief History of Catterina Vizzani*, was published by in 1744 by anatomist Giovanni Bianchi who felt compelled to go far beyond the clinical description of the corpse of Catterina/Giovanni that he had autopsied, subsequent to their death. However, the story achieved its notoriety, and something of the status of a classic on representations of transgender, thanks to John Cleland's sensationalized translation of the text into English in 1751. Cleland, author of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, better known as Fanny Hill, had a penchant for combining sexual content with social commentary, as is evident to any reader of Fanny Hill, and the story of Catterina Vizzani offered him an enticing second act. Even the short title of his translation, *An Historical and physical dissertation on the case of Catherine Vizzani*, demonstrates from the outset, Cleland's desire to focus on the body, rather than the life story.

In my recent monograph, *The Life and Legend of Catterina Vizzani: Sexual Identity, Science and Sensationalism in Eighteenth-Century Italy and England*, (Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, Liverpool University Press, Voltaire Foundation, 2020), I have explored some of the issues characterizing the cultural, linguistic, and physiological dichotomies between the Italian and English telling of Catterina Vizzani/Giovanni Bordoni's transgendered life. In the paper I am proposing for CIRGEN, I would like to extend this analysis to the German translation of the novella, and a further transnational consideration of transgender through translation across multiple languages and cultures, allowing for an analysis of the telescoping of discourses about transgender in the Caterina Vizzani story, as perceived by different translators and socio-sexual traditions. This paper will focus on the German translation of Vizzani/Bordoni's life, *Historische und physikalische Beschreibung des merkwürdigen Falles mit Catterina Vizzani*, which was published in a magazine in 1755, the *Allegemeines Magazin der Natur, Kunst und Wissenschaften*. Although the translator is not named, the fact that it was based on the English translation and not the original Italian is indicated on the title page. This is not surprising if we consider the small number of copies Bianchi published and the limited distribution, which will be discussed in this paper. However, the English version certainly travelled far and wide, judging from this German translation. It is also significant that the novella appeared in a German periodical on nature, art, and science, where it circulated widely, juxtaposed with a number of other short texts classified under the same rubric.

Our analysis of the German translation presents a new set of cultural reflections on gender, in particular transgender, with the many intertextualities that exist between this German text, Cleland's translation and Bianchi's original. But it also builds upon and one of the most well-known trials of a transgender person, that of Catharina Margaretha Linck who died by hanging in 1721 for transforming her body and transitioning into a man. Linck's trial documents raise the hotly debated issue of what constitutes a sexual crime when a dildo is used to penetrate a woman. Following the precepts of the seventeenth century Italian Franciscan, Ludovico Maria Sinistrari, author of *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Absolutissimus* or *The Most Absolute Treatise of Crime and Punishment*, of which one section was about sodomy, including women with large clitorises or dildos. The crime, according to Sinistrari, was through the pleasure derived from touching genitalia, not from a dildo. This was debated at Linck's trial and printed in the write-up of the trial. Thus the German translation of Cattarina Vizzani's story, together with Linck's, Cleland's translation and Bianchi's original, together with the widely-circulated Sinistrari in Latin, constitute a vibrant mediatic European mediatic ecosystem in which an Italian text, Bianchi's original, has been left out of consideration due to the overwhelming availability of the English "translation." By tracing the movement of texts about transgendered subjects in eighteenth century Europe, the mechanisms of reciprocity and transmission, and ultimately, knowledge transfer, reworking and circulation become visible.

Jenny Mander (University of Cambridge)

*Transatlantic Performances of Colonial Ways of Loving: Framéry's La Colonie and the Anonymous Lettres de madame P****

This text will frame questions of gender and sensibility in the long eighteenth century from the perspective of the traffic of texts and the movement of people between Europe and the Americas, with particular reference to the 'sugar island' of Saint Domingue. It will take as its primary focus the movement of two texts. The first of these is Nicholas-Étienne Framéry's *La Colonie*, a two-act comic opera that imitated L'Isola d'amore of Rigo and parodies the music of Sacchini. First performed in Paris at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1775, Framéry's comic opera enjoyed considerable success in Europe between 1775 and 1799. Meanwhile it had also travelled to the stages of Saint Domingue where between 1776 and 1787. Indebted to a long theatrical tradition in which the colonial island became the lens for exploring the complexities of agency, autonomy and societal stability through the lens of love, marriage and (not infrequently) the figure of the independent Amazonian woman, Framéry's comedy is structured around a fictional colonial island where the law demands that all young women must take a husband within eight days of arriving on the island or they must leave. To draw out the disruptive dangers of passionate desire that constitute the comedic core of Framéry's opera and locate this in the context of anxieties and challenges relating transnational movement and colonial governance, it will be read against a second text that 'returns' to Europe from the island colony, this text being an almost unknown creole parody of *Les Liaisons dangereuses*, published in the same year as Laclos's novel, ostensibly 'au Cap-Français'. This is an ironical tale of colonial contagion and confusion resulting from sexual desire 'on the move'. This dialogic and transatlantic reading will use the topographical figure of the

island as a synecdoche for European colonisation in order to draw out how representations of ‘multiple ways of loving’ are used to articulate anxieties and challenges relating to borders and commerce, foregrounding the ambiguities of female hospitality as the basis for international relations.

Susan Carlile (California State University, Long Beach)

Spanish Modernity in the British Press, 1740-1760

Only recently has the British press been studied to include women’s contributions. *Women’s Periodical and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s* (eds Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell) highlights the newly forming British periodical culture and the role that women played in influencing their society outside the domestic sphere to bring England into the modern era. During the Enlightenment, we now know, periodical editors in a number of European countries translated and published writing from foreign authors. For example, German women’s writing published in British periodicals started around 1760. This international exchange of ideas as well as the fact that a much wider swath of readers could access these periodicals, could be thought of as The First Information Age. In England, the middle of the eighteenth century saw a burgeoning of interest in setting aside political and religious differences to promote humanistic values in ways that were not previously possible. Both men and women were part of this effort to disseminate the best thinking not only from within England but from other parts of Europe, including Spain.

At a time when the Spanish Inquisition still kept foreign books and ideas under suspicion as possible sources of heterodoxy, sectors of the English press were publicizing Spaniards who reflected reconciliation. There is no doubt that England’s political relationships with foreign countries was vexed, and Spain was not immune to their aggressions. A mob might attack a Spaniard in the streets of London purely on the speculation that he might be French and/or Catholic. England battled with Spain over Menorca in hopes of making it a naval base. Yet in spite of Spain conservatism and England’s violent assertions of superiority, at the level of information exchange among the curious who were increasingly literate and globally aware, beliefs about equity among all humans were beginning to be promoted in England, including from Catholic Spain.

This paper will highlight Spanish ideas of equity and peace that were promoted in the English press. Scholars such as Mónica Bolufer, Catherine Jaffe, Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, and Joanna Baker have done outstanding work to recover the efforts of many Spanish women’s intellectual work. However, a consideration of how Spain and Spanish writing was employed in the British press has yet to be explored. This paper will consider how the promotion of women’s minds and ideas about peaceful relations between countries was taken up by English journalists. It will consider Eliza Haywood’s treatment of Spain in her 1746 periodical *The Parrot*, which unapologetically discusses global and domestic military situations and takes a particular interest in Spanish women’s freedoms and the global implications of the transition of power from King Phillip V to King Ferdinand IV. It will also analyze the translation into English of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro’s *La Defensa de La Mujer*, which is well-known for arguing that women

were men's intellectual equals. In spite of Feijoo's profession as a priest, his pioneering work was published in thirteen installments in the London *Lady's Magazine, Polite Companion to the Fair Sex* (1759), and he was referred to as "a debunker of myths." This study ultimately reveals how the radically blossoming English periodical world in the middle of the eighteenth-century employed groundbreaking Spanish ideas to promote gender equity and peace.

Mónica Bolufer (Universitat de València-CIRGEN)

Discussing Gender, Discussing Modernities. The Many Lives of A Spanish Defence of Women in Europe and America

The extent to which translation and transnational, eventually transatlantic circulation shaped eighteenth-century debate on gender has not been extensively researched. A few studies have been carried out on some versions of French Works; significantly less is known about the fate of texts originally published in languages different from French, and multiple translations of a single text are not usually compared and put in relation to each other. Also, the question of temporality has been hardly tackled, apart from noting early or delayed circulation. However, as scholarship of the last decades on linguistic and cultural translation has made evident, translations tell complex stories which are not about unilateral reception, but about reframing, rewriting, resignifying across languages, cultures and times.

This essay discusses the circulation of Benito Jerónimo Feijoo's *Defence of women* (originally published in Spanish in 1726) across Europe (France, Italy, Portugal, Britain) and in colonial Latin America throughout the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. It compares for the first time different translations of this work in four different languages and their contexts of production and dissemination, asking when, by whom, for which readership, in which context and why it was adapted time and again, both as part of Feijoo's works and a self-standing essay.

The wide and long impact of this essay by a Spanish Enlightened benedictine monk does not just add one more example of the importance of eighteenth-century transnational and transatlantic circulation of ideas, but raises significant theoretical and methodological questions. It allows, firstly, to make the case for a multicentered comprehension of Enlightenment discussions of gender, usually focused on the French, British and Anglo American scenarios. Secondly, it makes us wonder, as it did in its own time, how modernity was framed (by its own author and by its international readers and critics) and conciliated both with Catholicism and with national stereotypes. Thirdly, it stimulates reflection about the processes by which texts written and published long time ago are revived and resignified under new circumstances. Finally, it allows to look at intralinguistic translation and creole responses to understand cultural relations between peninsular Spain (and Europe) and colonial Latin America not as unilateral dissemination, but as active, critical discussion.

SESSION 6. Connecting Worlds: Self and Identity in Travel Narratives

Juan Pimentel (CCHS-CSIC) and Manuel Burón (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Hidden or Forbidden. On Female Roles in South Pacific Early Contacts

In 1768, in Matavai Bay, currently Tahiti, one of the most noted episodes of first contact took place: Louis Antoine de Bougainville's expedition of *la Bodeuse* and *l'Étoile*. Through this very episode, we will consider the antagonistic role that women played, both in Western and Polynesian societies. On the one hand, Tahitian women had leading roles and such an unprecedented visibility that Europeans built a myth around them. On the other, among the French crew, one woman was disguised as a man and hidden like a stowaway: the naturalist Jeanne Baret. Opposing taboos, the visibility and invisibility of women in those episodes, and cross-cultural misunderstandings will be the main points that guides this study.

Leonie Achtnich (Freie Universität Berlin)

"This state is yet young, [...] so we must not be rigorous in our judgment." The We-Perspective in Eighteenth Century Travel Accounts by Women

In travel accounts the perspective of the person traveling and then describing their experiences is crucial—not only for the representation of the destination, but also for the identity of the person narrating. How does the “self” position itself in such accounts? How does he or she describe what is before their eyes? In this context it is of great interest to look at the author's use of pronouns: is it narrated from the first person singular (“I”) or from the first person plural (“we”) ? The uses of the latter, the “we-perspective”, is not only quite common in travel accounts, it is also particularly intriguing, since it creates a collective voice: On the one hand, being part of a “we” creates a sense of community and strengthens the author's position. Yet on the other hand, “we” creates anonymity and diminishes the power of an individual voice.

These issues are particularly virulent when the person traveling and writing is a woman of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, such as Mary Wollstonecraft (*Letters written during a short residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark*, 1796), Hester Lynch Piozzi (*Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey Through France, Italy and Germany*, 1789), Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (“*The Turkish Embassy Letters*“, 1763), Anna Maria Falconbridge (*Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone*, 1794) or Elisabeth Craven (*Letters from the Right Honorable Lady Craven, to his serene highness the margrave of Anspach, during her travels through France, Germany, and Russia in 1785 and 1786*). Even though women had increasingly become a part of the writing and reading community throughout the course of the eighteenth century, accounts of travel were a genre still predominantly male. Often, women's contributions to this genre were considered to be rather autobiographical. This makes the use of pronouns even more interesting, since they often reveal how the female traveler experiences a sense of self *and* a sense of the “other” and how she builds her alliances. Looking at the uses of the “we-perspective” in the texts mentioned above (and potentially others) may reveal the

politics of gender and genre underlying the travel accounts. These politics can then be discussed against the background of the century of enlightenment, in which the individual on the one hand and collectives on the other became increasingly important. In my contribution to the conference, I thus propose to look at the “we-perspective” in a variety of eighteenth century travel accounts by women. I will specifically discuss how they became a platform for negotiating gender and genre and how the “we-perspective” shaped new alliances between the home countries, the travelers and their destinations.

Pedro Urbano (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

The Self and the Other in the Marchioness of Fronteira’s Diary

The increasing literacy among 19th century elites, the writing of correspondence and diaries as elements of symbolic power and the valorization of the individual, lyricism, emotions and subjectivity brought by romanticism allowed the intimate writing trivialization. However, there are few diaries written by women in Portugal in that century. This may not be due to the lack of this documentation, but because gender studies and historiography about women have not invested in family archives as a primary source. The situation results from the low accessibility of these documentation collections to researchers, despite the advances made in recent years.

One of these exceptions is the diary of the 7th Marchioness of Fronteira, D. Maria Constança da Câmara (1801-1860), whom wrote a diary between 1826 and 1842. It is mainly a travelogue, whose writing was motivated by the political situation in Portugal, namely the civil war that opposed constitutionalists and absolutists. Forced to emigration by the absolutist regime, the marquises, supporters of the constitutional party, traveled through several kingdoms and countries in Europe: United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Italy.

Privileged spectator of political, social and cultural events in Europe at the time, namely the political revolutions inheriting the Enlightenment, she contacted with new and diverse realities. One could ask how she saw the other(s), the foreigner, although being a foreigner herself. How did belonging to a social group affect that feeling of belonging and identity? What extent the differences or similarities on the other shaped her own self? Naturally, these questions are related to the notion that autobiographical writing is a form of construction of the authorial entity, from a literary point of view. Through confrontation with the other, the different, the exotic that travel literature allows, to what extent can we observe this construction of the self?

Michaela Mudure (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

Enlightened Women’s Transnational Circuits from the Balkans to Russia

The paper is meant to compare the role played by two women, Princess Maria Cantemir, (1700-1754) and Countess Roxandra Edling, née Stourdza (1786-1844) in the circulation

of Enlightenment ideas between the Balkans and Russia. Their imposed travels, their relocation in new socio-political and cultural constructs (namely from the Istanbul to Sankt Petersburg and Russia) shaped their identities. We shall compare their experiences of travel, their negotiating contexts, their sociabilities and their cultural consumption. Last but certainly not least we shall pay attention to the ways in which they responded to the pressure to marry and conform to an overwhelming identity model.

Maria Cantemir was born in Istanbul in an aristocratic Moldavian family. Her father was the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir who had been sent to Istanbul as a political hostage to guarantee the submission of Moldavia to the Sublime Porte. Maria's mother was a member of the distinguished family of the Cantacuzino who had imperial Byzantine origins. Maria received excellent education both in Istanbul and in Moldavia. Between 1710 and 1711 the family lived in Moldavia. Cantemir was appointed the Prince of Moldavia by the Ottomans. But the political options of Dimitrie Cantemir obliged the family to run into exile to Russia, in 1711. Dimitrie Cantemir had betrayed the Ottoman Empire and signed a political treaty with Peter the Great. Unfortunately, in 1711, in the battle of Stanilesti, the Russian and the Moldavian forces were defeated by the Turks. Cantemir and his family left Moldavia never to return. They lived in Russia for the rest of their lives. Maria Cantemir left a rich correspondence with her brother Antioch Cantemir who was ambassador of Russia to London (1732) and Paris (1738). The classical wit, the use of animal figures to hide the real personalities the two brothers were talking about, irony, satire, these are the textual tools which Maria Cantemir used in order to preserve her privacy and independence. In spite of the social pressure and the bitter gossip she "benefited" the Russian high society she never married. There were rumours that she had had a relationship with Peter the Great but recent historical research does not confirm this. Antioch died in 1744, Maria found refuge in religiosity and was never tempted to marry.

Countess Roxandra Edling was also born in the high Christian aristocracy in Istanbul, in 1786. Her parents were Prince Skarlat Sturdza and her mother was Princess Mourousi. Both her parents were members of the Phanar elite. The Phanar was a Christian neighbourhood of Istanbul from where high officials of the Empire were selected (translators, rulers of the Romanian Principalities – Moldavia or Wallachia). In 1790, the Sturdza family moved to Iași (Moldavia) because Roxandra's father was appointed the Prince of this territory of the Ottoman Empire. Like the Cantemir family they had to settle in Sankt Petersburg in 1800. The political sympathies of Roxandra's father towards the Christian cause could endanger their lives and they ran away never to return to Moldova. Roxandra benefited from very careful education in Russian and Greek. In 1806 she became the master of ceremonies at the court of Czar Alexander I and his wife and in 1809 she married into the high Russian aristocracy. Her first husband was Ioannis Kapodistrias, the then Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire, an ardent supporter of the cause of Greek independence. In 1816, she married Count von Edling and from that moment onwards she spent her life between Prussia and Russia. Her memoir talks about her activities as a supporter of the Enlightenment. She founded many schools and was engaged in philanthropic activities meant to offer educational opportunities even to the poorest children. She is definitely one of the most active figures of the Enlightenment, interested in providing health care and schooling to the people.

Both Maria Cantemir and Roxandra Edling deserve much more interest than they have received till now. A revitalized biographical history of the Enlightenment certainly should contain a comparison of their lives and writings. The analysis of the texts they authored can point to transnational identities that connected the Balkans and Russia. Their works are able to help us interrogate the cultural geographies of the Enlightenment and point to women's role as travellers, go-betweens, producers of texts where the public and the private meet in new ways.

Rhitama Basak (Jadavpur University, Kolkata)

De-Constructing the Gaze: The Self and the Other in Women's Travel Writing (to and from Colonial Europe)

Moments of otherisation can be located at points of colonial contact where an overpowering male gaze looks at/ constructs/ inferiorises Europe's Non-Christian, Non-European colonial Other. However, moments of rupture in this gaze (often accompanied by the phenomenon of the gaze being returned) can be noted in the works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Krishnabhabini Das, as both the writers encounter and engage with their colonial other(s) – communicating this encounter to their respective homelands (one being the colonisers', the other being colonised). Taking cognisance of the remarkably less publication of women's account of the other, specifically through travel writing, the Turkish Embassy Letters and A Bengali Lady in England by Montagu and Das respectively, present a domain of understanding colonial contact through women's perspectives. Both the accounts being written in first person (the former being an epistolary novel and the latter using autobiographical mode), contribute in locating the woman writer as the *Self* having a certain agency to depart from pre-existing colonial constructs of gazing at the Other. Lady Montagu's account of the "Oriental" women at a Turkish bath marks a distinct point of departure from the West European colonial construct of "Oriental" femininity as noted in the Saidian discourse. The bath, for Montagu, appears as a space marked by "intellectual exchanges" – an idea invisibilised in the pre-existing descriptions of femininity in travel writing by European male authors. On the other hand, Das, traveling to England from colonised Bengal in the 19th century, advises her Bengali readers to look beyond the "prejudices" and explore the English (coloniser's) culture through her writing. The paper would like to trace how both the women writers explore, encounter, and also, critique the *Self* in the light of the *Other*, deconstructing the pre-existing colonial gaze (integral to Europe's engagement with "Non-Europe" in the "Enlightenment" years) ; and paving way for socio-cultural inclusiveness in the process. The paper would locate the nuances of the Enlightenment notion of autobiographical "I" in narrative-making, by exploring the "I" in women's writing from both Europe's colonial *center* and *margin*.

ROUNDTABLE. Gender and Global Enlightenments: A Historiographical Focus

Giulia Calvi (University of Siena/European University Institute)

The World in Dress. Costume Books across Italy, Europe and the East

From the mid sixteenth century on, printed collections of clothing circulated widely in Europe. Over two hundred books were printed between 1520 and 1610, with the majority appearing after 1550, principally in Paris and Venice, the two main publishing centers. Costume books staged the bodies of men and women in an ordered theater of the world, encompassing gender, age, social and political status, religious and ethnic identities across Europe, Asia, Africa and America. The representation of clothed/naked bodies of men and women in costume books, maps, and prints was part of an expanding production of knowledge about space and otherness which contributed to the invention of a language and consciousness of proto-globalization. Sixteenth and seventeenth century costume books set the stage for a reflection on the ways in which the circulation of texts and images across Europe, the Ottoman Empire, the Far East and the New World shaped this process. A crucial feature of these interconnections points to a circulation of knowledge about costumes and customs through agents (diplomats, missionaries, translators) objects (clothing, prints) and books between East and West. At the crossroads of early anthropology, travel literature, and visual culture, costume books blur the lines between art and science shaping and being shaped by the early modern knowledge and practice of space.

Anthony La Vopa (North Carolina State University)

A Woman of Two Cities: Louise d'Épinay, Paris, and Geneva

In 1771- 1772 Louise d'Épinay wrote two letters to her friend abbé Galiani) that can fairly be called uncompromising statements of rationalist feminism. Of the many sources of her feminism, I want to focus on her two-year visit to Geneva in the late 1750s for medical treatment. It gave her a new critical distance on the high society of Paris, from which she already felt alienated. It introduced her to a Republican political culture, though she saw it entirely through the eyes of the patriciate that ruled Geneva. As important, she became familiar with Stoic philosophy through her interactions with her physician Théodore Tronchin. I want to show how the tensions between the Paris that had formed her and the Geneva that she felt transforming her generated her later feminist convictions. Her convictions took shape in a binary between an idealized Geneva, devoted to a work ethic and to civic duty, and a Parisian high society that she found superficial, false, and devoted blindly to conspicuous consumption. I will ask how she formed her views of the two urban worlds, and how the contrast between them contributed to her feminism.

The main sources are her gigantic epistolary novel *L'Histoire de Madame de Montbrillant*, short essays she wrote in Geneva, and her correspondence with her partner Friedrich Melchior Grimm.

Silvia Sebastiani (EHESS-CRH, Paris)

“Man, secluded from the company of women is... a dangerous animal to society”: the New Historical Genre of the “History of Women” in Scotland’s Enlightenment

‘Man, secluded from the company of women is not only a rough and uncultivated, but a dangerous, animal to society.’ (William Alexander, *The History of Women, from the Earliest Antiquity, to the Present Time*)

My paper focuses on the Enlightenment science of society, through a specific angle: how Scottish Enlightenment historiography contributed to a new historical genre: the history of women, which developed in the 1770s. These histories were global in scope, embracing the entire world, while also covering a long period, from Antiquity through the present. They sketched a common narrative: the path that women passed through from their (supposed) condition of slavery, among “savage” people, through the (supposed) central role they acquired within eighteenth-century commercial societies. These histories described the relationship between the sexes as changing over time: whereas women emancipated themselves from the yoke of male-masters, men, in turn, acceded to polite manners and became sociable and civilized, also thanks to the relation with ‘the fair sex’. My first point will examine the civilising role assigned to women as agents of culture.

If this progress was potentially universal, it was actually reached only within Europe, or better only in a part of Europe, to which Spain and its empire remained at the margins. In my second point, I shall pay attention to the different geography of civilization at a global scale and within European societies: what were the causes of such differences and inequalities among women?

My third and final point will deal with the ambiguities of civilization in what was considered the most “civilized” part of Europe. What prevailed among the Scottish literati was the fear that progress could be reversed into its contrary, turning the ‘civilizing femininity’ into ‘decadent effeminacy’. The positive reevaluation of women had its downside in the Scottish Enlightenment: the celebration of the feminine virtues effectively imprisoned women within them, so to set precise limits to civilization.

Bianca Premo (Florida International University)

Blank Pages and Grey Vaults: Gender, Archive, Enlightenment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic

In Caribbean poet Derek Walcott's breathtaking poem, "The Sea is History," he chronicles as biblical eras the story of enslaved Africans sunk in the "grey vault" of the ocean, where Black women's cowrie-crusted bones settle for eternity on the sea floor. Each era was a trial, but it was not "History," the poem intones, for the ocean kept "turning blank pages." Historians of gender in the eighteenth-century Spanish empire, along with scholars of the Spanish, French and British Caribbean, have reached arguably their most creative and productive moment in filling in those blank pages. A series of award-winning, arresting works recount the lives of eighteenth-century women and others who escaped, were

locked out, or were disappeared from archives and History proper. They bring attention not only to what remains in the archives of women's lives but also model how to write Histories that account for archival exclusions. Yet not all women were (equally) shut out from the archive. Indeed, it was only a decade or two ago that historians insisted that sweeping theories about patriarchy obscured the comparatively substantial legal rights of Spanish imperial women and their participation in producing major transformations, including the Spanish Enlightenment. This paper connects these two areas of recent scholarship. It shows that, in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, some women's access to the archive was the precondition of the exclusion of others. At the same time, it demonstrates how the concept of "Enlightenment" and "History" itself forged during the era by these very women informs new scholarship, and is the key to the grey vault of the past.

SESSION 7. Perception, Material Culture and the Senses

Sandra Gómez Todó (Independent Scholar)

“To Surprise the Dear Society...in my White Masque and Man’s Hat”: Exploring the Influence of Venetian Culture in English and Continental Women’s Masking and Representation during the 1700s

The act of wearing a mask, of concealing one’s identity, has been one of the most enticing and controversial cultural practices of the early modern period. Masking evoked an even bolder act of self-fashioning when enacted by the female sex since the gesture came to be read as a materialization of the deceitful and duplicitous character of woman’s nature, proclaimed by religious and state institutions of the period. The ubiquity of such trope, however, tended to overshadow a parallel cultural process: women’s appropriation of a series of masking practices as means to obtain cultural agency and (in)visibility in the public space.

The eighteenth century witnessed a peak in the flourishing of masking practices among women from different classes, both in everyday and celebratory settings. On the one hand, their use of black masks or *vizors* as fashion accessories, already present during the 1600s, continued to grow in cities like London and Paris, acting as an essential sartorial element for women’s increasing presence in the urban scene. On the other hand, masquerades or masquerade balls reached new levels of popularity as entertainment venues, becoming a key component of urban sociability and a space for female cultural agency. Both trends played an instrumental role in the construction of gender and female identity at the time. Within this context, this paper will focus on how the century’s quintessential cosmopolitanism shaped such practices, which became especially marked and influenced by the consumption of Venetian masking and masquerading culture through the Grand Tour. In this sense, while I intend to compare with and draw from French and Spanish examples as well given the international character of these exchanges, this brief study will mainly attend to the cultural dialogue between England and Venice. Within such parameters, I will explore how both the experience and the imaginary of Venetian masking culture disseminated by travelers in textual and visual culture influenced women’s uses of masks and their self-fashioning and sartorial strategies in urban and

entertainment spaces during the 1700s. In particular, I shall focus on how these visual depictions, mainly in the form of portraiture and prints, spread and portrayed such masking practices and how they conveyed a number of ambivalent gendered readings within the century's conception of womanhood.

For this purpose, I will establish a dialogue between male travelers' accounts, female travelers' experiences, their correspondence, and the different models of (un)masked femininity represented by artists within the Grand Tour milieu, such as Rosalba Carriera, Lorenzo Tiepolo, Anton Raphael Mengs, and also others in England. Beyond the study of such depictions, I would like to delve further into how they circulated and were consumed and modified in different cultural contexts. To conclude, this analysis aims to show how women's appropriation of masking challenged contemporary gender discourses on female identity and contributed to women's self-fashioning and negotiation of their position and visibility in a patriarchal society such as the eighteenth century's.

Jeannette Acevedo Rivera (California State University, Long Beach)

On Gendered Communication and the Circulation of Attention: The Nineteenth-Century Album in France and Spain

In the nineteenth century, the album became such an important gendered cultural practice that social customs observers such as French Victor Joseph-Etienne de Jouy (1764-1846) and Spanish Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837) felt compelled to write essays about the way in which it altered individual interactions and ideas of artistic creation. Albums were books with blank pages in which the female owners collected contributions in the form of poetry, drawings, or music scores from male acquaintances, friends, and sometimes even suitors. As a rediscovered and repurposed technology of communication, the album meant for the woman owner an opportunity to circulate in the spaces where she could gather entries for the collection that would signify her by exalting her moral and physical attributes. The album gave the woman the agency to choose the (hopefully) talented contributors who would narrate her story by writing entries in her book that would later determine its value in abstract and monetary terms. Thus, this object constituted a material representation of its owner, a metonymical extension that offered her figurative visibility through the contributions she collected, and which allowed her to boast of her social connections. The ability to purchase the luxurious book itself and the access to often well-known contributors reveals the degree to which participation in this phenomenon was determined by social class, a typical circumstance in that context.

My research on the album examines the development of this feminized trend in nineteenth-century France and Spain from a literary and historical perspective, via essays on social customs and literary texts depicting the album in its context (including novels by Honoré de Balzac and José María Pereda), and actual albums zealously preserved nowadays in archives as a testimony of past realities. In this presentation, I focus on those archival albums examining specific contributions that allow us to understand the circulation of attention in this phenomenon. The theory of attention economy (George Franck, 2019) refers to the tendency in contemporary social networks to value attention in economic terms and to grant attention to those who enjoy such notoriety. I apply this

notion to the album in order to prove that this exchange involved a circulation of attention economy that responded to the social anxieties of the milieu in which it developed. While the album interaction started with the woman owner seeking attention for herself and her collection, the act of writing contributions allowed for a displacement of this goal. In my archival research, I have discovered many contributions in which authors refer to the husbands and fathers of the album owner, a clear alteration of the rules of this practice, which stated that contributions should be praise the book owner. Although male contributors frequently condemned the album practice as a hassle and a female obsession, those transgressive entries prove that they had their own agenda and expected to gain networking possibilities with their participation in that exchange. In my presentation, I explore how attention circulates in the album dynamic, from the woman to the contributors and from them to the men linked to the owner. This displacement of attention in the album phenomenon and the transformation of the book into a cultural mediator between owner and contributors reveal the complexities of gender interactions in nineteenth-century France and Spain.

Marta Manzanares Mileo (University of Cambridge)

Delightful Appetites: Representing Women's Taste in the Hispanic Enlightenment

Modern historians and sociologists have pointed out how certain foods have come to be highly gendered in Western cultures. The idea that women share some real or metaphorical similarity with sugar is long standing. Among others, in his *Julie, or the New Heloise*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau proffered that dairy products and sugar were the natural tastes of women, in a period when the nature and social role of women were at the heart of public debates across Europe. Scholarship on food and gender in the early modern period has mainly revolved around certain pairs of dichotomies (purchaser and consumer, public and domestic space) corresponding to categories of 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Although the relation between gender and taste has also been represented in rigidly binary terms in early modern accounts, this association has been comparatively little-explored. As some historians has noted, the early modern terms 'delicacy' and 'sweetness' in its various forms described refined and pleasurable foodstuffs as well as the desirable moral conduct and the weak constitution of women. However, less well understood is how a taste for sweet food was perceived by contemporary intellectuals as a particular feature of women's nature.

This paper examines the centrality of taste and food preferences in the construction of models of masculinity and femininity in the Spanish Enlightenment. More specifically, it explores the ways in which medical, philosophical and moral authorities understood gender-based physiological taste in their attempts to assert control over women's bodies, appetites and social conduct. In this paper, I will argue that the 'natural' women's fondness for sweet food was seen as a result of their delicate bodies and their uncontrollable passions and desires for dainties and other things pleasurable to the senses. In addition, this set of associations served as an example of women's incapability to achieve a 'learned' taste at a time when physiological taste was increasingly defined as a rational and refined discernment of the palate. As Emma Spary has shown, dietary choice

was an important part of the debates over luxury, consumerism and the reformation of the society and nation in eighteenth-century Paris.

In this vein, this study attempts to examine how discourses and practices on gendered taste were received, negotiated and informed the ways of thinking of food and eating in eighteenth-century Spain, strongly influenced by Catholicism. The bodily experience of eating provides a compelling lens through which to highlight the complexities of the changing categories of nature and reason, masculine and feminine, body and soul at the heart of the European Enlightenment(s). Furthermore, it stresses the need to incorporate a gender analysis in the history of taste and eating in order to get a better understanding of the construction of the ‘modern body’ (Gallagher and Laqueur) as well as contemporary gender bias in food behaviours.

SESSION 8. Ways of Loving

Fred Parker (University of Cambridge)

Unrequitable love? Passion, fiction, and Mary Robinson's Sappho to Phaon

The talk will open questions arising from Mary Robinson’s remarkable sonnet sequence *Sappho to Phaon* (1796) – which is, according to Jerome McGann, a key document in the history of sensibility. Robinson’s work can be placed in the context of that great tide of literary fascination with love as passionate unfulfilment that swept Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The great sources and classic expressions of this include Rousseau’s *Julie, or the New Eloise* (1761), Laurence Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), and Goethe’s *Sufferings of Young Werther* (1774). These works all represent, and in some sense celebrate, a love that is not only unrequited but perhaps, in its essence, unrequitable; they generate questions about the relation of such love to an actual object, and about the possibility of physical and emotional satisfaction or reciprocation. That is to say, they see love as a function of the imagination, and the erotic as connected with the aesthetic or artistic: Rousseau’s novel in particular was one with which its readers fell in love. When Robinson made her unrequited lover the poet Sappho, she brought into sharp focus this connection of love with imaginative literature. The journal and letter writing of Werther, of Julie, of Saint-Preux, already so much more than merely generic convention, becomes the unmistakably literary achievement of a classic poet – and even if passion sometimes keeps Robinson’s Sappho from singing, it is still that, paradoxically, of which she sings. Constraint and disappointment become equivocally empowering.

Sappho to Phaon, then, reflects on the relation of love to the literary imagination, and of the imagination to actual objects in the world. One subtle way in which it does this is by teasing the reader with the possibility of autobiographical implication – Robinson, as ex-mistress of the Prince of Wales, being an icon in the popular imagination of the abandoned woman. This proximity to autobiography expands on hints in the founding trinity of Rousseau, Sterne, and Goethe, and occurs also in other nominal fictions expressing unrequited love, such as Mary Hays’s *Memoirs of Emma Courtney* (1796), or William Hazlitt’s *Liber Amoris* (1823). But my interest here will not be in tracking the life in the fiction, but rather the reverse: the transformative effect of giving life-experience

imaginative form. If the pull of unrequited love is inevitably toward a personal subjectivity, does the act of expression – of writing – render it crucially shareable and communicable?

Finally, Sappho to Phaon highlights the difference made by gender in this area. Although there are some literary types of the female unrequited lover – most notably, for this period, the Eloisa who writes to Abelard – the dominant and influential model is male: Saint-Preux, Yorick, Werther. But if in the age of sensibility the feminised male was an increasingly positive model, the woman who loves – ‘romantically’ – beyond the borders of possible return was not. So what happens when Robinson (developing the hint given by Charlotte Smith’s sonnets on Werther) so emphatically genders her lover as a woman? The claim being made for the value of a love which is unfulfilled, forlorn, or self-destructive feels rather different. On the one hand, Robinson appropriates the creative value of such passion for the female sphere, even the specifically female sphere: but on the other, she risks evoking the stereotype of woman as hapless victim of her emotional fantasies. I shall therefore try to suggest how Sappho to Phaon treads a fine line with regard to ‘sensibility’, neither valorising the passionate woman as victim, nor deploring female passion as destructive, however sympathetically, as Mary Wollstonecraft had done. Crucial to this – a point which pulls the whole paper together – are the ways in which Robinson makes the act of writing one of connection, community, and social reference: values, it might be said, of the Enlightenment.

Elena Serrano (Universitat de València-CIRGEN)

Sensing Love: Passions, Imagination, and the Senses in the Eighteenth-century Hispanic World

In 1736, the natural philosopher Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676-1764) gave useful advice to his numerous followers: a cure for unhappy love. To counteract the currents of tenderness that stirred the passionate heart, the only remedy was to think of something dreadful while evoking the image of the lover. Forget the traditional methods of bleeding, purging and sweetening, forget Ovid's advice - flee the city where the lover lives, think deeply of all his faults, occupy yourself with something else, or satiate sexual desire over and over again - said Feijoo. The only true remedy, when the amorous passion was firmly rooted in the trembling heart, is to counteract with a terrible violent agitation of the nerves.

Focusing on medical treatises, physiognomic and actors’ manuals, and other materials that paid attention to the expression and regulation of bodies, my paper explores different physiological models on the origin of passions that coexisted in the Hispanic world and underpinned amorous practices.

Mónica Burguera (UNED)

Romantic Love. Gender, Subjectivity and the Politics of Emotions (Spain, 1833-1850)

Studies in gender and romanticism in the last decades have looked at the ways in which women, particularly women writers, reelaborated male Romantic ideals of love in which they were considered a passive object of desire. This ideal though, at the same time, by reassessing and revalorizing sentiments and emotions opened up the possibility for women to conceive of themselves as creative and desiring acting subjects. In my essay I want to look at romantic women writers in Spain during the middle decades of the nineteenth century to complicate and further problematize the terms and extent to which their writings on love envisioned sexual complementarity in terms of intellectual and virtuous equality. They drew on modern conceptions of (male) subjectivity that balanced reason and passion; and explored hybrid conceptions of masculinity and femininity. From that perspective they critically rethought love and marriage at the core of the new liberal society. I want to look at both, how they experienced and wrote about their desires and frustrations; as well as at the discursive context in which they became acknowledged icons of broader European models of female exceptional talent.

SESSION 9. Reimagining the Enlightenment in the Nineteenth Century

Henriette Partzsch (University of Glasgow)

Instructing, Delighting and Turning a Profit: The Circulation of Women's Writing across Religious Borders

In nineteenth-century Spain, the availability of secular reading materials was of great importance to women in search of an education which would help them prepare for a meaningful life, an issue novelised by Emilia Pardo Bazán in *Memorias de un solterón* (A confirmed bachelor's memoir, 1896). But while Pardo Bazán's female protagonist gains access to a well-assorted private library, many of her peers were more likely to seek knowledge in a more haphazard way, for instance through family and fashion magazines. In this segment of literary culture, the enlightenment maxim that literature should instruct and delight met a transnational publishing industry in full capitalist expansion. This situation provided new opportunities for women writers at the periphery of literary culture because of their limited access to formal education, roles in the civil service, masculine spaces of sociability, etc. This paper will use the examples of authors such as E. Marlitt, Fredrika Bremer and Fernán Caballero to study the unequal commercial circulation of texts by successful women writers, with special attention to the ways in which they crossed religious borders during the time of Europe's so-called culture wars. Even though the ideological dimension of texts might require interventions, the emotional interpellation of female readers proved to be highly exportable.

Natalia L. Zorrilla (CONICET – University of Buenos Aires)

The Notion of Enlightenment in Juana Manso's Feminist Writings

This paper aims at examining the feminist writings of Juana Manso (1819-1875), focusing on her interpretation of the notion of Enlightenment as a philosophical and socio-political emancipatory project. We seek to analyze both the theoretical and the practical aspects of Manso's "*Ilustración de la mujer*".

A self-taught writer, translator, and intellectual born in Buenos Aires, Manso sought to foster the diffusion of egalitarian ideas on gender and to fight for the emancipation of women. Manso's defense of women's rights was founded on the belief in women's moral and intellectual autonomy, the asexual nature of the soul, and the universality of reason – thus echoing some of the thesis and proclaims of (European) early modern pro-women thinkers and Enlightenment 'feminism'. Like the philosophes, Manso firmly believed that the use of reason and the subsequent advancement of science and philosophy were effective weapons against prejudice, which she employed to debunk widespread misogynistic claims about women's inferiority.

Manso's enlightenment of women entailed not only the production of essays which argued in favor of women's rights but also the education of women in philosophical and theoretical themes. Key to her activism was the publication strategy she deployed to articulate her outlook on women's emancipation. She founded and/or directed the following periodicals: *O Jornal das senhoras* (1852), *Álbum de señoritas* (1854), *La Flor del Aire* (1864, with Eduarda Mansilla), and *La Siempre Viva* (1864). These periodicals specifically targeted a wide female audience with the purpose of "enlightening" (*ilustrar*) their readers, and thus caused quite a stir in the public sphere. Evoking the *philosophes'* editorial and ideological warfare tactics, by which they published clandestine texts and disseminated subversive ideas, Manso explored alternative publishing circuits and created self-sustained periodicals to spread her feminist arguments. The objective of this paper is to show that Manso's reception and understanding of the notion of Enlightenment greatly impacted her intellectual work, not only theoretically but also practically, concerning her publishing strategy.

Isabel Burdiel (Universitat de València-CIRGEN)

Monstrous Sensibilities and Global Readings of Mary W. Shelley's Frankenstein. A Southern Gaze

Conceived on the margins of high culture, that of the radical Romantics of the first decades of the nineteenth century, Frankenstein is inconceivable without the Enlightenment "culture of sensibility" and its paradoxes. Nor is it conceivable without the tensions raised by its encounter with the questioning of the strong notions of Truth, Virtue, and Identity that Romanticism entailed. This paper aims to bring together, or question, the explanatory and contextual force of the various interpretations of Mary Shelley's story—scientific, political, gendered and racial—in the light of this tension (and crossover) between the Enlightenment and Romantic sensibilities.

There is not one meaning of the work and myth of Frankenstein, but several historical meanings of both. Remaining, however, in the postmodern celebration of this multiplicity of meanings does not solve the interpretative problems about this book's transcultural and transchronological potency. I believe it is necessary to explore contemporary readings of the work, especially in Southern Europe and Latin America, by looking for the concrete and contextual crossover between the local and the global; high culture and popular culture; the scientific and the political; and the dimensions of gender and race.

SESSION 10. Gender, Human Diversity and Rhetorics of Feeling

Magally Alegre Henderson (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú)

Androgenopolis or the Racialization of the Peruvian Strange Society

My beloved Leandro, wrote in a letter a male foreigner visitor, to his dear friend, who was inquiring about his impressions on the customs of the capital city of Androgenopolis. A former resident of the city himself, Leandro must have known very well those same customs that he inquired about, as Filaletes recalled to be taught by his own friend.

The letter explained at length what had impressed him most: the presence of maricones. In Androgenopolis, this particular kind of men have adapted their male clothes so that these take on an effeminate look by day, and they use the protection of the night to fully dress in women's clothes, and attend private meetings in discreet parts of the city. According to Filaletes, the maricones were committed to imitate women in any way possible, "the movement of the body, the grace, the gait, their gestures, even the slightest movement, everything in them exudes an extravagant and ridiculous effeminacy." In describing these men, Filaletes is most specific in marking them as people of African ascent, slaves, and free mulattos.

This letter published in the Enlightenment newspaper the Mercurio Peruano, under the title of "Letter about the maricones" is a famous satire that mocks the abundance of maricones in the city of Lima, capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru. By the second part of the eighteenth century, 'Maricón' had displaced the term 'sodomite' and was repeatedly used to criticize the abundance of male cross-dressers, often racialized as men of African ascent, who actively participated in social life, seeking the attention of other men. By racializing the maricón, I will argue, the Limeño creole elite expressed the distrust and social fear felt over being outnumbered by the slaves.

The Androgenopolis satire was part of a public debate that took place in newspapers, pamphlets, travel writing, costumbrista paintings, religious and criminal records. The debate unveiled the visibility maricones were able to attain in the social landscape of the city. Most importantly, it evidenced the existence of a maricón subculture in Lima in this period and the development of distinctive forms of public behavior: dress codes, meeting places, and social networks. Max Radiguet, a French traveler even named this subculture "the strange society of maricones." Nonetheless, the visibility of this subculture lasted

only a few decades and by mid-1850s, the maricón subculture that had characterized the final decades of Spanish colonial power in Lima, disappeared from the public eye.

Catherine Jaffe (Texas State University)

Circulating Gender and Race in Two Early American Quixotic Novels

Newly established republics in early 19th-century north America and Mexico were founded on the racialized categories of colonial societies. “Whiteness” was never a fixed, absolute category but was under constant development, as European, African, indigenous, and Asian cultures mixed in the evolving new societies.

This presentation will interrogate how gender aligns with the establishment of racial categories in colonial America in two early quixotic novels. The first, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi’s novel about female education, *La Quijotita y su prima*, was published in installments during Mexico’s struggle for independence from Spain between 1818-1819 and in a posthumous, complete edition in 1832. Tabitha Gilman Tenney’s North American didactic novel, *Female Quixotism: Exhibited in the Romantic Opinions and Extravagant Adventures of Dorcasina Sheldon* (1801), was published barely twenty years after the end of the United States’s Revolutionary War (1775-1783). These novels adapt Cervantes’s influential generic model in the context of colonial American experience. Lizardi’s and Tenney’s female quixotes embody issues associated with the circulation of gender and race during the birth of their new nations: hierarchy, status, subordination, property, freedom and enslavement, civilization and savagery.

As Dierdre Coleman states, the “racialization of whiteness” was closely related to gender in the U.S. and Britain in the 1760s and 1770s and is important “for understanding how gender increasingly came to encode ideas of racial difference” (“Janet Schaw and the Complexions of Empire,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2003, pp. 169-193). In her book, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), Roxann Wheeler argues that throughout the eighteenth century, “Older conceptions of Christianity, civility, and rank were *more explicitly* important to Britons’ assessment of themselves and other people than physical attributes such as skin color, shape of the nose, or texture of the hair” (p. 7). Felicity Nussbaum refers to the instability of complexion as a category, the “slippery shades of Otherness” found in descriptions of complexion in relation to women (“Women and Race: ‘A Difference of Complexion,’” in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700-1800*, ed. Vivien Jones, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 69-88). I will analyze the tensions created by the opposition between the literary ideals of the protagonists’ quixotism and their circulation through the “reality” of their racialized societies. In these novels, gendered quixotic readers and reading show how transnational and transoceanic notions of gender circulated and were adapted to national contexts and discourses of “whiteness.”

Estela Roselló (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Longings for equality: the French sensibility of Pierre Bailly, “a black man who felt like white”. New Orleans, 1794

In memoir of the investigations of Kimberly Hanger (1961-1999), this article seeks to explore the sensitive universe that gave meaning to the identity of Pierre Bailly, a free mulatto and merchant, lieutenant of the brown militias of the city of New Orleans at the end of 18th century. From the trial that was carried out against him for suspecting "seditious species" against the Hispanic Monarchy and for defending "the principle of equality adopted by the French," the article seeks to trace the process by which Bailly defined himself and built his racial identity from a revolutionary sensibility that recovered emotions, idealizations and yearnings that placed him in a very particular place within the system of class, race and gender hierarchies that gave meaning to daily life in the city of Spanish New Orleans in the 18th century.

Alberto José Esperón Fernández (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Redefining the Afrancesado: an Evolving Alterity during the Crisis of the Spanish Ancien Regime

During the XVIIIth century, a cultural debate around the tensions of modernisation took place in Spain as a result of a secular crisis that had led to its progressive peripheralization in the European context. While the traditionalist approach favoured a resistance to an increasing permeability of foreign trends – specifically French, given its hegemonic influence in the cultural realm – the enlightened cosmopolitan view would attempt to confront the needs to reform the country by accepting the introduction of international streams of thought and “civilization”. From a moral perspective, the regeneration proposed by these elites is expressed by the definition of the “hombre de bien”, a cosmopolitan archetype that represented a contained man defined by the coexistence of a virtuous cult to reason and the impact of enlightened sentimentalism. In this new regime, masculinities are rethought from an approach focused on the emotional expression as a means to fulfil a role towards the community (as father, husband, citizen, etc.). In the middle of this controversy, the critics to this French influence (*el afrancesamiento*) will tackle the counterpart of modern development by defining the *petimetre*, a new type recognised by his attachment to foreign trends. Described as a feminised, emotionally affected and superficial man driven by his commitment to foreign fashions, he will embody the peak of French civilisation and its cultural invasion. According to the gender perspective, the *petimetre* will be constantly used as an alterity to signify the decline and degeneration of a virile nation. In addition, his French origin is strongly emphasized to depict the foreign influence as an attack against the authenticity of local types. Therefore, this character will embody an otherness from multiple angles, underlining the fractures provoked by the emergence of this civilizatory process on national and masculinity identities.

The power void caused by the Peninsular War poses the collapse of the Ancient Regime, the emergence of popular agency in Spanish politics and the birth of the liberal revolution.

At the same time, this political process gives way to a redefinition of the cultural debate in terms of identity. The popular uprising against the Imperial Army rises a conflict between the Patriots and the *afrancesados* who are now blamed for politically betraying the Nation (in terms of the liberal approach) and the King (according to the absolutist view). This war resuscitates the pre-existing cultural debates and, simultaneously, leads to a semantic rupture that diverges from the traditional culturalist view of the French influence in Spain. Thus, a re-semanticization of the concept of *afrancesamiento* leads to its politicization to explain a cooperation with the invader. Besides, the cultural elements of previous debates are reused as political tools in order to delegitimize the adversary and exacerbate collective commitment in the conflict. Taking all these premises into account, the aim of this paper will be to unravel the implication of these historical changes on the definition of the Frenchified elites as an internal alterity used to reshape the new political identities in the national debate. Focusing on the transformations undergone during the war and the civil conflict, this work will propose an analysis of the way in which this type is rethought in the effervescent controversies that took place during this political turmoil. Thus, this case will provide an example of intersection between nation and gender in the dawn of modern political identities.

Ester García (Universitat de València-CIRGEN)

Sensibility on Stage: Gender, Race and the Modulations of Feeling in Hispanic Theatre

The unquestionable potential of narratives to fix identities in concrete contexts underlines the importance of literature –and especially of the most popular genres such as theatre– as a construction material of modern subjects. At the dawn of modernity, fictional recreations of reality constitute a privileged source for observing internal tensions in the process that gave birth to the modern –and national– political subject, built on the notions of race and gender. However, this is an aspect that the Spanish historiography has paid little attention to despite the racial diversity that was present in Hispanic territories because of their colonial condition until the end of the 19th century.

In considering the aforementioned, this paper analyses the dramatic figure of El negro sensible proposed by the playwright Luciano Francisco Comella in 1797 and later developed by the novo Hispanic writer José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi in 1825. Although the black man on stage was a very familiar figure in the Hispanic theatres around 1800, the black characters that appear in the melodramas of the late 18th and early 19th centuries are different from those of previous eras, as they lose comicality and become dramatic. In the framework of the humanitarianism developed in the Enlightened culture of sensibility, white authors present in a problematic way an element that was not presented before: the slave condition of the black character. In this context, the dramatic figure of the negro sensible and the slave masculinity that he carries circulated between both Hispanic hemispheres between the Enlightenment and the Romanticism, at a crucial moment within the process of construction of modern identities. The analysis of this figuration allows us to explore literary fiction as a space for debate about the limits of the acceptable subject in a fully transforming world.