

# Notes

## Introduction

1. For the eighteenth-century fascination with travel literature, see René Pomeau, "Voyages et lumières dans la littérature française du XVIIIe siècle" *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 57 (1967), 1269–1289; Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660–1800* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1962); and the essays in Larry Wolff and Marco Cipollini, eds., *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).
2. On this point, see the essays in Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, and Robert Wokler, *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth Century Domains* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).
3. For a summary and refutation of this argument, see Peter Gay, *The Party of Humanity* (New York: Norton, 1971), especially 262–290.
4. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 3, 204.
5. An overview of the historiographical and theoretical debates can be found in a recent review essay: Karen O'Brien, "The Return of the Enlightenment," *American Historical Review* 115:5 (December 2010), 1426–1435.
6. For example, John Gray has charged the Enlightenment with an "assault on cultural difference," leading to the "cultural impoverishment" of humankind through globalization. See John Gray, *Enlightenment's Wake: Politics and Culture at the Close of the Modern Age* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), viii, 106.
7. Kathleen Glenister Roberts, *Alterity and Narrative: Stories and the Negotiation of Western Identities* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), 4.
8. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origins of Inequality" [1755], in *The First and Second Discourses*, trans. Roger D. Masters (Boston, MA: Bedford St. Martin's, 1964), 212–213.
9. Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, "Reflexions sur les *Pensées philosophiques* de Diderot," in Gustav Schelle ed., *Oeuvres* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1913), 95.
10. Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

11. Richard Wolin, *The Seduction of Unreason: The Intellectual Romance with Fascism from Nietzsche to Postmodernism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 312–313.
12. James Schmidt, “What Enlightenment Project?” *Political Theory* 28:6 (2000), 737–738. See also Lynn Festa and Daniel Carey, “What Is Postcolonial Enlightenment?” in Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa, eds., *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1–33.
13. For the importance of national distinctions, see O’Brien, “The Return of the Enlightenment.” For the distinction between “moderate” and “radical” Enlightenment, see Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). For the distinctiveness of the “colonial Enlightenment,” see Malick Ghachem, *Sovereignty and Slavery in the Age of Revolution: Haitian Variations on a Metropolitan Theme* (Stanford University Dissertation, 2001).
14. Daniel Gordon, “On the Supposed Obsolescence of the French Enlightenment,” in Daniel Gordon, ed., *Postmodernism and the Enlightenment: New Perspectives in Eighteenth-Century French History* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 212. For this distinction between the “spirit of system” and the “systematic spirit,” see Ernst Cassirer, trans. Fritz Koellns and James Pettegrove, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (1932; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), especially vi–viii, 8–9, and 104–108.
15. Robert Wuthnow, *Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 13.
16. Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 260.
17. Ursula Vogel, “The Skeptical Enlightenment: Philosopher Travellers Look Back at Europe,” in Norman Geras and Robert Wokler, eds., *The Enlightenment and Modernity* (Basingstroke and London: Macmillan, 2000), 4.
18. On these topics, see Jeremy Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution: Jean de Luzac’s Gazette de Leyde* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); and Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), respectively.
19. The title of a recent edited volume makes the point: Felicity Nussbaum, ed. *The Global Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). A recent survey text that emphasizes the importance of globalization to Enlightenment philosophy and culture is Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
20. For the enduring relevance of the Enlightenment to contemporary cultural debates, see David A. Hollinger, “The Enlightenment and the Genealogy of Cultural Conflict in the United States,” in Keith Michael

Baker and Peter Hanns Reill, eds., *What's Left of Enlightenment: A Postmodern Question* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 7–18.

## 1 Philosophy in the Seraglio: Orientalism and the Enlightenment

1. Thomas Kaiser, "The Evil Empire? The Debate on Turkish Despotism in Eighteenth-Century French Political Culture," *The Journal of Modern History* 72:1 (2000), 7.
2. For these contacts, see Ian Collier, "East of Enlightenment: Regulating Cosmopolitanism between Istanbul and Paris in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 21:3 (2010), 447–470.
3. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage, 1985), 89.
4. Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784, et 1785* (Paris: Volland, 1787), 2:419.
5. Jean Chardin, *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia*, ed. Sir Percy Sykes (1686; repr. London: The Argonaut Press, 1927), 125; François Bernier, *Événemens particuliers, ou ce qui s'est passé de plus considérable après la guerre pendant cinq ans, ou environ, dans les Etats du Grand Mogol* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1670), 2:248.
6. Henry Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme : La Bibliothèque Orientale de Barthélemy d'Herbelot* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1978), 25.
7. Antoine Galland, Preface to Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1697), n.p. See also Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme*, 28.
8. Galland, Preface to Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, n.p.
9. Henri de Boulainvilliers, *La Vie de Mahomed* (London, 1730), 5, 7.
10. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756; repr., Paris: Garnier Frères, 1963), 1:196, 1:55.
11. Voltaire's anti-Semitism is a complex and much-debated topic. For a harsh view, see Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); and Léon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), both of whom condemn Voltaire as an anti-Semite. For the argument that Voltaire's diatribes against the Jews reflect his rejection of Christian monotheism and intolerance, see Peter Gay, *The Party of Humanity* (New York: Norton, 1971). For a more recent and balanced view, see Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).
12. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 3.
13. Henry Laurens, *Les origines intellectuelles de l'expédition d'Égypte: L'Orientalisme islamisant en France (1698–1798)* (Paris and Istanbul: Editions Isis, 1987), 2.
14. Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7.

15. Galland, Preface to Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, n.p.
16. Charles Sécondat de Montesquieu, tr. Anne Kohler, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1749; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 235.
17. Volney, *Voyage*, 1:vi.
18. Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2008), 76, 82–83.
19. Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme*, 34–35.
20. Cited in Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme*, 7. For Racine's role as royal historiographer, and the origins of historical scholarship in the France of Louis XIV, see Orest Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
21. Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme*, 92.
22. Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme*, 8–9.
23. Anthony Grafton, "Joseph Scaliger and Historical Chronology: The Rise and Fall of a Discipline," *History and Theory* 14:2 (1975), 179.
24. Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, 598, 599–600.
25. Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, 86, 88.
26. Dew, *Orientalism*, 172–173.
27. Dew, *Orientalism*, 204.
28. On this point, see Poliakov, *Aryan Myth*, 24.
29. Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge*, 116–117.
30. Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, 226.
31. Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, 248.
32. Voltaire, *Zaïre* [1732], in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, ed. Louis Moland, (Paris, 1877).
33. Voltaire, *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète* (Amsterdam: Estienne Ledet et Cie, 1753), 36.
34. Voltaire, *Le fanatisme*, 36, 63, 104.
35. On this point, see Magdy Gabriel Badir, *Voltaire et l'Islam (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century)*, Vol. CXXV (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1974), 127.
36. Voltaire, "A Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse," in *Le fanatisme*, n.p.
37. Badir, *Voltaire*, 98.
38. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 1:256–257, 1:275.
39. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 1:560, 1:599, 1:822.
40. Chardin, *Chardin's Travels*, 139. See also Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 124.
41. Charles-Louis de Sécondat, baron de Montesquieu, Jacques Roger ed., *Lettres persanes* (1721; repr., Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1964), 143.
42. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, 61, 462.
43. For an overview of the Enlightenment discourse on "Oriental despotism," see Franco Venturi, "Oriental Despotism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24:1 (1963), 133–142; and Thomas A. Kaiser, "The Evil Empire? The Debate on Turkish Despotism in Eighteenth-Century French Political Culture," *The Journal of Modern History* 72:1 (2006), 6–34. For Montesquieu's indebtedness to early modern travel literature, see David Young, "Montesquieu's

- View of Despotism and His Use of Travel Literature," *The Review of Politics* 40:3 (1978), 392–405. For a recent critique of Eurocentric biases in the construction of Oriental despotism, see Asli Çirakman, "From Tyranny to Despotism: The Enlightenment's Unenlightened Image of the Turks," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33:1 (2001), 49–68.
44. Chardin, *Chardin's Travels*, 130, 187, 192.
  45. Galland, Preface to Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, n.p.
  46. Bernier, *Événemens*, 2:189–190; 2:63–67.
  47. Bernier, *Événemens*, 2 :220–222.
  48. Chardin, *Chardin's Travels*, 138.
  49. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, 61.
  50. Dew, *Orientalism*, 133.
  51. Bernier, *Événemens*, 2:277–280.
  52. Çirakman, "Despotism," 59.
  53. Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 73.
  54. Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 316, 278.
  55. For the ancient roots of the climate theory, see Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), especially 56–82.
  56. Chardin, *Chardin's Travels*, 249.
  57. Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, "Recherches sur les causes des progrès et de la decadence des sciences et des arts," in *Oeuvres*, ed. Gustave Schelle (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1913), 1:120.
  58. Hans Wolpe, *Histoire des deux Indes* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957), 1:63.
  59. Chardin, *Chardin's Travels*, 216.
  60. Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, 43.
  61. Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, 154, 158–159.
  62. Voltaire, *Zaïre*, 557, 593.
  63. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 1 :269–270.
  64. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 2:807.
  65. Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 59.
  66. Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 173–174.
  67. Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 75.
  68. Diana J. Schaub, *Erotic Liberalism: Women and Revolution in Montesquieu's Persian Letters* (Boston, MA: Rowman and Littlefield, 1995), 17.
  69. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, 104, 270, 272.
  70. Cited in Fatma Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 45.
  71. Göçek, *Encounters*, 44.
  72. François de Tott, *Memoirs of Baron de Tott*, ed. John E. Woods, (1785; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1973), 1: 13, 74.
  73. Tott, *Baron de Tott*, 1:163.
  74. Volney, *Voyage*, 2:442, 446.
  75. Volney, *Voyage*, 2 :441.
  76. Information on Anquetil-Duperron's life is taken from Raymond Schwab, *La Renaissance orientale* (Paris: Payot, 1950), and Abraham-Hyacinthe

- Anquetil-Duperron, *Voyage en Inde 1754–1762: Relation du voyage en préliminaire à la traduction du Zend-Avesta* (1771; repr., Cahors: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997).
77. Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale* (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1778), 1.
  78. Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale*, 61, 66.
  79. Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale*, 75, 114, 175.
  80. Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale*, 32, 37.
  81. Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale*, iv–v.
  82. Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale*, v.
  83. Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale*, 31–32.
  84. Anquetil-Duperron, *Législation orientale*, 181, 195.
  85. Laurens, *Les origines intellectuelles de l'expédition d'Égypte*, 63.
  86. Laurens, *Les origines intellectuelles de l'expédition d'Égypte*, 64.
  87. On these events, see Dale, especially 247–280.
  88. Laurens, *Les origines intellectuelles de l'expédition d'Égypte*, 174–175. For French policy debates regarding the Ottoman Empire and the “eastern question,” see also Kaiser, “The Evil Empire.”
  89. Tott, *Baron de Tott*, 3:49, 3:172, 3:86.
  90. Tott, *Baron de Tott*, 1:4, 1:234.
  91. Tott, *Baron de Tott*, 1:167–168.
  92. Tott, *Baron de Tott*, 1:31–32, 1:xxix.
  93. Tott, *Baron de Tott*, 2:13, 1:189.
  94. *Correspondance littéraire*, November 1784, 225–226.
  95. Tott, *Baron de Tott*, 4:35–36.
  96. Volney, *Voyage*, 2:434, 2 :432.
  97. Volney, *Voyage*, 1 :179, 2 :340–341.
  98. Çirakman, “Despotism,” 49.
  99. Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge*, 128–129.

## 2 The Wisdom of the East: Enlightenment Perspectives on China

1. Michael Keevak, *The Story of a Stele: China's Nestorian Monument and its Reception in the West, 1625–1916* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 63.
2. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756; repr., Paris: Garnier Frères, 1963), 2:398–399.
3. Voltaire, *Essai*, 2:785–786.
4. For an excellent recent survey of the Jesuit mission to China, see Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
5. Alvarez Semedo, *The History of that Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* (London, 1655), 108–109.
6. Jean-Baptiste du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (Paris : P. G. Le Mercier, 1735).

7. For more information on the Kangxi emperor, see Jonathan Spence, *Emperor of China: Self Portrait of K'ang-Hsi* (New York: Vintage, 1988).
8. Jean-Baptiste du Boyer, marquis d'Argens, *Lettres Chinoises, ou correspondance philosophique, historique, et critique, entre un Chinois voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse et au Japon* (The Hague: Pierre Paupie, 1740), 1:29, 2:20.
9. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 1:26, 1:163.
10. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 2:130.
11. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 3:242.
12. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 5:2–3.
13. Cited in Basil Guy, *The French Image of China before and after Voltaire* (Geneva: Publications de l'Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1963), 40.
14. Guy, *French Image*, 49–50.
15. Colin Mackerras, *Western Images of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 30.
16. Keevak, *Story of a Stele*, 29.
17. For the Chinese rites controversy and the end of the Jesuit mission to China, see Brockey, *Journey to the East*, especially pages 184–203.
18. Cited in Guy, *French Image*, 124–125.
19. Cited in Mackerras, *Western Images*, 33.
20. Voltaire, *Essai*, 2:396; Voltaire, tr. Martyn Pollack, *The Age of Louis XIV* (1751; repr., London: J. M. Dent, 1961), 456.
21. Voltaire, *Essai*, 2:791.
22. Voltaire, *Essai*, 1:69.
23. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 4 :49–51; 1:59.
24. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 5:264, 5:288.
25. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 4:276, 4:311; 4:318–320.
26. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 5:23, 5:26.
27. Virgile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France, 1640–1740* (1932; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), 190–191.
28. Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 18.
29. For Kircher's theory, see Paula Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (1961; repr., Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), and Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance*. For the eighteenth-century revival of this theory, see Joseph de Guignes, *Mémoire dans lequel on prouve, que les chinois sont une colonie égyptienne, lu dans l'Assemblée publique de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, le 14 novembre 1758*.
30. P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: Perceptions of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 108.
31. Etienne Fourmont, *Réflexions sur l'origine, l'histoire, et la succession des Anciens Peuples, Chaldéens, Hébreux, Phéniciens, Egyptiens, Grecs, etc., jusqu'au tems de Cyrus* (Paris: De Bure, 1747), 2:399.
32. Fourmont, *Réflexions*, 2:398.

33. Paul-Yves Pezron, *L'Antiquité des Temps rétablie et défendue, contre les Juifs et les Nouveaux Chronologistes* (Paris: Veuve d'Edme Martin, 1687), 241–242.
34. Cited in Claudine Poulain, *Le temps des origines: L'Eden, le Déluge, et les 'temps reculés' de Pascal à l'Encyclopédie* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 473.
35. Anthony Grafton, "Joseph Scaliger and Historical Chronology: The Rise and Fall of a Discipline," *History and Theory* 14:2 (1975), 170.
36. Quoted in Pinot, *La Chine*, 223.
37. Voltaire, *Essai*, 1:186–187.
38. Voltaire, *Essai*, 1:69; Letter of Voltaire to Leroux-Deshauterayes, December 21, 1760, in Voltaire, *Voltaire: Correspondance choisie*, edited by Jacqueline Hellegouarch. Librairie Générale Française (1990), 585–586.
39. D'Argens, *Lettres*, 5:250–251.
40. Voltaire, dedication to "L'Orphelin de la Chine," [1755] in *Théâtre classique des Français*, Vol. IV, (1831), 212.
41. Voltaire, "L'Orphelin de la Chine," 289–291.
42. Guy, *French Image*, 285, 267.
43. J. H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire, Historian* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 77.
44. On the Physiocrats, see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *The Origins of Physiocracy: Economic Revolution and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976).
45. François Quesnay, "Despotisme de la Chine," [1767] in Christine Théré, Loïc Charles, et Jean-Claude Perrot, eds., *François Quesnay : Œuvres Economiques Complètes et Autres Textes* (Paris: Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, 2005), 1091, 1015, 1017.
46. Quesnay, "Despotisme," 1014, 1019.
47. Guy, *French Image*, 350–351.
48. Quesnay, "Despotisme," 1031, 1079.
49. Quesnay, "Despotisme," 1065.
50. Quesnay, "Despotisme," 1059.
51. Biographical reference in ANOM F2C 10.
52. Pierre Poivre, *Voyages d'un philosophe, ou observations sur les mœurs et les arts des peuples de l'Afrique, de l'Asie, et de l'Amérique* (Yverdon, 1768), 9, 44.
53. Poivre, *Voyages d'un philosophe*, 110, 118–119.
54. Poivre, *Voyages d'un philosophe*, 111–112.
55. Poivre, *Voyages d'un philosophe*, 72–73, 77.
56. Poivre, *Voyages d'un philosophe*, 121–122, 124–125, 126–127.
57. Mackerras, *Western Images*, 36.
58. *Correspondance littéraire*, July 1, 1768, 459–460.
59. Mackerras, *Western Images*, 39.
60. Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, [1749], trans. by Anne Kohler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 126–128.
61. Voltaire, *Essai*, 2:398–399.
62. Brumfitt, *Voltaire*, 79.

63. Voltaire, *Essai*, 1:223. For the singular relics of the Dalai Lama, see Voltaire, *Lettres chinoises, indiennes, et tartares, à M. de Paw, par un Bénédictin* (London, 1776), 59.
64. Voltaire, *Essai*, 1:223–224.
65. Voltaire, *Essai*, 2:399.
66. Quesnay, “Despotisme,” 1100.
67. Quesnay, “Despotisme,” 1112.
68. Jean-François de Galaup de La Pérouse, *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde* (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, 1797), 2:315, 321.
69. Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes, *Réflexions sur les anciennes observations astronomiques des Chinois, et sur l'état de leur empire dans les temps les plus reculés, lues à l'Institut de France*. (Paris, n.d.), 438.
70. Guignes, *Réflexions*, 13, 22–23.
71. *Correspondance littéraire*, September 15, 1766, 151.
72. *Correspondance littéraire*, September 15, 1766, 153.
73. *Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences* (1759), 45.
74. Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1770), 1:99.
75. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “Discourse on the Sciences and Arts” [1750], in *The First and Second Discourses*, trans. Roger D. Masters (Boston, MA: Bedford St. Martin's, 1964), 41.
76. Rousseau, “Discourse,” 41.
77. Cited in Guy, *French Image*, 321.
78. Cornelius De Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois* (London: Thomas Johnson, 1774), 2:401.
79. De Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques*, 1:9, 1:75.
80. De Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques*, 2:408, 1:440.
81. Cited in Guy, *French Image*, 337.
82. Letter of Denis Diderot to Sophie Volland, October 28, 1760, in Diderot, *Diderot. Tome V: Correspondance*, ed. Laurent Versini (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997), 290.
83. Cited in Guy, *French Image*, 352.
84. Cited in Henry Vyverberg, *Human Nature, Cultural Diversity, and the French Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 130.
85. *Correspondance littéraire*, September 1773, 233.
86. Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 50.
87. Voltaire, dédicatoire, “L'Orphelin de la Chine,” [1755], *Théâtre classique des Français* (Paris, 1831), 217.
88. Voltaire, *Essai*, 2:412.
89. *Correspondance littéraire*, August 1773, 213.
90. Keevak, *Story of a Stele*, 17.
91. J. J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western Thought* (London: Routledge, 1997), 26.
92. Keevak, *Story of a Stele*, 77.
93. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment*, 54.

### 3 The New World and the Noble Savage

1. Michel de Montaigne, “Des Cannibales” [1580] in *Essais*, ed. Charles Louandre (Paris: Charpentier, 1862), 1:307.
2. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1:307–309.
3. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1:313–314.
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#### 4 The Last Frontiers

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## 5 The Varieties of Man: Racial Theory between Climate and Heredity

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68. Buffon, "Des variétés," 530.
69. Pierre Moreau de Maupertuis, *La Vénus physique* (n.p., 1745), 147.
70. For the terms of the debate, and Maupertuis's position within it, see Jacques Roger, *Les sciences de la vie dans la pensée française du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1963).
71. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 140.
72. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 155–156.
73. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 131.
74. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 141. Although Maupertuis uses the word "espèce" to describe the new and exotic races of women he imagines here, his advocacy of monogenesis would seem to exclude the notion of different "species," in a Darwinian sense, of humanity.
75. Mary Terrall, *The Man Who Flattened the Earth: Maupertuis and the Sciences in the Enlightenment* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 337.
76. Leon Poliakov notes that Maupertuis was recognized as "one of the creators of genetics" by Jean Rostand in a preface to a 1964 edition of the scientist's works. See Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*, 163.
77. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 128.
78. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 158–159.
79. Sloan, *Racism*, 299–300.
80. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 164–165.
81. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 160–161.
82. Maupertuis, *La Vénus*, 152.
83. Buffon, "Des variétés," 501–503.
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89. Demanet, *Nouvelle histoire*, 2:240.
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93. Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Dissertation sur l'Amérique et les Américains, contre les recherches philosophiques de M. de Pauw* (Berlin, 1770), 74–75.

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98. Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (Paris: Durand, 1758), 458.
99. Helvétius, *De l'esprit*, 290.
100. Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, “Recherches sur les causes des progrès et de la décadence des sciences et des arts,” in *Œuvres*, ed. Gustave Schelle (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1913), 1:139. Quoted in Daniel Droixhe, “Le primitivisme linguistique de Turgot,” in Chantal Grell and Christian Michel, *Primitivisme et mythes des origines dans la France des Lumières, 1680–1820* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris—Sorbonne, 1989), 71–72.
101. Cited in Droixhe, “Le primitivisme,” 72.
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## 6 “An Indelible Stain”: Slavery and the Colonial Enlightenment

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18. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du contrat social* (1762; repr., Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1963), 50, 55–59.
19. Sue Peabody, "There Are No Slaves in France": *The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 96.
20. Voltaire, "Candide," 282.
21. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, (1756; repr., Paris: Garnier Frères, 1963), 2:805.
22. Voltaire, *Essai*, 2:805.
23. Louis-Sebastien Mercier, *L'an 2440, rêve s'il en fût jamais* (n.p., 1786), 1:194.
24. Mercier,, *L'an 2440*, 1:194–195.
25. Mercier,, *L'an 2440*, 1:196.
26. Cited in Ehrard, *Lumières*, 201–202.
27. Malick Ghachem, *Sovereignty and Slavery in the Age of Revolution: Haitian Variations on a Metropolitan Theme* (Stanford University Dissertation, 2001), xxv.
28. Ghachem, *Sovereignty*, 223, 221.
29. Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Considérations*, 1:5.
30. Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Essai sur l'administration de Saint-Domingue* (n. p., 1785), 5. There are numerous and extensive passages in Raynal's *Essai sur l'administration de Saint-Domingue* and Malouet's *Mémoire sur l'esclavage* that are virtually identical. Although Raynal's text was published three years before Malouet's, it seems far more likely that Raynal, who employed a legion of ghostwriters and borrowed heavily from other works without attribution, should have copied Malouet's unpublished manuscript, rather than the other way around. Raynal wrote his *Essai sur l'administration de Saint-Domingue* while a guest at Malouet's home in Toulon, and undoubtedly drew heavily upon his host's experience as an official in that colony. Malick Ghachem credits Malouet as the true author of Raynal's *Essai*, while Girolamo Imbruglia writes that it was "surely a work if not written, at least envisioned in common." Girolamo Imbruglia, "Da Raynal a Burke. Il tradizionalismo filosofico di Malouet e il 1789," *Studi Settecenteschi* 10 (1987), 108. See also Anatole Feugère, *Un précurseur de la Révolution: l'abbé Raynal, 1713–1796* (1922; repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970).
31. Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1770), 6 :376.
32. Alexandre-Stanislas de Wimpffen, *Haïti au XVIIIe siècle : Richesse et esclavage dans une colonie française*, ed. Pierre Pluchon (1797; repr., Paris: Editions Karthala, 1993), 75. This work was originally published under the title *Voyage à Saint-Domingue, pendant les années 1788, 1789, 1790*.
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- de d'Isle Saint-Domingue*, ed. Blanche Maurel and Etienne Taillemite (1797; repr., Paris: Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1958), 58–59; and Girod de Chantrans, *Voyage d'un Suisse*, 134. For estimates of the death rates of slaves in the Caribbean, see Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Considérations*, 1:54; and Ghachem, *Sovereignty*, 20.
36. Pierre-Victor Malouet, *Mémoire sur l'esclavage des nègres* (Neufchâtel, 1788), 94, 10. For the Kourou tragedy, see Emma Rothschild, "A Horrible Tragedy in the French Atlantic," *Past and Present* 192 (August 2006), 67–108.
  37. Wimpffen, *Haiti au XVIIIe*, 87.
  38. Raynal, *Histoire*, 6:350.
  39. On this point, see Garrigus, *Before Haiti*; and Garraway, *Libertine Colony*; as well as Gene Ogle, "'The Eternal Power of Reason' and 'The Superiority of Whites': Hilliard d'Auberteuil's Colonial Enlightenment," *French Colonial History* 3 (2003); and Stewart King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint-Domingue* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001).
  40. King, *Blue Coat*, 124.
  41. Ogle, "The Eternal Power," 43.
  42. Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, "Des variétés de l'homme," *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1750–1804), 3:467–470.
  43. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique*, 48, 53.
  44. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique*, 59.
  45. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique*, 99–100.
  46. King, *Description topographique*, 159; William Max Nelson, "Making Men: Enlightenment Ideas of Racial Engineering," *American Historical Review* 115:5 (December 2010), 1364–1394.
  47. On this point, see Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, 30.
  48. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique*, 102, 93.
  49. Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Considérations*, 2:94.
  50. ANOM F3 91. Raimond's four memoirs constitute folios 174 through 196 of the file, while the response from the Saint-Domingue administrators La Luzerne and Marbois are in folios 197 through 205.
  51. Frostin, *Les revoltes*, 308; Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, 86, 123.
  52. Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, 122–3.
  53. This debate and its outcome are discussed at length in a July 25, 1787 report entitled "Resultat de l'assemblée du conseil supérieur et des notables de cette colonie relativement aux gens de couleur," ANOM C14 61.
  54. Pierre Boulle, *Race et esclavage dans la France de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris : Perrin, 2007), 28.
  55. Raynal, *Histoire*, 4:201.
  56. Cited in Boulle, *Race*, 73.
  57. Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France*, 55.
  58. Correspondence between ministry and Le Moyne, port official of Bordeaux, contained in ANOM F1B 3, folio 220–222, 260.
  59. December 23, 1777 letter of d'Argout and de Vaivre to Sartine, ANOM F1B 4, folio 631–633.
  60. May 16, 1778, letter to d'Argout and de Vaivre, ANOM F1B 4, folio 644–645.

61. December 19, 1777, letter of Poncet de la Grave to Sartine, ANOM F1B 4.
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65. Condorcet, *Réflexions*, 18–22.
66. Condorcet, *Réflexions*, 16–17, 33.
67. Condorcet, *Réflexions*, 35–36.
68. Condorcet, *Réflexions*, 57–59, 49, 52, 63.
69. Raynal, *Histoire*, 4 :173–4.
70. On the Baron de Bessner, see Duchet, *Anthropologie*, 154; Ghachem, *Sovereignty*, 143; and Pierre-Victor Malouet, *Mémoires de Malouet* (Paris: Plon, 1874), 76–84.
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73. Malouet, *Mémoire*, 20–21, 23.
74. Malouet, *Mémoire*, 26, 33.
75. Malouet, *Mémoire*, 77–78, 81.
76. Malouet, *Mémoire*, 105, 39–40.
77. Malouet, *Mémoire*, 21–22.
78. Malouet, *Mémoire*, 21–22.
79. Malouet, *Mémoire*, 51–53.
80. Condorcet, *Réflexions*, 87.
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85. Cited in Duchet, *Anthropologie*, 165.
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89. Pierre Poivre, *Voyages d'un philosophe, ou observations sur les mœurs et les arts des peuples de l'Afrique, de l'Asie, et de l'Amérique* (Yverdon, 1768), 93–95.
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## 7 The Apotheosis of Europe

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21. Volney, *Ruines*, 9.
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31. Mercier, *L’an 2440*, 1:346, 362.

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35. Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1996), 120.
36. Collier, "Utopia," 89, 99.
37. Peter Gay, *The Party of Humanity*, (New York: Norton, 1971), 271.
38. Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, "Plan de deux discours sur l'histoire universelle," in *Oeuvres*, ed. Gustave Schelle, (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1913), 1:278–282.
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65. Lokke, *Colonial Question*, 7–8, 110.
66. Cited in Sunil Agnani, “Doux commerce, douce colonisation: Diderot and the Two Indies of the French Enlightenment,” In *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, ed. Larry Wolff and Marco Cipollini (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 78.
67. Raynal, *Histoire des deux Indes*, 1:61–62. I borrow the term “enlightened narrative” from Karen O’Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
68. Raynal, *Histoire des deux Indes*, 1:73.
69. Raynal, *Histoire des deux Indes*, 4:140.
70. Mercier, *L’an 2440*, 2:361.
71. Bessner’s multiple unpublished memoirs to this effect are conserved in manuscript in the French colonial archives, especially in ANOM C14 35 and F3 95.
72. Thomas Fitz-Maurice and Daniel Lescallier, “Instructions relatives à la civilisation des Indiens dans la Guiane française,” ANOM F3 95.
73. Letter of Pierre-Victor Malouet, March 17, 1787, ANOM C14 60.
74. Condorcet, *Esquisse*, 230–231.
75. Condorcet, *Esquisse*, 260.
76. Condorcet, *Esquisse*, 269–270.
77. Raynal, *Histoire des deux Indes*, 6:41–44.
78. De Brosses, *Histoire des navigations*, 1:17.
79. De Brosses, *Histoire des navigations*, 1:17.
80. De Brosses, *Histoire des navigations*, 1:19–20.
81. On this point, see Lokke, *Colonial Question*, as well as Laurens, *Origines intellectuelles*.
82. Mercier, *L’an 2440*, 2:356–361.
83. Raynal, *Histoire des Deux Indes*, 4:113.
84. Raynal, *Histoire des Deux Indes*, 4:114.
85. Raynal, *Histoire des Deux Indes*, 4:115–116.
86. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 42.
87. Juan Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 29.

## Conclusion

1. For a good discussion of this issue, which convincingly refutes the claim of a binary opposition in Enlightenment thought between universalism and diversity, see Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 260–266.
2. John Gray, *Enlightenment’s Wake: Politics and Culture at the Close of the Modern Age* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 125.
3. Gray, *Enlightenment’s Wake*, 2.
4. Judith N. Shklar, “Politics and the Intellect,” in *Political Thought and Political Thinkers*, ed. Stanley Hoffmann (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 95. On this point, see also Peter Gay, *The Party of Humanity* (New York: Norton, 1971).

5. The foundational text for this interpretation of human nature is John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: William Tegg & Co, 1879 [1690]). For the centrality of Locke's *Essay* to the development of the human sciences in the eighteenth century, see Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), 11; Claude-Adrien Helvétius's treatise, *De l'esprit* (Paris: Durand, 1758), which we have cited frequently in the preceding chapters, was an effort to explain human diversity and the development of the human mind according to Locke's principles.
6. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1963), 2:810.
7. Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1770), 4:136.
8. For a discussion of the use of Enlightenment universalism to critique slavery, see Richard Popkin, "Condorcet, Abolitionist," in *Condorcet Studies I*, ed. Leonora Cohen Rosenfield (Atlantic Heights, NJ: Humanities Press, 1997), 35–47; and Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005). For a documentary history of the Société des Amis des Noirs, in which Condorcet and Grégoire both played leading roles, see Marcel Dorigny and Bernard Gainot, *La Société des Amis des Noirs, 1788–1799. Contribution à l'histoire de l'esclavage* (Paris: UNESCO, 1998). See also Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: Norton, 2008).
9. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979); Michael Keevak, *The Story of a Stele: China's Nestorian Monument and its Reception in the West, 1625–1916* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 17.
10. Muthu, *Enlightenment*, 279.
11. For the classical roots of Rousseau's "cultural primitivism," see Arthur Lovejoy, and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965 [1935]).
12. Harris, *The Rise*, 83.
13. For the shift in French scientific and scholarly discourses on race from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, see George W. Stocking, Jr., "French Anthropology in 1800," in *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 13–41.
14. On this point, see Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), especially Chapters 2 and 5.
15. For Clemenceau's defense of France's Revolutionary legacy in the early days of the Third Republic, see Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic: A History of Political Thought in France since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 287.

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*Journal des Sçavans*

*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*

*Mémoires de Trévoux*

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