

2000

The European Journal/ Die Europäische Zeitschrift/ La Revue Européenne/ Revista Europea/ Rivista Europea



Dear Colleagues,
'Or volge l'undecimo anno', sang Petrarch in the eleventh year of his love for Laura. For us, more modestly, it is the tenth year of this little journal, and publishing it for ten years has not been in vain.

With no help from the institutions, but with the help of our colleagues, -and this is what really matters-, we have done our part for knowledge of European history and ideas, and we are determined to go on. When we receive

messages like that of a younger and talented French colleague ("continuez vos travaux.... dans l'intérêt de tous"), how could we surrender? How could we betray the hopes of many, distinguished colleagues, particularly of the youngest among them?

Regarding the *European Dictionaries* we have, as you know, put on the internet¹ the part that we have been able to compile, which has cost us five years of hard work. It is true that Samuel Johnson compiled his own *Dictionary* in nine years,

but we are not English, as he was proud to declare himself. We are just Europeans, and we believe that such an undertaking should be the task of an Academy, or of publishers who enjoy the necessary support.

The point, it seems to us, is that even the world of learning *still* thinks in terms of 'nation', and still does not sufficiently conceive *European* history as a unified entity. But the process of unification is on its way, and it is a pity that learning should follow, not precede, it. On this

occasion let us humbly disagree with our Master Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who said that philosophy is like the owl of Minerva, which starts flying only at sunset. At least in part, the world of learning should envisage future events, not simply follow them.

V. M.

¹ Sorry for citing myself again, but on the internet they appear under *google*, Vincenzo Merolle, *Dizionario Europeo/European Dictionary*.

Lord Findlater and his impact on continental landscaping

Introduction

In Great Britain, the designer and author Humphry Repton not only coined the term "landscape gardener", but advocated the garden as a place for enjoyment and as a civilizing influence on the lower classes.¹ In the early 1800's Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) - a contemporary of Lord Findlater - was the chief critic of Repton's work. He championed the dramatic scenery of the picturesque style of garden. Before him, however, Horace Walpole had already captured the attention of his 18th-century audience with his claim that England had invented a modern and "natural" style of laying out gardens - a style that was, indeed, the culmination of garden design.² Men like Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-83) improved at least 200 landscapes and set an example also for continental projects of this sort.³

The Wörlitz park is the oldest original English landscape park on the European mainland. This area is an exceptional example of landscape design and planning from the Age of Enlightenment. Its diverse components - outstanding buildings, trails and approaches, as well as subtly modified stretches of agricultural land - all serve aesthetic, educational, and economic purposes of the age. It was made possible because an enlightened prince and his architect went to England on a fact finding mission. But there are also a few cases of Britons coming to the continent and implementing their plans there. Findlater was such an exceptional case. His career coincided with the development of the picturesque in

garden design, a style inspired by the landscape paintings of French artists such as Claude Lorrain and Nicholas Poussin. The picturesque was an aesthetic entity to which prospects and vistas were vital. Buildings and Follies provided focal points within the design, and views to and from them were carefully composed.

Cullen serving as a practising ground

James Ogilvy, the 7th Earl of Findlater and 4th Earl of Seafield, was born on 10 April 1750 at Huntingtower Castle near Perth, the home of his maternal grandparents. He grew up in Cullen, Banffshire, the seat of his father, known as Lord Deskford. He inherited the estates and Cullen House in 1770 at the age of twenty after his father, the 6th Earl of Findlater had committed suicide. He was educated at Oxford and "enjoyed a high reputation for Latin scholarship, and especially for his knowledge of Vergil."⁴ He lived abroad much of his life following his marriage in 1779 but nevertheless took a keen interest in all decisions concerning the estate. Robert Adam was commissioned to prepare a plan for a new house⁵ whilst James Playfair was asked to prepare alterations to the design of the existing house⁶ and the kitchen garden.⁷ Thomas White prepared plans for the policies in 1789-90 in which Adam's designs for the site of a new house, circular office block and stable block were incorporated and, whilst these particular ideas

were not taken up, their suggestion of resiting the village of Cullen from around the church to its present situation around the harbour was acted on, although not until some years later. In his ink drawing of 1770, Robert Adam deliberately



James Ogilvy, 7th Earl of Findlater

chose a low viewpoint to emphasize the height of the single span bridge approaching Cullen House, built by his father in 1744. Elegant trees planted on the grounds frame the composition, underlining its picturesque character. Figures provide a sense of scale and human interest. This work, held by the National Gallery of Scotland, is one of hundreds of drawings he made throughout his career, exploring the relationship between buildings and settings, which formed his own so called castle style.

In the course of research into early Scottish gardens, a remarkably complete gardener's inventory for the substantial garden of Cullen House for 1760 has come to light. The gardener

wrote out a detailed account of where the different fruit trees and bushes, shrubs, roses and perennial border flowers were growing in different sites in the garden.⁸ In August 1773, James Boswell and Dr. Samuel Johnson passed the estate on their way to the Hebrides and found it "admirably laid out".⁹

Lord Findlater is often listed among those who "settled abroad because of their sexual proclivities" such as Viscount Courtenay, Sir William Meredith, the Hon. Edward Onslow, the Earl of Leister and 3rd Marquess Townshend, Lord Valentia and many more.¹⁰ If Findlater was forced into exile or if it was his own choice still needs clarification.

Moyra Cowie relates that he made an unfortunate jest at the expense of Jane Duchess of Gordon. It seems that a ship had been built called The Duchess of Gordon, replete with copper sheathing on its underside to help deter rot and marine animals, as was the innovation of the era. The Earl of Findlater was overheard to remark to Brodie of Brodie,¹¹ "I aye kent the Duchess had a brass neck and a brazen face, but I niver kent she had a copper arse." The Duchess was not amused, and pursued the matter in the courts. Findlater fled to his estate in the German country of Saxony, and never returned to Scotland.¹² The date of this occasion is probably 1791. From this date onwards, John Ross, a retired professor of Aberdeen University administered his estates.¹³

Findlater at Carlsbad

For anyone convalescing, exercise of the body during the visit of a spa is a daily need; the climbing of hills around the town is facilitated by numerous, very comfortably built and always well maintained hiking and walking trails. From the Age of Enlightenment onwards, straight roads have been considered to be unnatural and the serpent had been declared as "line of beauty" by William Hogarth.¹⁴ The footpaths through Carlsbad's forests were established in the later 18th century when people were 'rediscovering the wilds of nature' and when the Gothic revival suggested the inclusion of woods into landscaping.¹⁵ The first installation of this kind was the Chotek trail of 1756. Others followed, their construction to a large extent funded by the Earl of Findlater and Seafield, who made fourteen visits to Carlsbad between 1793 and 1810, and to whom the town owes much of its development, not only due to

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numerous beautifications of the surroundings of the city but also due to substantial donations to the social institutions. His lordship's princely estates in Scotland yielded about £40,000 per annum, as was disclosed after his death by the *Inverness Journal* of 29 November 1811. This budget, comparable to £4.6 million today, gave plenty of room for investment, charity and gifts.¹⁶

During the long and final absence from Britain, money matters were organized by his London bankers Coutts and their continental agents in nearby Teplitz. His achievements were honoured by a monument which can still be found today: the Findlater obelisk (493m) is 8 meters high and was dedicated to him by the citizens in 1804, addressing him as a noble-hearted friend and a beautifier of nature.

Findlater's temple

His own edifice, the so-called Findlater's temple (456m) was built in 1801 by the carpenter Knoll. It is a wooden construction of a neoclassical gazebo with six axes and Ionic columns supporting a semicircular cupola. It offers a beautiful view of the Tepla valley and was erected in gratitude for the recovery of his health and the benefits he received from the Carlsbad waters.¹⁷ The temple as a symbol taken from freemasonry stands for friendship and humanity, concepts which played an important role in Findlater's life. Temples are considered one of the defining buildings of the English landscape garden. The trendsetter in this respect was without doubt the owner of Stowe, Viscount Cobham, who chose as a family motto "Templa quam dilecta". Findlater paid particular attention to establishing viewing points, resting places and benches, so-called "altans" (Italian for "balcony"). The very few that have remained are mostly situated at the Hammer Hill which he turned into a parkland. An eighteenth-century landscape garden that places considerable emphasis on views bases a visitor's experience on mobility. Thus a sufficient number of seats is required in order to rest during circuits around the park and in order to take in the newly discovered views. In the 18th century preference was given to views of the everyday world which had pictorial quality, i.e. of the sort which catches the painter's eye. In 1807 Findlater was among those who provided funds for improving the Four o'clock Promenade (today: ty hodinová cesta) which later became much frequented and popular with the high society of the spa. It was pleasantly cool there under the trees in the afternoons, even if they had extremely hot summers.² Other noteworthy projects were the gravelled approach to Charles Bridge in 1803 and the Bohemian Seat or Paraplui, another gazebo, in 1804.¹⁹ Findlater set a trend which was continued up to our times

reaching by now almost 80 miles of trails and ridings. As an acknowledgement of this achievement, the Chotek trail was renamed "Findlaterova cesta" after World War II. Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, a famous landscape gardener from the region, provided the following definition: "Trails are the mute guides of the rambles, having the purpose of helping them without pressure to discover any pleasure that the landscape has to offer."²⁰

In 1808 Findlater met the German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Carlsbad. Goethe's close friend Johann Baptist Count Paar of Bechyn²¹ recorded in his hitherto unpublished notebook how much they enjoyed having lunch at the Posthof²² and afterwards a long walk up to Findlater's temple, during which Goethe recalled all kinds of personal memories of the old Earl.²³ It can be assumed that Goethe was a companion

who was understanding as regards the proclivities of his lordship; as Tobin explains: "Goethe was also certainly aware of a wide variety of expressions of sexuality and possible familial constructions. As we have already seen, Goethe's essay on Winckelmann is shot through with positive allusions to the art historian's well-known love of men. His constant support of the historian Johannes Müller, who was embroiled in a scandal that revealed his homosexual inclination, also demonstrates Goethe's sophistication on issues of sexuality."²⁴

There is also evidence that the Lord as well as Goethe were avid applicers of the treatments offered by the spa. Findlater was a patient of the famous physician Jan Theobald Held and preferred to stay at the Ananas Inn.

Findlater at Dresden

His first traces in this area lead to a palace situated 37 km East of Dresden. In 1802, Lord Findlater was commissioned by Countess Henriette of Schall-Riaucour to create a landscape garden in the English style around Schloss Gaußig near Bautzen.²⁵ After having grown up in Mannheim in a Louis-Seize-styled palace, the Countess had her palace in Gaußig rebuilt in a neoclassical Palladian manner in 1800. Findlater had to redo the Baroque garden from the middle of the 18th century which had been designed by Johann Christoph Knöffel, the inventor of Saxonian Rococo.

From this previous concept, Findlater took over only a canal and a round pavillion. The present state of the park reflects more or less the plans of Findlater and the canal has also

been preserved to the present day. Only very few of these geometric waterways were excavated in Britain after the first decades of the 18th century: one such is St. James's Park canal, which

was changed into an informal lake in the early 19th century. Lord Findlater's primary interest, however, concerned the vineyards of Loschwitz. The exposed location appealed to him, as well as the view over the Elbe river with the mountains in the distance. He started the project in 1803. The old-fashioned owners of the vineyards did not want to sell and resisted as much as they could. With the help of his partner Johann Georg Fischer, Findlater had, by the end of 1805, finally acquired five out of the eight vineyards. Although vineyards have been planted in England since the third century, they are not considered typical of its landscape. As Andrew Eburne points out, the Age of



Findlater's Temple in Carlsbad

Enlightenment made an exception: "In the early eighteenth century the plantsmen London and Wise were supplying twenty-three different kinds of vine from their Brompton Park Nursery, which shows that interest among the seriously wealthy had perhaps increased. Interestingly, vineyards were briefly favoured by the most



Findlater's Palace near Dresden

advanced landscape gardeners of the time. The writer Alexander Pope planted one in his celebrated garden at Twickenham, while John Pitt, the surveyor general for woods and forests, established a small ornamental vineyard at the centre of the pastoral landscape at Encombe in Dorset.²⁶ Later on Findlater also acquired Helfenberg Manor around which he created a landscape garden with precious shrubs and trees. A brook enters the park through a huge natural vault which was used as a shelter during WW II.

His magnificent palace

On the top of Bredemann

mountain, where today Lingner Castle rises to the sky, Findlater had the master builder Johann August Giese from Gotha build him a magnificent palace. This neoclassical building soon gained popularity and was considered "the most beautiful residence in Dresden". Its dramatic hillside location exemplified for the picturesque fashion then in the ascendant.

Unfortunately, Lord Findlater died in 1811, the year it was completed, and so failed to enjoy the magnificent views from the tower. But he had moved to the site earlier and accomplished the cultivation of the beautiful Elbe terraces with pergolas, ponds and vines. A terrace performed three different functions: it facilitated seeing the views by creating an open space, it added structure to the landscape and it was comfortable for strolls.

Findlater's sole heir and partner Johann Fischer, an architect by profession, who had already received the Eckberg estate and the manor of Helfenberg, carried out most of his projects. It was hardly possible to keep his attachment to Findlater secret, and the Scottish heirs protested in court on the ground that the bequests had been made for an immoral consideration (i.e. "ob turpem causa").²⁷

Fischer's wife, who lived with their children at Helfenberg, divorced her husband when she found out about the type of relationship, but when Fischer died at the age of 87 he was buried in Findlater's tomb in front of Loschwitz church.²⁸

From the handful of publications²⁹ attributed to Lord Findlater I would like to point out the "Drawings from beautiful architecture"³⁰, a splendidly illustrated book of engraved architectural plans and elevations of existing and proposed buildings. The work was first published in Leipzig and Paris in nine parts between 1798 and 1800 under the title "Plans et dessins tirés de la belle architecture".

The second, amended German collective edition contains an introductory essay by the German scholar and architectural historian Christian Stieglitz, who has been wrongly assumed to be responsible for the whole work. In fact the collection of engravings was compiled by the 7th Earl of Findlater. The plates of existing buildings, including a number of British buildings, were presumably taken from prints and drawings in Findlater's own collection. The plates for proposed designs appear to be his lordship's own work. The importance of this work lies in the significant role it played in intro-

ducing neoclassical architecture in the style of the Adams office to Germany.³¹ According to one of the plates it can be assumed that he was involved in the reconstruction of the Neues Schloss at Penig in neoclassical style. This work, which was finished by 1790, was commissioned by Otto Karl Friedrich Graf von Schönburg and served as a county court until 1852.

From his presumably abundant correspondence only three sets survived until the present day: the letters from the Scottish writer Henry Mackenzie in the National Archives of Scotland, the letters from Norton Nicholls in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, and the letters received from Baron Grimm in the form of a publication.³²

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¹ Betsy G. Fryberger: *The changing garden*. (Ann Arbor, 2004), p.14

² Horace Walpole: *The history of the modern taste in gardening*, 1780, (Reprint. New York, 1995), 64 pp.

³ Ian D. Whyte: *Landscape and history since 1500*. (London, 2002), pp. 70-121.

⁴ Thomas Bayne: *Count Findlater at Carlsbad*. Notes and Queries 10th series, vol. XII (1909), p. 313.

⁵ Sir John Soane's Museum, 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, Adam Volume 31/26-78.

⁶ James Playfair: Cullen House (Banffshire). Designs for a new house, bath house & Temple of Pomona, for the 7th Earl of Findlater, 1787-88 (5). in: Sir John Soane's Museum, Drawer 78, Set 4.

⁷ James Playfair: Cullen House (Banffshire). Copy of a design for the kitchen garden for Earl of Findlater, 1788. Ibid., Drawer 57, Set 7.

⁸ Forbes W. Robertson: 'The gardens of Cullen House', Banffshire, 1760. In: *Garden History*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1998), p. 136-152.

⁹ James Boswell: *The journal of a tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D.* 1785. (Adelaide, 2007), ch. 3, section 11.

¹⁰ A.D. Harvey: *Sex in Georgian England. Attitudes and prejudices from the 1720s to the 1820s*. (London, 2001), p. 137.

¹¹ Perhaps James Brodie of Brodie, botanist (1744-1824).

¹² Moyra Cowie: *The Life and Times of William Marshall* (Elgin, 1999), s.p.

¹³ SRO GD 248/0000/0.

¹⁴ William Hogarth: *The analysis of beauty. Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating ideas of taste*. (London, 1753).

¹⁵ Géza Hajós: 'Verzauberte Landschaften. Der Englische Garten und die Wiener Umgebungen' (1770 bis 1800). In: Herbert Lachmayer (ed.): *Mozart. Experiment Aufklärung im Wien des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2006), p. 132.

¹⁶ Empress Catherine II of Russia expresses her gratitude for Findlater's beautiful presents

Sympathy and Utility, a Comparison of the Moral Philosophy of Hume and Smith*

Introduction

Years ago I wrote an essay about the interesting phenomenon that Hume dropped 'sympathy' as a principle of association while Smith took it up (possibly being inspired by reading THN) and made it the central concept of TMS.¹ There are still scholars who doubt that Hume dropped sympathy as an associative principle in his two *Enquiries*, but I have given, I hope, forceful arguments that he did so and why.² I am not the first to notice this fact. Norman Kemp Smith and Nicolas Capaldi went before me. What I want to argue in this essay is that Smith and Hume's moral systems are remarkably similar and that their systems can be used in combination to present a viable alternative to current versions of utilitarianism.

The Impartial Spectator and sympathy

Smith writes:
It is not the soft power of humanity, it is not that feeble spark of benevolence which Nature has lighted up in the human heart, that is thus capable of counteracting the strongest impulses of self-love. It is a stronger power, a more forcible motive, which exerts itself upon such occasions. It is reason, principle, conscience, the inhabitant of the breast, the man within, the great judge and arbiter of our conduct.³

Our conscience enables us not only to reach an impartial verdict about the conduct of others

but also about the way we behave ourselves. Griswold explains this impartiality as follows:

The meaning of "impartiality" is brought out by a contrast with the partiality of self-love engendered by emotion. Even though impartiality is not itself passionless reason, it is a rational



David Hume

trait in multiple senses; it involves looking at self or other from a general point of view (i.e., from one defined by the spectator rather than just the actor), acquiring and grasping relevant information, understanding the situation, and abstracting from one's emotions that distort a fair apprehension and sympathy.⁴

Three items are important in this quotation. First the moral critic is a spectator, second critical reflection and reserve are important elements in the judgment of the *impartial spectator* and third human beings do not only judge others as spectator in order to reach an impartial judgment, but they can also transcend themselves and look from the outside in their soul and ask whether they themselves act and judge properly. In this way the impartial spectator can reach a clear view of the values that decide between right and wrong. "The man within" is Smith's definition of conscience and for him God is the ultimate judge of human affairs. Smith's reference to God seems to constitute the cardinal difference with Hume's moral system. Hume refuses to appeal to God in any sense. We have no way of knowing God's will and we have no evidence of divine intervention in human life. So any appeal to Him makes no sense. Yet Smith does not

appeal to God either. "The man within" is God's "viceregent" on earth and as such he has made the moral decisions himself and so in practice his moral system is as secular as that of Hume. Jerry Evrensky's remark, that "the logic of Smith's moral philosophy does not require a deity", seems just.⁵ Smith's system does not need God's intervention in order to function.

It is important that Smith uses the term 'arbiter'. It means that we make use of "the man within" in our daily affairs. Contemplation of right and wrong in the abstract is not enough.

The most sublime speculation of the contemplative philosopher can scarce compensate the neglect of the smallest active duty.⁶

The verdict of the *impartial spectator* effects, according to Griswold, "a refinement of the ordinary exchange of moral life" and not – we can add – a negation of it.⁷ The *impartial spectator* does not pronounce a remote judgment but actively arbitrates between citizens. Obviously this verdict does not preclude considerations of utility. Smith uses them freely in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and what else can we expect from the author of *The Wealth of Nations*. However, Smith criticizes Hume for making utility the only standard for judging moral issues. He writes that the superior gift of taste is at first sight appreciated for its utility, although utility is not the main component of our approbation or blame. "The idea of the utility of all qualities of this kind is plainly an after-thought, and not what first recommends them to our approbation."⁸ What applies to aesthetic applies to moral feelings. So we judge on the basis of our spontaneous feelings. This, however, is not the function of the impartial spectator. He *reasons* and takes considerations of utility into account. So he comes at the end not at the beginning of our process of approbation. As the *ultimate* authority he is "the great judge and arbiter of our conduct." As such we can easily combine Hume's use of utility with that of Smith.

Hume on sympathy and utility

In a fine essay Norman Fiering has described the widespread concern with humanitarian issues which swept through Europe since the late seventeenth-century. For philosophers

and theologians such as Henry More, Richard Cumberland, Malebranche, Shaftesbury and many others "irresistible compassion" became a central issue.⁹ Another term, next to 'humanity', was 'sympathy'. So the fact that Hume and Smith adopted the term is not remarkable in itself. It would simply indicate that they wanted to be enlightened philosophers. It is the fact that they turned 'sympathy' into a *terminus technicus* that is novel and original, and the reason why they developed the term in different directions has to do with their opinions on the *instrumentality* of the moral system. It is at this point that Smith and Hume differ. For Hume "sympathy is essentially a principle of communication by which the spectator comes to have a passion that he believes the agent to have and he comes to have it because of this belief." For Smith "it is possible for a spectator sympathetically to have a passion that he does not believe the agent to have. Or even that he knows the agent cannot have." This is a useful distinction. Hume uses 'sympathy' to communicate feelings, and not to judge them. When it comes to judging them he introduces in book III his "four principles of the *advantage* and of the *pleasure of the person himself*, and of *others*".¹⁰

According to Nicolas Capaldi, as quoted by Terence Penelhum, Hume replaces sympathy by 'humanity' or 'benevolence'.¹¹ This is not exactly true, if you eliminate 'sympathy' as "a very powerful principle"¹² sympathy becomes benevolence. It is crucial to see this, because Hume's elimination of sympathy as an associative principle brings him closer to Smith's use of utility, because both authors regard utility as a standard for social transactions.

We have seen that Smith regards the philosopher as a councillor for active duties. That is how Hume announces the function of philosophy in EHU. "Be a philosopher, but, amidst all your philosophy, be still a man."¹³ This emphasis on active duties and practical reason marks both the rewritten products EHU and EPM. In the *Treatise* Hume has no regard for his public and its more dramatic passages read as a soliloquy. In the two *Enquiries* Hume develops a conscious strategy to reach his public. They become, indeed, an Enlightenment project.¹⁴

in her letter of 11 June 1795 addressed to Baron Grimm (see footnote 32, p. 26).

¹⁷ Andreas Chrysogonus Eichler: *Der Damenführer in Teplitz, Karlbath, Franzensbad and Marienbad* (Teplitz, 1831), p. 69f.

¹⁸ Pavel Reiser: *Karlovy Vary Roads in the spa woods* (Karlovy Vary, 1997), p. 13.

¹⁹ Eduard Hlawaczek: *Geschichte von Karlsbad, in medizinischer, topographischer und geselliger Beziehung* (Prag, 1839), p. 174 ff.

²⁰ Transl. after: Erik Gloßmann: *Hermann von Pückler-Muskau. Kavaliere-Abenteurer-Parkgestalter* (Leipzig, 2004), p. 109.

²¹ Hugo Rokyta: *Die böhmischen Länder* (Salzburg, 1970), p. 110.

²² The Posthof was run as a restaurant by the former servants of Lord Findlater, named Valentin Keil and Franz Pfitzenmeier.

²³ Johannes Urzidil: *Goethe in Böhmen* (Zürich/Stuttgart, 1962), p. 104.

²⁴ Robert Tobin: *Warm Brothers. Queer theory and the age of Goethe* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 96.

²⁵ *Staatliche Schlösser, Burgen und Gärten Sachsen* (ed.): *Sachsen grün. Historische Gärten und Parks* (Berlin / Hamburg), 2006, p. 116.

²⁶ Andrew Eburne; Richard Taylor: *How to read an English garden* (London, 2006), p. 169.

²⁷ H. Montgomery Hyde: *The other love. An historical and contemporary survey of homosexuality in Britain* (London, 1970), p. 72.

²⁸ Rolf Köhne: *Die Albrechtsschlösser zu Dresden-*

Loschwitz, 2nd ed. (Dresden, 2000), p. 21-34.

²⁹ Most of his publications / editions were simply translations from English such as:

Mélanges agronomiques, rédigées d'après la pratique et les expériences des meilleurs fermiers anglais (Leipzig, 1799).

Landwirtschaftliche Mannigfaltigkeiten und Ackerbau Erfahrungen, nach den neuesten Versuchen englischer Ökonomen (Prag, 1800).

Beschreibung der Königlichen Wirtschaftshöfe zu Windsor (Chemnitz, 1801).

Neue Erfindungen, wie man mitten im Wintermonat Spargel, Melonen, Gurken, Erdbeeren, Radiesen, Rosen, und andere Vegetabilien ohne Mistbeet erziehen könne (Berlin, 1801).

³⁰ Christian Ludwig Stieglitz: *Zeichnungen aus der schönen Baukunst oder Darstellung idealischer und ausgeführter Gebäude mit ihren Grund- und Aufzissen auf 100 Kupfertafeln. Mit nöthigen Erklärungen und einer Abhandlung über die Schönheit dieser Kunst*. (Leipzig: Voss, 1798-1800). 4 Bl., 18 S., 115 Kupfertafeln.

³¹ A. A. Tait: 'Lord Findlater, Architect'. In: *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 128, No. 1003, (Oct. 1986), pp. 737-741.

³² Friedrich Melchior von Grimm: *Correspondance inédite, 1794-1801, du Baron Grimm au Comte de Findlater*, ed. by André Cazes (Paris, 1934), 302 pp.

State and Civil Society

We have seen that both authors apply the concept of utility to practical affairs in the same way and hence it comes as no surprise that their views on the state and its relation to civil society are broadly similar. Both are convinced – and this is important – that existing rules must be applied strictly and to the letter. Smith writes that “rules of justice are accurate in the highest degree, and admit of no exceptions or modifications”.¹⁵ And Hume states that “the rules of equity and justice ... owe their origin and existence to that UTILITY, which results to the public from their strict and regular observance.”¹⁶ In THN Hume mentions justice as an artificial virtue because it depends on conventions that decide what justice and injustice is. That is not Smith’s view, but the manner in which Hume contrives the marriage of artificial and natural virtues indicates that their differences, though important, are marginal if we consider the practical consequences. For Hume that marriage means that “social conventions groom natural virtues such as benevolence”¹⁷.

Their insistence on strict and regular observance is remarkable:

The three fundamental laws of nature that of the stability of possession, of its transference by consent, and of the performance of promises¹⁸ are the cement of society

and

As numerous and civilized societies cannot subsist without government, so government is entirely useless without an exact obedience.¹⁹

And Smith adds to this:

The support of the established government seems evidently the best expedient for maintaining the safe, respectable, and happy situation of our fellow-citizens; when we see that this government actually maintains them in that situation.²⁰

The counterpart of authority is liberty. Both authors are convinced that citizens should be able to pursue their affairs without interference from the state. Smith has a more forward view of the functioning of natural liberty. In the *Wealth of Nations* he depicts gradual economic progress that will benefit all layers of society. Hume on the other hand took a dim view of political developments in the 1760s and 1770s. In the last essay he wrote he insisted that in the contests between liberty and authority “the latter may ... challenge the preference.”²¹

However, in his economic essays Hume was the first to describe national and international cooperation as being beneficial to all actors involved. Smith built on this idea with his theory of a national and international division of labour. Then there is of course his famous critique of mercantilism. Hume does not

mention economic progress. In his *History of England* he positively refuses the notion of progression and progress, but it is there in his casual remarks.²²

They shared their criticism on the “financier” (Hume) and the “wholesale merchant” (Smith).²³ They did not like people whose economic interests are not firmly rooted in national soil. It is remarkable that they point at the two actors who helped to unchain the Industrial Revolution and created the world we live in. Smith and Hume did not so much defend the *status quo* as the balance of social relations it implied. They suspected with good reason that the future would disrupt this balance and they did not like the prospect.

Sentimentalism and its Worth

Scholars do not agree whether Hume and Smith belong to the broad stream of utilitarianism or whether there is a clean divide between their use of the concept of utility and that of Bentham and his school. Utilitarianism is a nineteenth century label coined by John Stuart Mill and Bentham marks an important difference between the two versions when he accuses Smith of “sentimentalism”.²⁴ Sentimentalism means that Hume and Smith took sentiments to be the prime motive for action and the initial opening for an understanding of morality. Regarding the current state of ethical theory Hume and Smith’s view seems to be a strength rather than weakness.

The problem with Bentham’s utilitarianism is its consequentialism and its narrow view of human motivation. Consequentialism means that we should judge human actions by their consequences and not by the motives of the actors. This view easily leads to ‘government house utilitarianism’, i.e. that civil servants and politicians judge what is best for promoting the common good, even when it leads to disregarding individual interests. Robert Goodin, a sensible defender of ‘government house utilitarianism’, comments that the utilitarianism “is credible” “under those special conditions that characterize policy-making” and better than when individuals can guide their own conduct.²⁵ This may be true, but the question is whether “those special conditions” can provide the protection to individual interests in the broadest sense. The fact that officials and experts tend to look at a fictionalized account of these interests is not helpful. Amartya Sen and Bernard Williams remind us that

It is a strange but very striking fact that in its most recent existence as contributing to moral and economic theory it has lost those connections with psychological and political reality.²⁶

Critics such as John Rawls and Alasdair MacIntyre, correctly, regard utilitarianism as an

impoverished moral theory. Our problem is that we do not seem to be able to find an alternative. MacIntyre’s appeal to Aristotle is not helpful. Morality according to Aristotle is teleological. In the pursuit of virtue we aspire to certain ends, but where is the end that covers all the other ones? Aristotle’s definition of the good of society was the *polis*. Here is our problem. His definition is too parochial to be of any use to us. What is the goodness of modern Society? Whether we like it or not that can only be the product of negotiations between individuals with differing ends in mind. In order to survive nationally and internationally we must cooperate, but there is no tradition anymore that can guide us in our negotiations. So utilitarianism may be a poor procedure, but it is the only one on which we can and must agree.²⁷ Rawls’ theory of justice²⁸ is immensely influential, but as it only applies to the political choices we make it does



Adam Smith

not deal with the formal and informal decisions we make in the market or in our daily lives. It is within the domain of civil society that ‘utility’ as a concept becomes indispensable.

The Hume of EPM assumes that utilities will automatically emerge from human transactions and as Smith put it in his famous metaphor of the invisible hand human beings (the rich in this case) “thus without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interest of society, and afford means to the multiplication of the species.” Unintended and beneficial effects are part of the way utilities appear. These are big assumptions of course. Why should human transactions always have beneficial or at least functional results? The assumption behind that question is that we have no welfare, no wealth, and no modernity without the cooperation of individuals who can trust each other.

Human beings only have implicit notions of the good and the bad and they act according to instinct and convention, but they cannot expect the good automatically to emerge from their transactions. When we come to think about it the good is “itself simple and indefin-

able”. According to G.E. Moore the good is a fact about which no discussion is possible.²⁹ If we need to define it – and this need arises when we have to make political decisions – Smith’s Impartial Spectator comes into play to make a reasoned assessment how utility can serve the good. And for this we need a political theory such as Rawls did formulate it.

One of Hume’s creative thoughts is that all we know about the world is through relations. Substances and essences mostly are useless fictions and identities may be psychologically rewarding but they remain fictions nonetheless. Yet in practice he works with more or less fixed ideas about how the world should be ordered. That fixed quality no longer exists in the world that has been created since Hume’s day and is no longer relevant to our flattened world. Yet Hume and Smith are no rigid traditionalists. Their definition of what is *natural* implies the notion of a different world of more natural relations. *Natural* is a vague but potent adjective. The interesting aspect of the way they use the term is that they do not appeal to a natural order outside mankind but to human nature. This means in fact that their natural order is manmade or perhaps we should say tailored to man’s natural needs.³⁰ Referring to Smith Griswold splendidly captures this notion of the *natural*:

Philosophy cannot be guided simply by nature if it is also to resolve nature’s conflicts. We must make nature liveable and comprehensible to ourselves, that is, make nature measure up to our standards.³¹

And Hume himself:

And in view of *pleasure*, what comparison between the unbought satisfaction of conversation, society, study, even health and the common beauties of nature, but above all the peaceful reflection on one’s own conduct: What comparison, I say, between these, and the feverish, empty amusements of luxury and expence? These natural pleasures, indeed, are really without price; both because they are below all price in their attainment and above it in their enjoyment.³²

In our flat world³³ we have no way of knowing our natural pleasures. The *impartial spectator* may teach us what they are, but the task of the modern *impartial spectator* has become more difficult, because he no longer has any conventional rulings to be guided by. We have to decide what is natural in a world which has become entirely artificial. Yet Hume and Smith’s view that the natural is within us seems to me

to be a key to wisdom. We can appeal to it to make the artificial world more bearable and perhaps help it make it less artificial. If our task, then, has become more difficult, reading Smith and Hume can at least induce us to ask what we regard as natural. Let us hope we will not be misled by the *fata morgana* of an economic equilibrium, which anyway is irrelevant for what we want to be natural.

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*My thanks to Vincent Hope for his perceptive comments. THN I, 3, ii, 114 means book I, part 3, section 2, page 114 of D. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, P.H. Nidditch ed. (Oxford 1978: Clarendon Press); EHU means D. Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, (Oxford 2000: Clarendon Press), T. L. Beauchamp ed.; EPM means D.Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, (Oxford 2006: Clarendon Press), T.L. Beauchamp ed.; TMS III.3.30, 149 means chapter 3, par 30, p.149 and III, iii, 1, 9, 46: part 1, chapter 3, section 1, par.9, page 46, A. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, (Oxford 1976: Clarendon Press), D.D. Raphael & A.L. Macfie eds.

¹ F.L. van Holthoorn, “Adam Smith and David Hume: With Sympathy”, *Utilitas*, 5 (1993); see also F.L. van Holthoorn, “Dal Sentimento all’Utilità. Hume e la Riscrittura del III libro del Trattato”, *Dianoia* 6(2001), 137-162; and V.M. Hope, *Virtue in Consensus: the Moral Philosophy of Hutcheson, Hume and Adam Smith*, (Oxford 1989: Oxford University Press).

² F.L. van Holthoorn, *A Dialogue on Hume, on his Revision of A Treatise of Human Nature*, (Amsterdam 2007: Boom), 119-120, 141-147.

³ A. Smith, TMS, III.3.4, 137; the editors of TMS note that not only Hume but also Francis Hutcheson was the butt of Smith’s criticism.

⁴ Ch. L. Griswold, *Adam Smith and the Virtues of the Enlightenment*, (Cambridge 1999: Cambridge University Press), 139.

⁵ J. Evensky, *Adam Smith’s Moral Philosophy, a Historical and Contemporary Perspective on Markets, Law, Ethics, and Culture*, (Cambridge 2005: Cambridge University Press), 23.

⁶ A. Smith, TMS, VI.ii.3.6, 237.

⁷ Ch. L. Griswold, *Adam Smith and the Virtues of the Enlightenment*, 144.

⁸ A. Smith, TMS, I.i.4.4., 20

⁹ N.S. Fiering, “Irresistible Compassion: an Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism”, *The American Enlightenment*, (Rochester, 1993: University of Rochester Press), F. Shuffelton ed., 73.

¹⁰ A. Broadie, “Sympathy and the Impartial Spectator”, *Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*, (New York: Cambridge University Press), K. Haakonssen ed., 163
¹¹ D. Hume, THN III, 3, ii, 601; D. Hume, THN III, 3, ii, 601;

La «Maison des Sciences»¹ : le cabinet nîmois de Jean-François Séguier (1703-1784)

Au cœur de la cité languedocienne de Nîmes, le cabinet d'antiquités et d'histoire naturelle de Jean-François Séguier attire dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle une foule croissante de visiteurs, comme en témoigne le petit carnet sur lequel le savant inscrit, entre 1773 et 1783, pas moins de 1514 noms.² Naturalistes, collectionneurs ou voyageurs se définissant eux-

mêmes comme des «curieux, plus amateurs que connaisseurs», viennent en admirer la bibliothèque, les plantes rares et la célèbre série de fossiles.³ L'existence même du carnet de visiteurs, source rare dans un contexte privé, invite à s'interroger sur la manière dont Séguier fait de son cabinet un lieu central de la sociabilité nîmoise, et sur la ressource que représentent ces voya-

geurs pour un savant éloigné des grands centres scientifiques. Le cabinet nîmois apparaît ainsi comme un bon observatoire des dynamiques de socialisation de la science que des travaux récents ont éclairés pour les capitales européennes du XVIII^e siècle, mais qui restent mal connues pour les plus petites villes.⁴

La visite au savant

Depuis son installation en 1756, au retour de Vérone où Séguier a passé vingt ans auprès du marquis Scipione Maffei, le cabinet fait partie de ce qu'il faut voir à Nîmes, à côté des vestiges de la ville antique et des fiertés de la ville moderne: en août 1768, le négociant Barthélemy Fornier accompagne madame Marcassus de Puymaurin, épouse du directeur d'une fabrique de draps réputée, «aux arènes, au collège [des jésuites], à la maison carrée, aux fabriques, à la cathédrale, à la fontaine et chez M. de Séguier».⁵ Il faut pourtant garder en tête que peu de voyageurs se rendent à Nîmes dans le seul but de visiter le cabinet.

L'immense majorité le voit «en passant», dans le cadre de déplacements ordinaires et fonctionnels: familles de la noblesse languedocienne ou provençale se rendant en villégiature, ecclésiastiques passant d'un couvent à l'autre, officiers en garnison dans les étapes languedociennes, consuls et ambassadeurs gagnant leurs postes méditerranéens, étudiants de la *peregrinatio academica*, jeunes gens du Grand Tour, artistes sur la route de Rome, médecins en tournée et négociants en affaire forment le quotidien du savant. La maison de Séguier est d'abord une attraction locale (les Méridionaux y représentent, suivant Daniel Roche, un bon tiers des visiteurs), mais la part des voyageurs étrangers au royaume est également importante. Nîmes est en effet depuis longtemps une étape du voyage vers l'Italie et la ville est devenue plus récemment un lieu de villégiature apprécié des Septentrionaux à la santé fragile.⁶

Plusieurs raisons poussent les voyageurs vers le cabinet. C'est avant tout le savant que l'on vient visiter, celui qui a déchiffré l'inscription de la Maison Carrée et dont on connaît la disponibilité à servir de cicérone à ses hôtes. Mais les récits de voyage montrent également l'intérêt croissant suscité par les collections du Nîmois. Dans une culture du voyage qui valorise l'observation et la curiosité, les collections antiquaires et naturelles sont un objet habituellement proposé par les guides à l'attention des voyageurs. Plus spécifiquement, l'installa-

tion du cabinet à Nîmes en 1756 s'inscrit dans le contexte d'une transformation des pratiques du collectionnisme: comme l'a montré K. Pomian, les élites lettrées et courtoises commencent alors à abandonner leurs séries de médailles pour former des cabinets naturalistes, à l'instar des bourgeois

région, plus étroitement articulés à l'espace privé. Chez l'avi-gnonnais Esprit Calvet, les visiteurs peuvent admirer les antiquités disposées dans les pièces du rez-de-chaussée, mais la collection de médailles et de petits objets antiques se trouve à l'abri des regards, dans le cabinet d'étude et dans la chambre du collectionneur.⁸ L'originalité de cette conception a été perçue par les contemporains de Séguier: «Je connais votre arrangement de réputation, lui écrit Calvet en 1774, tout le monde me fait l'éloge de votre musée, de votre jardin, de votre logement. C'est la Maison des Sciences. Je meurs d'en- vie de l'aller voir un jour.»⁹ L'aménagement rappelle par certains traits l'expérience du musée épigraphique de Vérone, mais il se nourrit également du souvenir des collections et jardins botaniques visités pen-

dant son Grand Tour en Europe (1732-1736). Il interprète ainsi toute une culture du musée dont les éléments se mettent en place en Europe dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle.¹⁰ On y retrouve des éléments anciens: celui du mythe alexandrique d'un espace à la fois ouvert (le jardin) et fermé (le cabinet d'études), lieu d'apprentissage intellectuel autant que d'une libre socialisation sur le mode antique; celui du rêve encyclopédique d'une «Maison de Salomon» rassemblant les différents champs de la connaissance. Plus moderne est la conviction que l'accessibilité des savoirs ne peut être garantie que par une institution de droit public, dont Séguier évoque l'idée dès 1768 dans une lettre au président de Saint-Vincent, et qu'il concrétise dix ans plus tard par le legs de ses collections à l'académie de Nîmes. Ses contemporains ne s'y sont pas trompés, qui qualifient précocement le cabinet de *musaeum*, terme relativement peu usité dans un contexte privé.

S'il est difficile de mesurer la facilité d'accès du cabinet pour des voyageurs inconnus du propriétaire des lieux, plusieurs indices montrent la force des liens d'interconnaissance et de recommandation qui entourent bien souvent la visite. Certains voyageurs sont conduits chez Séguier par leur hôte nîmois: les familles des marquis de Baschi et de Monteynard, qui fréquentent assiduellement le cabinet savant, le négociant Jacques Rolland ou le naturaliste Amoureux y jouent à l'occasion le rôle d'introductions. D'autres arrivent munis d'une ou de plusieurs lettres de recommandation, dont Séguier



Jean-François Séguier

et des financiers. Dès 1757, la nouvelle édition du best-seller des collectionneurs, la *Conchyliologie* de Dezallier d'Argenville, intègre la description du cabinet de Séguier, «fruit de ses voyages et de son long séjour en Italie», lui donnant de fait une incroyable publicité. «On ne parle icy Monsieur que de votre belle collection de fossiles», lui écrit de Paris en 1759 le comte d'Argenville.⁷

L'esprit des lieux

La configuration des lieux joue un rôle important dans cette réputation. L'ouverture du carnet, en 1773, coïncide avec le déménagement du cabinet dans le nouvel hôtel particulier que Séguier a fait construire dans les faubourgs de Nîmes. Les témoignages des voyageurs, comme ceux du grenoblois Raby et du strasbourgeois Oberlin, permettent de s'en faire une idée assez précise. Le cabinet d'antiquités, le médaillier, l'herbier, la bibliothèque et la salle de réunion de l'académie de Nîmes (dont Séguier est depuis 1765 le secrétaire perpétuel) occupent tout le rez-de-chaussée de la maison. Séguier, sa sœur et les domestiques habitent les étages. La bibliothèque abrite sur un jardin planté d'arbres fruitiers et de plantes exotiques et parsemé d'inscriptions, au fond duquel l'orangerie abrite les collections naturelles. Une fois franchi le vestibule de la maison, il est donc possible de voir l'ensemble des collections sans jamais utiliser la cage d'escalier qui mène aux appartements privés. L'autonomie des lieux distingue le cabinet de Séguier des autres cabinets de la

Haakonssen writes about the use of sympathy in THN: "It is self-evident from Hume's description of the sympathy-mechanism that we can only have sympathy with specifiable individuals." [K. Haakonssen, *The Science of the Legislator, the Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith*, (Cambridge 1981: Cambridge University Press), 35. That remark is beside the point, I think. Hume consciously uses a scheme involving the self and the other [person]. His further use of 'sympathy' makes it clear that he knows that the communication of feelings through 'sympathy' involves many other persons, but he develops no scheme for this type of communication. The introduction of utility or rather *utile et dulce* in book III points at a different scheme, which he develops in EPM.

¹¹ Cited by T. Penelhum, *David Hume, an Introduction to his Philosophical System*, (West Lafayette IN 1992: Purdue University Press); he comments "I am at present unsure of the merit of this interpretation." Perhaps, Penelhum writes, we must accept that Hume pursued a more restricted aim in EPM. "If this is true, then the reference to a sentiment of humanity has to be construed as a shorthand for the details of sympathy that are spelled out in the *Treatise*." This is not what is happening in the process of rewriting; sympathy becomes mere fellow feeling and its associative powers are no longer mentioned.

¹² D. Hume, THN I, 3, vi, 618.

¹³ D. Hume, EHU, 7.

¹⁴ F.L. van Holthoorn, *A Dialogue on Hume*, 95.

¹⁵ A. Smith, TMS, III.6.10, 175

¹⁶ D. Hume, EPM, 16.

¹⁷ F.L. van Holthoorn, *A Dialogue on Hume*, 137.

¹⁸ THN, III, 2, vi, 526.

¹⁹ D. Hume, THN, III, 2, x, 553-554.

²⁰ A. Smith, TMS VI.ii.2.12, 231.

²¹ D. Hume, "Of the Origin of Government", *Essays*, 41.

²² Why he refused to use the notion of progress is a question I have tried to answer in "Hume and the End of History", an essay which will be published at the proper time in a volume on Hume's *History*, to be edited by Mark Spencer.

²³ D. Hume, "Of Public Credit",

Essays, 357-358: "These are men, who have no connexions with the state, who can enjoy their revenue in any part of the globe in which they chuse to reside, who will naturally bury themselves in the capital or in great cities, and who will sink into the lethargy of a stupid and pampered luxury, without spirit, ambition, or enjoyment. Adieu to all ideas of nobility, gentry, and family." For Smith, see *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, [WN] (Oxford 1976: Clarendon Press), R.H. Campbell e.a. eds, vol. 1, II, v, 14, 364: "The capital of a wholesale merchant, on the contrary, seems to have no fixed or necessary residence anywhere, but may wander about from place to place, according as it can either buy cheap or sell dear."

²⁴ F.L. van Holthoorn, "Adam Smith and David Hume with Sympathy", 40 note 22.

²⁵ E. Goodin, *Utilitarianism as a Public Philosophy*, (Cambridge 1995: Cambridge University Press), 77.

²⁶ A. Sen & B. Williams, *Utilitarianism and Beyond*, 21.

²⁷ A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue, a Study in Moral Theory*, (London 1981: Duckworth); on his aristotelianism see 137 ff. an d 239 ff.

²⁸ J. Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, (Cambridge Mass. 1999: Belknap Press).

²⁹ A. Smith, TMS, IV.1.10, 184-185.

³⁰ G.E. Moore, *Principia Ethica*, (Cambridge 1965: Cambridge University Press), 36.

³¹ F.L. van Holthoorn, *A Dialogue on Hume*, 151.

³² Ch. L. Griswold, *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment*, 329.

³³ D. Hume, EPM, 82.

³⁴ See Th. L. Friedman, *The World is Flat, The Globalized World in the Twenty-first Century*, (London 2006: Penguin Books) about the meaning of flatness. Basically it means that communications have become so quick and flexible and have such an extended span that our globe is stretched out.

prend note dans son carnet; quelques-uns évoquent une précédente rencontre ou se réclament d'une connaissance commune. Les récits de voyage s'accordent en tout cas à souligner la disponibilité avec laquelle Séguier accueille ses visiteurs. La sensibilité du savant aux exigences de la transmission du savoir est ancienne, comme en témoigne une notation de son journal de voyage, au début des années 1730: de l'abbé Nolet, il écrit qu'«il a un bel assortiment d'instruments de Physique qui lui servent pour faire ses expériences. Il serait à souhaiter qu'il eut plus de talent pour s'expliquer et communiquer aux autres les sciences qu'il possède».¹¹ Contrairement à certains cabinets parisiens, celui de Séguier n'est pas, ou rarement, le lieu de démonstrations curieuses – les collections ne s'y prêtent guère, à l'exception d'un morceau de bois «dont un côté était pétrifié et l'autre brûlait encore» et d'un basalte de Saint-Thibéry qui ne se fend que si l'on allume un feu à sa base.¹² De nombreux récits de voyage témoignent en revanche de «démonstrations épigraphiques» mettant en scène la découverte de l'inscription de la Maison Carrée. La démonstration commence *in situ*: le savant fait remarquer au visiteur les trous laissés par les chevilles fixant les lettres de bronze, les marques que certaines d'entre elles ont laissées en creux sur la pierre et la manière dont on peut reconstituer l'inscription à partir de ces indices. Il offre au visiteur un exemplaire de sa *Dissertation*, dont on retrouve de longs extraits dans les récits de voyage. La démonstration s'achève par la présentation d'un travail en cours, celui du décryptage de l'inscription du forum d'Arles.

Le proche et le lointain Loin d'être anecdotique ou périphérique à l'activité scientifique, cette dimension publique et mondaine du cabinet participe au quotidien de la pratique savante: l'existence même du carnet et les nombreuses traces de manipulations (annotations marginales, système de renvois insérés dans le texte) mettent en évidence les différentes ressources que représente cette fréquentation croissante pour un savant géographiquement éloigné des capitales scientifiques européennes. Proche ou lointain, expert ou amateur éclairé, le voyageur est en premier lieu pour Séguier une source d'informations, un moyen de se tenir au courant des nouveautés bibliographiques étrangères et des découvertes archéologiques et scientifiques récentes: en octobre 1774, deux récollets lui annoncent la découverte de poissons fossiles

dans une terre argileuse près de Bagnols. Séguier prend également note des compétences de chacun («M. Coste qui sait l'arabe»), de la consistance des collections de ses visiteurs et de leurs éventuels changements de main («M^r Hunter qui a acheté le cabinet de M^r Du Hamel»).

En aucune façon le passage des voyageurs n'est un temps soustrait à l'activité scientifique. Séguier examine les échantillons naturels qu'on lui apporte pour identification, évoque des entreprises en cours comme celle de M. de Genssane «chargé par la Province [de Languedoc] d'examiner les lieux où il peut se trouver de la houille», dispute des hypothèses d'un M. Coranson «qui soutient qu'Annibal a passé le Rhône à Roquemaure».¹⁴ A l'occasion de la visite s'engagent de nombreux échanges de spécimens: les collectionneurs repartent avec des objets naturels ou des livres et promettent en retour d'envoyer des graines, des plantes, des oursins pétrifiés ou des inscriptions. Le carnet enregistre soigneusement la teneur des promesses et la voie par laquelle doivent arriver les objets. Enfin, de nombreuses commissions sont confiées aux visiteurs, contrepartie implicite du temps et de l'attention que le savant leur a consacrés: acheminer une lettre ou un paquet, lui procurer un livre ou un spécimen particulier, se renseigner sur un manuscrit, sur l'état d'avancement d'un ouvrage.

Les effets de cette sociabilité curieuse s'étendent donc bien au-delà du temps de la visite et du cercle des voyageurs. Lettres et récits de voyage participent à

dés jouer un rôle décisif dans la mise en place des échanges: c'est le récit du jeune minéralogiste Johann Jakob Ferber qui engage le baron Ignace de Born, assesseur à la direction des mines et monnaies de Prague, à écrire à Séguier et à lui offrir « tout ce que la vaste Hongrie, la Transylvanie, et, si vous voulez,



Nîmes, Amphithéâtre Romain

les autres Provinces appartenant à la maison d'Autriche produisent de rare en minéraux»¹⁵. Les seconds permettent à Séguier de rassembler facilement des spécimens locaux faisant série avec les siens et susceptibles d'être échangés contre des échantillons lointains. Les «ardoises herbivores» ou «fougères pétrifiées» des Cévennes que Séguier se procure en abondance auprès de ses correspondants cévenols et de son frère René, prieur à Saint-Jean-de-Valérisclé, constituent, comme auparavant les poissons fossiles extraits des carrières du marquis Maffei, des monnaies d'échanges dans ses relations avec les savants étrangers: il en envoie en 1768 au naturaliste Pedro Francesco Davila, en 1777 au Suisse

Horace-Bénédict de Saussure. De telles pratiques d'échange sont d'autant plus nécessaires à Séguier que le phénomène de «commercialisation de la science», très visible à Londres ou à Paris, n'est encore qu'embryonnaire dans la France méridionale. Alors que le pays d'entre Nîmes et Marseille («porte du Levant, terre des médailles» comme le dit joliment Thierry Sarmant) a précocement suscité un marché pour les antiquités, vraies ou fausses, celui des objets d'histoire naturelle est encore peu développé. En Provence et en Languedoc, certains boutiquiers commencent à proposer des échantillons naturels: il existe à Montpellier un certain «Montant Marchand brocanteur d'histoire naturelle» mais, d'après le naturaliste Amoreux, «tout ce qu'il a [n'est] que du fatras».¹⁶

Si le cabinet de Séguier participe d'une certaine manière du processus de «consommation des sciences» dont les capitales européennes sont le lieu d'observation le plus évident, le flux de visiteurs n'y représente pas une aliénéation de l'activité savante.

Loin des capitales intellectuelles, la dimension mondaine de la «visite au savant» permet au contraire à Séguier de rester en prise avec les milieux savants européens, de donner une publicité à ses travaux restés manuscrits, d'amplifier son action par des alliances sociales et politiques efficaces, de construire

finalement une réputation qui dépasse largement l'écho de ses publications botaniques et antiquaires.

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¹ Expression d'Esprit Calvet citée par C. Lassale, «La maison de Jean-François Séguier», in J. R. Gaborit (éd.), *Mécènes et collectionneurs. Lyon et le Midi de la France*, Editions du CTHS, (Paris, 1999), p. 121-142.
² Nous renvoyons à notre édition du carnet: E. Chapron, *L'Europe à Nîmes: les carnets de Jean-François Séguier (1732-1783)*, Editions A. Barthélemy, (Avignon, 2008).
³ Bibliothèque municipale de Nîmes [désormais BMN], ms. 142, f° 11 : Ginet à Séguier,

Vienne, 1772.
⁴ S. van Damme, *Paris capitale philosophique de la Fronde à la Révolution*, O. Jacob, (Paris, 2005).
⁵ Cité par R. Chamboredon, «De la cité fermée à la ville ouverte, Nîmes au temps de Jean-François Séguier», in G. Audisio, F. Pugnieri (éd.), *Jean-François Séguier. Un Nimois dans l'Europe des Lumières*, (Edisud, Aix-en-Provence), p. 14.
⁶ Les Anglais forment un tiers du public étranger du cabinet. E. Grendi, «Dal Grand Tour alla "passione mediterranea"», *Quaderni storici*, XXXIV, n. 1, avril 1999, p. 121-133. D. Roche, «Correspondants et visiteurs de Jean-François Séguier», *Les Républicains des lettres: gens de culture et Lumières au XVIII^e siècle*, Fayard (Paris, 1988), p. 263-285.
⁷ Dezallier d'Argenville, *La Conchyliologie ou Histoire naturelle des coquilles...*, De Bure (Paris, 1757).
BMN, ms. 136, f. 180: d'Argenvilliers à Séguier, Paris, 22 décembre 1759.
⁸ L. Brockliss, *Calvet's Web. Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France*, (Oxford University Press, 2002).
⁹ Cité par C. Lassale, «La maison de Jean-François Séguier», art. cit.
¹⁰ E. Pommier (dir.), *Les musées en Europe à la veille de l'ouverture du Louvre* Klinkisiek, (Paris, 1995).
¹¹ BMN, ms. 129, f° 45v°.
¹² Bibliothèque Nationale de France, NAF 6568, f 29: Gruel à Séguier, Paris, 1^{er} avril 1767.
¹³ BMN, ms. 284(2), f°s 2 et 12.
¹⁴ *Ibid.*, f°s 4 et 8 v°.
¹⁵ BMN, ms. 138, f° 372: I. de Born à Séguier, Chemnitz, 10 juin 1770.
¹⁶ BMN, ms. 136, f° 71: P. J. Amoreux à Séguier.



Carnet des visiteurs de Séguier (Bibliothèque municipale de Nîmes, ms. 284(1), f° 5)

la construction et à la circulation de la réputation de Séguier et de son cabinet dans des milieux plus larges. Ils en font un correspondant recherché, non seulement par de grands collectionneurs parisiens ou européens, mais également par une foule d'apprentis collectionneurs provinciaux, surtout méridionaux, en quête de protection et de conseils. Du côté des premiers, le voyage des affi-

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A Dialogue between Halle and Göttingen

Johann Gottlob Krüger's Psychology (Halle)

vs. Albrecht von Haller's Physiology (Göttingen)

Two small German towns

A non-German observer might react with surprise at a subject which puts two small German towns in the spotlight. London, Paris, Vienna, Saint Petersburg, maybe Berlin as well – these seem to be the great cities of European Enlightenment: but Halle and Göttingen? Their historical importance is in their debate about the interdependence of mind and body, of sensibility and neurology. Before discussing that, I would like to recall two methodological principles that I find significant for the examination of the 18th century.

First principle: “L’Aufklärung et le siècle de Lumières”, as Dominique Bourel has claimed, “sont bien deux univers mentaux disparates”.¹ That means, compared to the *siècle des Lumières* coined by Paris, that both the multiplicity of the German Enlightenment have to be taken into consideration. Here, Halle and Göttingen represent, with their Reform Universities newly founded in 1694 and 1737, a special, academic vitality, which shaped the 18th century, and is bound to the name of scholars such as Thomasius, Wolff, Francke, Stahl and Hoffmann in Halle, and Haller, Blumenbach, Lichtenberg, Michaelis and Heyne in Göttingen.

Second principle: About 10 years ago Robert Darnton pointed out as the dictum of a historian: “You shall not commit Anachronism,”² meaning that one should not misinterpret historical events not recognizing later processes, for instance identifiable changes of paradigm. In order to introduce our topic, the fact that Albrecht von Haller’s (1715–1759) essay on irritability, published in 1753, introduces the change of paradigm from Iatric-Mechanism to Vitalism, lay beyond the comprehension of the scientific research which predominated in the century before 1753. Even “the creator of the vitalistic paradigm consequently remains mechanist”.³

In her recent study about Johann Gottlob Krüger (1715–1759), Tanja von Hoorn suggested two things.⁴ First: to liberate the academic and theoretic scientific discussions between the polyp experiments of Abraham Trembley in 1742 and Haller’s differentiation between irritability and sensibility in 1753 from post-Enlightenment burdens, by applying an *a-posteriori* act of perspective. And, therefore, second: to open up the mind to a synchronic cut in the landscape of debates around 1750. Then one discovers how research on impetus is done with empiric methods in different places throughout Europe, differentia-

ting dead from living structure with regard to generative, physical or mental power.

In Göttingen one examines physical power of one’s own with the help of anatomic, serial testing on animals. In Halle, on the other hand, there is the dominance of the empiric research on mental-physical interdependency, which also involves the scrutiny of mental powers of motivation, as, for instance, imagination and mind, but also the influence of fantasy and passions. At this stage, one has to mention in particular Hoffmann’s student Johann Gottlob Krüger (1715–1759), who has been drawing special attention for some years in the course of the so-called anthropological turn in German Studies, because his dietic, nature-scientific-medical, experimentally psychological and literary work, had a deep impact on post-Enlightenment authors, e.g., on doctor Schiller.⁵

Two universities

In the following section I will attempt to characterize the relation between Halle and Göttingen in five theses.

I. Göttingen observes Halle. Since 1740 there are respective reviews frequently published in the *Göttinger Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen (GGA)* which were written by Haller himself from 1745 until his departure, about Krüger, but also with reference to other publications from Halle (e.g. Kratzenstein, Unzer, E. A. Nicolai). Compared to Stahl’s animism, Krüger – as Haller repeats frequently – is appreciated as the mediator between the “Stahlian” sect and the mechanical theory insofar as he follows Stahl in regarding sensation as the reason of body motion, linking this to the doctrine of stimuli. But while in Göttingen the somatic view of vital processes is the sole interest, in Halle the attention is rather focused on the effects of mental or psychological processes, e.g. on ingestion, breathing and heartbeat. Thereby, one should not underestimate the fact that in Halle medical theory takes the self-examination and self-care of a patient who is aware of his own accountability into consideration. That means that dietary literature is flourishing, in which great attention is

paid to the passions in line with the *sex res non naturales*. On the other hand, since the founding of the empiric psychology by Wolff and its further aesthetical deve-



Johann Gottlob Krüger (1715-1759)

lopment by Baumgarten and Meier, philosophy is opening up for the function of imagination and passions within psychosomatic processes. From Krüger’s point of view as a reasonable doctor (“vernünftiger Medicus”), Haller’s theory of irritability has



Albrecht von Haller

to be interpreted as backslide into a mere physical medicine, meaning into a status before its philosophical Enlightenment. Correspondingly, in the chapter about body and mind in his *Experimental-Seelenlehre* (Halle, 1756), he significantly denies that the irritability of the isolated muscle counts against his system of science. Could the dismembered part not keep an own sensation? Could not the contraction depend on a distant effect of the mind? In any case: the point where the doctors from

Göttingen stop asking questions, gets more than ever exciting for the reasonable doctors of psychology from Halle. For this, they are sure “that the irritability is just a sheer appearance which necessarily needs a cause and cannot be perceived by a philosopher as a secret feature of scholars.”⁶

The remaining anatomic, physiological and neurological divergences and consistencies between Göttingen and Halle, shall not be discussed any further. What matters here is the fact that just when Haller directly criticises Krüger’s “famous statement that every sensation is followed by a motion”, with reference to his experiments about irritability, he, nevertheless, stays conciliatory. Then Haller approves Krüger’s promotion to another university, and

hopes for “more pleasant writings by this spirited mind with his clear ability of expressing himself”.⁷ This leads to the actual field of competence of a literary scholar.

A ‘significant style’

II. The principal tenor of the Göttingen reviews on publications from Halle is the acknowledgement for a significant style, apart from all divergences regarding medical contents. “Everything is put in a mellow, purely German way of writing”.⁸ From a Göttingen perspective, this particular style becomes the trademark of Halle and even a criterion of coherence. Within the Halle doctors, Krüger, with his German scientific publications, appears to be the great stylist, whose clever, spirited, vivid and animating approach, illuminated by “passages of a few poets” and “even open to a joke”, gains recognition.⁹

The stylistic peculiarity of the Halle doctors is astonishing in many ways: First of all, it brings about a coherent, to some extent group-forming effect, although, in terms of contents, the publications represent positions partly Stahlian, partly Hoffmannian and partly – as in the case of Krüger, – that intend to maintain equilibrium. Secondly, the stylistic, deliberate vividness of scientific representation, is based on the effort to reform literary presentation, inaugurated in Halle, which has, among others, the aim of delive-

ring academic discourse in a pleasant, kindly and also, if necessary, touching way, in order – as Georg Friedrich Meier puts it – to “make it understandable to everybody”.¹⁰ This alliance with the new discipline of aesthetics, which intentionally opens access for rhetorical elements, figures and tropes, as well as literary forms, such as quotations from poetry, aims at the popularisation of natural-scientific knowledge beyond the borders of the Republic of Scholars. The usage of German also serves this purpose which presents a significant feature of the Halle publications compared, for example, to the writings of Haller. While in the 40s Krüger initially publishes the editions of his *Naturlehre* (4 vols, 1740–1774) in German, to address an educated audience, and only later will publish a Latin translate for the academic practice, the case of Haller it is totally different. Haller’s entire scientific work is in fact written only in Latin, to target a different public.

Two different methods

III. The diverse interest in research leads to different methods; that is, the body-focused animal experiments in Göttingen versus the observation of mental case studies and stories in Halle. Compared to Haller’s physiological issues, Krüger’s psychological cognitive interest, yet, leads to a complex casuistry of the experiment, in which the options are being acted out on humans, on death-sentenced delinquents, or on tested animals. But, instead of experiment, Krüger relies on the analysis of those cases in which human beings are put in a situation not on account of the will of the experimenter, but of the will of nature, meaning by accident. Basically, this leads Krüger to the analysis of gathered medical case studies “that managed to light up psychology”.¹¹

The varying significance which is attributed to experiment in Göttingen and in Halle respectively, is therefore not based upon the fact that in Göttingen the attitude is more methodically advanced than in Halle, where people still cling to the old-fashioned arm-chair-science. There are also experiments in Halle insofar as Krüger always labels his lectures on physics with the appendix “illustrated by experiments”. He explicitly announces “experimental chemistry” and “experimental physics”, but in Krüger’s physiology and experimental psychology, experiment does not play any role, because of the diverse cognitive interests, importantly differentiated by Göttingen according to the particular case. In fact, with

the systematic gathering of case studies attached to his experimental psychology, Krüger opens up a path in terms of method for later, psychological case collections, for instance Moritz' *Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, whereas in comparison to Krüger's approach of observation, Moritz rather concentrates on self-observation for the empiric data acquisition.¹²

Haller's goodwill

IV. Haller's goodwill towards Krüger, that is testified in the reviews, prevails, in spite of persisting divergences in terms of method and contents. As evidenced by the correspondence handed down, Haller promotes Krüger's career. Apart from the recommendation of students, the letters have primarily a function as a vehicle to put forward one's own career by patronage. Over a period between 1747 and 1752, there are eight letters from Krüger to Haller, passed down on us, still unpublished.¹³ Several Halle *Doctores* come to Göttingen at the suggestion of Krüger, who takes the opportunity to request from Haller a recommendation for himself for a calling in Göttingen, maybe also in Braunschweig or, as noted in a later document of 1749, in Helmstedt. To emphasize the intention to 'position myself', Krüger dedicates the third volume of the *Naturlehre*, the pathology (1750), to the curator of the University of Göttingen, Baron of Münchhausen, whose exact 'Titulatur' Krüger had enquired in a letter.¹⁴ In these writings we get to know, among other things, that Krüger had been put off in Halle "by empty promises for six years".¹⁵ In particular, Krüger's relationship to Wolff, who exerts great influence after his rehabilitation in 1740 as chancellor of the university of Halle, seems to be embittered, "because I", as noted down in September 1749, "refuse to follow his teachings blindly".¹⁶ It remains unclear which teachings brought about the clash between Wolff and Krüger, who both emphatically adopted Wolff's mathematical method in his science of nature. Eventually, instead of staying in the rising University of Göttingen, Krüger is appointed to the already stagnating University of Helmstedt, in March 1751, where he starts the summer semester off with a physiology lecture in the faculty

of medicine and a lecture about Wolff's *Vernunftlehre* in the philosophical one.

Methodological divergence

V. While Haller shows conciliatoriness towards Halle, Krüger remains sceptical towards Göttingen. In his literary work *Träume* (Halle, 1754, ²1758, ³1765, ⁴1785, ed. by J. A. Eberhard), in one of his parable-like prose texts, Krüger mentions a "great fight", in which he lets the theories of physiology of that time collide and stir into a dream-"fricasse". Apart from the mechanistic theory of the "Cartesian doctors", in this dream there are also other theories that do not perceive the transmission of power between two bodies as a direct effect of pressure and strike, but, instead, stand for other concepts, such as attraction and cohesion, sensibility and irritability, or elasticity and tonus. The divergence between Göttingen and Halle, is again interpreted as the difference between a reductionistic, body-focused method, and one that involves psychological processes. In comparison with the Stahlian position, that the mind "had built the body", and Krüger's conviction that the mind uses "sensation as bridle to give rise to proportional movement", the theorists of irritability appear to be ignorant and materialistic. Materialistic because they understand irritability as a "characteristic of the matter of the animal body"; ignorant because of their questioning what "the doctor has to do with mind", as he should only "pay attention to the body". According to a further statement of the dream, the clash between the doctor's schools cannot be settled with the help of arguments. Therefore, Krüger creates a "God of Love" with the intention of reconciling the parties in an erotic analogy, with the words "fall in love with each other and get married".¹⁷

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¹ D. Bourel: 'Aufklärung contra siècle des Lumières', in: *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century* 190 (1980), pp. 160–166, p. 160.

² R. Darnton: *George Washingtons falsche Zähne oder noch einmal: Was ist Aufklärung?* (München, 1996), p. 3.

³ R. Toellner: 'Mechanismus – Vitalismus: ein Paradigmenwechsel? Testfall Haller', in: *Die Struktur wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen und die Geschichte der Wissenschaften*, ed. by A. Diemer, (Meisenheim/Glan, 1977), pp. 61–72, p. 61.

⁴ T. v. Hoorn: *Entwurf einer Psychophysiologie des Menschen*. J. G. Krügers Grundriß eines neuen Lehrgebäudes der Arzneigelahrtheit (1745). (Hannover, 2006).

⁵ «Vernünfftige Ärzte». *Hallesche Psychomediziner und die Anfänge der Anthropologie in der deutschsprachigen Frühaufklärung*, ed. by C. Zelle (Tübingen, 2001); H.-P. Nowitzki: *Der wohltemperierte Mensch. Aufklärungsanthropologie*

im Widerstreit (Berlin-New York, 2003).

⁶ J. G. Krüger: *Versuch einer Experimental-Seelenlehre* (Halle, 1756), pp. 326 f.

⁷ GGA, 60. St., 21. Juni 1751, pp. 556–558.

⁸ GGA, 65. St., 15. Aug. 1740, p. 576.

⁹ GGA, 1. St., 2. Jan. 1747, p. 8; GGA, 35. St., 10. April 1752, p. 364.

¹⁰ G. F. Meier: *Anfangsgründe aller schönen Wissenschaften* (Halle, 1748), Bd. I, § 14, pp. 22 f.

¹¹ Krüger: *Experimental-Seelenlehre* (Fn. 6), p. 21.

¹² C. Zelle: 'Experimentalseelenlehre und Erfahrungsseelenkunde. Zur

Unterscheidung von Erfahrung, Beobachtung und Experiment bei J. G. Krüger und K. P. Moritz', in: «*Vernünfftige Ärzte*» (Fn. 5), pp. 173–185.

¹³ '8 letters from Krüger to Haller' (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, AvH, Krüger 1–8).

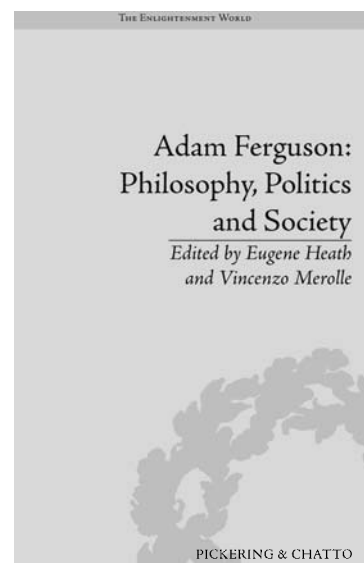
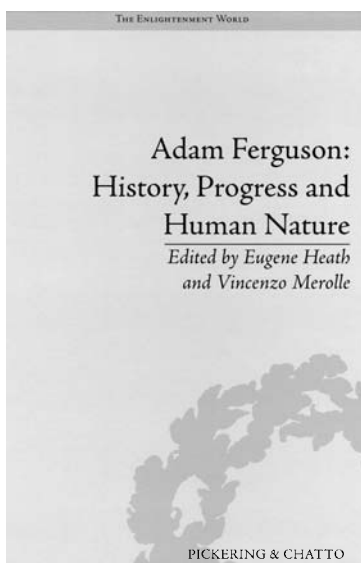
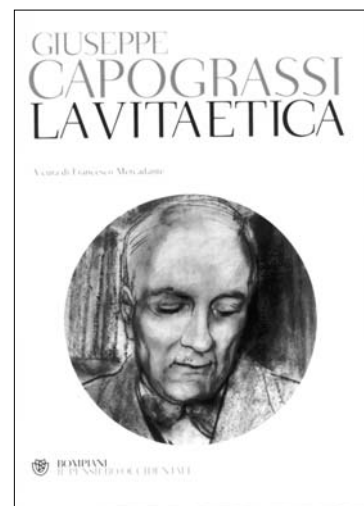
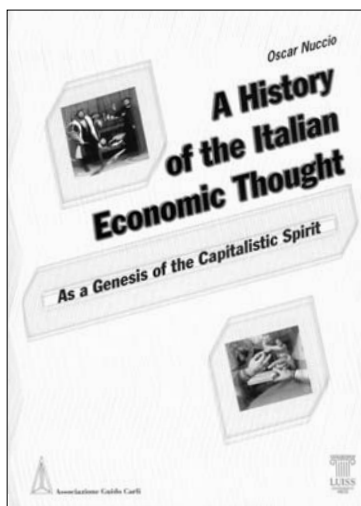
¹⁴ Krüger to Haller, 20. April 1749.

¹⁵ Krüger to Haller, 27. Sept. 1747.

¹⁶ Krüger to Haller, 28. Sept. 1749.

¹⁷ J. G. Krüger: *Träume* (Halle, 1754), 106. Traum, pp.

388–394.



The journal appears twice a year, in June and December. The publisher is the 'Milton School of Languages' srl, Viale Grande Muraglia 301, 00144 ROMA. Cost of each issue € 10, \$ 10, £ 7 The subscription (individuals €25, \$25, £15; institutions and supporting € 50, \$50, £35), can be sent to the 'Milton School of Languages', from any post office, in Italy, to our 'conto corrente postale' no. 40792566, with a 'bollettino postale'. From outside Italy it is possible to make direct transfer of money to our postal account IBAN: IT-72-X-07601-03200-000040792566, or to send a cheque to the 'Milton School Publishers' plc. We do not have the capacity to accept credit card payments. Please, take out a subscription to the journal. Help us find a subscriber.

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Reg. Tribunale di Roma n. 252 del 2/6/2000