

Identity in Diversity: Programmatic Pictures of the Enlightenment

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Abstract: Inquiries into the realm of Enlightenment identities usually depart from the texts of this period. Yet pictures created by contemporary artists are equally crucial and largely overlooked sources that have the potential to condense such identities. Using examples from late eighteenth-century France and early eighteenth-century Germany, this paper shows how pictures were used to propagate agendas of enlightenment and, sometimes, to draft it in the first place. It discusses how different ideas of enlightenment connected to different strategies of visual representation and to schemes of public usage of the pictures.

Keywords: pictorial slogan, iconography, light, Sun, torch, heterogeneity, Voltaire

I. Introduction

For the past forty years, it has been a matter of intense debate whether the movement and the age of Enlightenment must be characterised primarily by similarities or by peculiarities.¹ Scholars have debated whether the Enlightenment had an identity, inasmuch as the protagonists shared a self-image, regardless of the fact that they originated from different social and religious milieus and resided in various European countries. There is certainly one similarity so far uncontested: that images of light and enlightening, of illuminating and of dispersing the darkness, were decisive and instilled a sense of identity where people engaged in enlightenment activities.² This is especially familiar from the *terms* that not only characterise the current discussions of the eighteenth century ('Age of Enlightenment' and 'illuminismo') but which also shaped the discourse of contemporary protagonists: *lumières* and *éclairer* in French, *to enlighten* in English, *Aufklärung* in German, *i lumi* in Italian, *ilustración* in Spanish, *verlichting* in Dutch and Просвещение [Prosveshcheniye] in Russian.³

The Enlightenment invoked, announced or demanded with these words has a distinctly pictorial aspect. It emerges as something visually perceptible, not just as an idea. Hence, it is not surprising that images were used to advertise enlightenment concerns, and it is not figures of speech such as metaphors and allegories that are meant here but visible images such as paintings, etchings, medals, sculpture, architecture, sketches and diagrams: non-linguistic visual representations, to use a generalising and, simultaneously, accurate term. The thesis of this article is that key pictures of this kind were equivalent to the key concepts of the Enlightenment. Searching for key pictures of Enlightenment is important because eighteenth-century society was not entirely or even mainly a written culture; this applies not only to the majority of the people who were not used to handling longer and complex texts but also to courtly representation and religious practice, especially but not only among Catholics. Power needed to be staged, that is, visualised in concrete and symbolic performance. For religious belief, the visual arts or music was certainly as potent as theological debate. Even the core body of learned and/or literary Enlightenment thinkers

tended to use visual media for the propagation of their ideas, and the aesthetic theorisation of word-art, of poetry, occurred on the basis of patterns adapted from painting and sculpture.

Consequently, many eighteenth-century writers valued pictures and the sense of sight highly, whether they be real or imagined. *The Spectator*—the pioneering moral weekly from the early Enlightenment—expressed a widely held opinion when Mr Spectator proclaimed: ‘Our Sight is the most perfect and most delightful of all our Senses. It fills the Mind with the largest Variety of Ideas, converses with its Objects at the greatest Distance, and continues the longest in Action without being tired or satiated with its proper Enjoyments’.⁴ The art historian Pascal Griener is right therefore to complement the familiar term *République des lettres* with the term *République de l’œil* (Republic of the eye).⁵ Enlightenment identities, as well as the identity of the enlightenment, were shaped in transmedial and intermedial processes. In addition to the manifestly pictorial vision and actual sensual perception, the idea of ‘inner pictures’ played a crucial role: the theories of consciousness and knowledge of Descartes as well as of sensualist philosophy following John Locke relied on ‘a concept of the mind as camera obscura’.⁶ In his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764/1765), Voltaire wrote: ‘Je n’ai d’idées que parce que j’ai des images dans la tête’ (‘I only have ideas because I have images in my head’).⁷

‘Pictures of Enlightenment’ are, therefore, not only a topic for art historians but also an instructive source for everyone who strives to learn more about the self-conception of Enlightenment protagonists and possibly about the entire period.⁸ One difficulty consists in determining what qualifies a picture as distinctly ‘enlightening’ or, more particularly, as a contribution to the programme of the Enlightenment. On the one hand, this is a semi-otic question (how pictures created associations with arguments, plans and processes that can be called ‘enlightening’), which, on the other hand, can be refocused with an eye to social and cultural history. In this case, the Enlightenment would be analysed as a movement that used pictures as one technique for disseminating ideas in order to spread them among wider circles of society. The analysis that follows first considers a small set of examples that demonstrate how Voltaire was presented as well as attacked as the iconic protagonist of the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century before returning to the decidedly graphic Sun metaphors in early eighteenth-century Germany that received a programmatically enlightening meaning preceding the not yet customary term *Aufklärung*. A third step briefly discusses whether these samples point towards specificities of the French and German Enlightenment, before examining René Magritte’s *L’Empire des lumières* as a picture that depicts the Enlightenment, in contrast to eighteenth century’s pictures, as an empire of diversity.

II. Voltaire and the Torch of Enlightenment

Scholars increasingly use pictures in research, and some have often—and rightly—been interpreted as programmatic. A prominent example is the frontispiece of the *Encyclopédie*, created by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790). Here, the lighting crucially determines the status and value allotted to theology in the system of the sciences: theology receives her own light from above and simultaneously turns away from the light of truth. Secular knowledge alone, the frontispiece of the *Encyclopédie* suggests, can be enlightened knowledge; theology, by contrast, is excluded.⁹ Another highly programmatic engraving from France is less well known, although it shows the bust of none other than Voltaire. The artist is equally distinguished: Jean-Michel Moreau le jeune (1741–1814), who succeeded

Cochin as Dessinateur des Menus Plaisir du Roi from 1770 and who illustrated numerous famous eighteenth-century books (Fig. 1).

The design of the picture refers to a line from Voltaire's *Henriade* (1723): 'Il ôte aux nations le bandeau de l'erreur' (He frees the nations from the blindfold of error).¹⁰ While, in Voltaire's epic, the line applies to the Parlement in Paris that defies the Pope, the picture uses it as *subscriptio* and applies it to the author. Incidentally, it should be noted that the Voltaire frontispiece is already intermedial in itself because it also contains text, as do all the other pictures discussed here. It is Voltaire's genius that frees the figure at the left-hand side from the blindfold and that elevates the torch of truth, or of enlightenment, hovering over and illuminating the writer's bust. Placed on the steps of Voltaire's monument, theatre props, satirical arrowheads and a fanfare that functions as a symbol of historiography proclaiming past glories indicate the genres cultivated by the writer. In order to express his aspiration towards enlightenment, Voltaire frequently used the torch



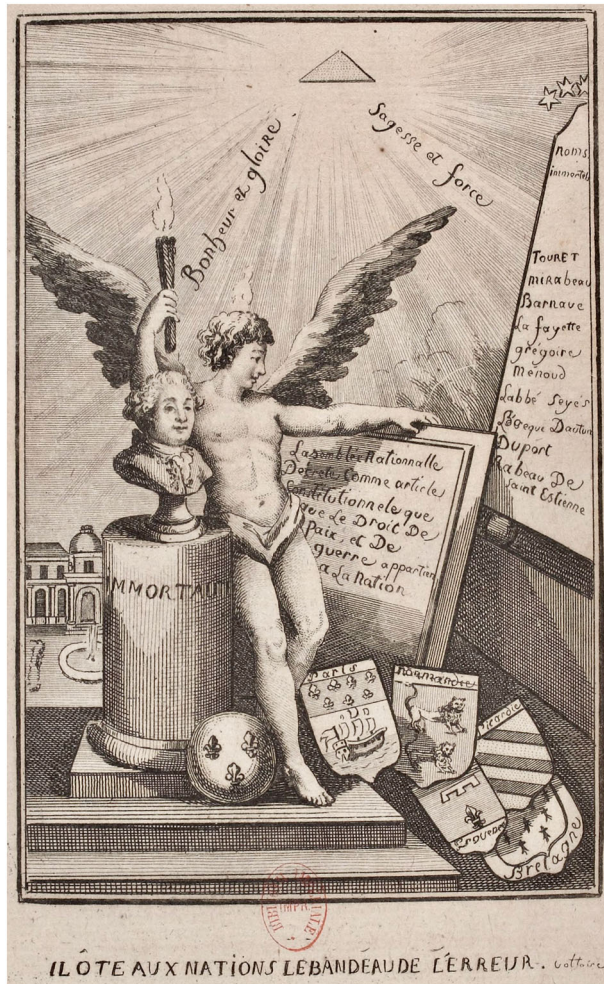
1. 'Il ôte aux nations le bandeau de l'erreur'. Etching and engraving of Louis Croutelle after Jean-Michel Moreau le jeune, frontispiece to vol. 70 of the *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* ([Kehl:] Imprimerie De La Société Littéraire-Typographique, 1789), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

metaphor. At the same time, it was popular to characterise him as the ‘torch of truth’. In 1737, for instance, the Prussian Crown Prince Frédéric addressed Voltaire as the ideal torch bearer when trying to solicit the friendship of this most distinguished *philosophe*: ‘Continuez, monsieur, à éclairer le monde. Le flambeau de la vérité ne pouvait être confié en de meilleures mains’ (Continue, sir, to enlighten the world. The torch of truth could not be in better hands).¹¹ As the verb ‘éclairer’ emphasises, Voltaire is understood as a protagonist of the Enlightenment.

Moreau’s Voltaire memorial is nothing less than a programmatic picture of enlightenment: The essence of enlightenment, the picture suggests, is to spread light, that is, to enable insight and to foster emancipation. The figure on the left shows how much this strengthens the capacities of both the individual and the nations addressed by the *subscriptio* or mankind. While almost blind, he had to rely on a stick, but now, he strides freely and is able to determine the course of his own life. The historical significance of the action is confirmed by the figure of Historia seated in the background, who immediately enters Voltaire’s enlightening deeds into the book of history.¹² Insofar as the accumulation of the allegorical motifs doubles or triples the meaning, the programmatic nature of the picture may even be overemphasised: the so far stumbling figure gains a clear view and an unobstructed path both by taking off the blindfold and by the clouds dispersing around him. The genius carrying the torch dispenses a radiant light *and* ameliorates the human ability to see or to know. The Enlightenment, finally, is visualised in the natural phenomenon of the dispersing clouds and is embodied in Voltaire not only as its most excellent representative but also as a superhuman genius.

The details of the period of origin and the initial context of the picture which scholars provide diverge strongly and are largely incorrect.¹³ Its publication history shows numerous twists: in some copies of the Kehl edition, which was published in seventy volumes from 1784 to 1789, the picture is prefixed to the last volume, which begins with ‘La Vie de Voltaire’ by Condorcet.¹⁴ Its rarity in the Kehl edition can be explained partly by the fact that another Voltaire portrait—non-allegorical and based on Largillière’s painting of 1724/1725—was available for vol. 70.¹⁵ As was often the case, the production of the illustrations was distinct from the manufacture of the text block; customers bought them separately and integrated them as they wished into their still-unbound volumes. A later advertisement by the publisher Antoine-Augustin Renouard (1765–1853), which announces 150 mostly new engravings by Moreau le jeune for Renouard’s Voltaire edition, writes about the picture discussed here, which it calls ‘Le Génie de Voltaire’: ‘Cette estampe allégorique, fort belle, manque à la plupart des exemplaires de la première Collection des figure de Moreau, pour laquelle elle avoit été faite’¹⁶ (This allegorical engraving, greatly beautiful, is largely missing in the copies of the first collection of Moreau’s pictures, for which it had been made). In any case, the fact that Renouard again offered the picture from the 1780s almost thirty years later suggests that it reflects or, more particularly, first illustrates a long-established idea of Voltaire.¹⁷

The incorporation of central pictorial elements in an etching emphasising the Revolution and published in 1790, by contrast, testifies to the prominence that Moreau’s tribute to Voltaire had already had during the time of its first publication (Fig. 2). The etching elevates the activities of the Constitutional Committee whose members are named on an obelisk at the right-hand side of the picture. The genius carrying the torch is identical to the one in Moreau’s Voltaire tribute. The bust on the column, however, does not depict the *philosophe*. Scholars have read it as the bust of the king or of Jacques-Guillaume Thouret (1746–1794), who was chairman of the Constitutional Committee.¹⁸ The first interpretation appears to be more plausible because the foot of the column is adorned by an imperial



2. Etching, 1790, for the journal *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* No. 27, 31 October 1790, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

orb with the Bourbon coat of arms. Be that as it may, the picture represents the political achievement listed on the plates held by the genius—the nation represented in the National Assembly is declared to be the decision-making authority on war and peace—as the result of Voltaire’s enlightening activities and raises this declaration to the heights of his literary fame. Furthermore, it is striking that the pictorial elements and composition change not only because the etching relates to a political statement in a specific situation. In fact, the etching adds a new and stronger source of light: a triangle beaming from ‘far above’ that is traditionally associated with God, be it the Trinitarian Christian or the Masonic God.

This religious reference, functioning as nothing less than an ultimate justification, is even more remarkable because Moreau’s model itself has a prehistory in the 1770s in which Voltaire takes the role of religion’s antagonist. For his followers, this means that his genius wrecks the tonsured folly (*la sottise*) and envy (*l’envie*), as an anonymous

etching and engraving illustrates¹⁹ (Fig. 3). The constellation of statue and torch-carrying genius was later adopted by Moreau—something scholars seem to have overlooked so far—as is evident in the strong resemblance of the two genii's wings. In the engraving from the 1770s, however, Voltaire appears in the shape of the famous and, at the same time, controversial sculpture, which is the first example of a monument erected to a living writer. Funded by public subscription, it was created by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–1785), himself a leading artist at the royal court, on the initiative of a group of 'gens de lettres' (begun in 1770, finished in 1776, currently in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; a plaster model had been on display since 1771).²⁰ In 'La Justice humaine', the genius fends off his enemies, who are stuck in mud, with a lightning emanating from his torch. It represents much less Voltaire's guardian angel than his own intellectual powers that enable him to



3. Anonymous, *La Justice humaine* (Human Justice), also printed as *Système philosophique*, 1773 or 1774, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. The caption runs: 'Laissez dans leur sale bourbier/Croupir la Sottise et l'Envie, /Il ne faut pour les foudroyer/Que le flambeau de ton génie' (Let in their foul puddle/Folly and envy rot, /To strike them down you need/Only the torch of your genius) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

confidently resist both an aged Medusa (the personification of hypocritical envy that assaults his laurels) and a spiritually restrained (graphically: merely crawling) opponent in a monk's habit. In contrast to Moreau's picture, created about a decade later, this engraving is less clear in claiming this to be a fight for the benefit of 'humankind'. Rather, the temple in the background, whose rear emits a strong light, suggests an interpretation focused on the author Voltaire, his (literary) glory and the defence of both. That Voltaire is presented and praised as the spearhead of the Enlightenment is much less apparent from the depiction of the protagonist than from that of his opponents, unless we take Pigalle's choice of the decidedly unconventional nudity to indicate a commitment to enlightenment in the sense of an unsparing disclosure and to the renunciation of all social hierarchy that is traditionally expressed by costume.²¹

Voltaire's enemies, in turn, had previously imagined how lightning comes down from a heaven occupied by a Fides figure on the statue of *Voltaire nu*, scandalous for its quasi-royal arrogance and its nudity. Here, the Blessed Sacrament is the main source of light. The bolt cuts off Voltaire's hand (and quill) which is seized by a naked female figure that belongs to the followers of the *philosophe* and represents shamelessness and ignorance



4. Anonymous, *La Justice divine* (Divine Justice), 1773, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

(she has ass's ears).²² The statue rests on a high base that it did not have in reality, but which the print uses to illustrate the hubris with which it charges the initiators of the Voltaire tribute (Fig. 4).

Moreau's picture, by contrast, shows less antagonistic animosity between religion and Enlightenment, between *contre-lumières* and *philosophes*.²³ The enemy is no longer personified and only present in the removed blindfold and the dispersing clouds. While the genius assigned to Voltaire has many similarities with that of the older picture, it now acts in majestic composure without any violence. This less confrontational approach corresponds to the fact that it is the generally approved *Voltaire assis* by Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) that served Moreau as a model for the sketch of his portrait bust.²⁴ Houdon's statue refrained from a provocation such as Pigalle's choice of nudity and settled on an ancient robe that, together with the classical hairband, elevated the person portrayed to a position above his time.²⁵ The caption on the column underneath the bust in Moreau's design consequently runs 'to the Immortal' (Latin 'Immortali'). Similarly, the bust signed by Moreau raises Voltaire above the struggles he engaged in while alive. The bust that is not an exact copy of Houdon's version of Voltaire's head replaces the 'sardonic' smile, with which the *philosophe* allegedly ridiculed his clerical opponents, with an expression of calm and superior contentment.²⁶ The return of the religious reference in the revolutionary adaptation of 1790 works along the same lines of harmonising discord. Here, the religious reference supports an emphasis on enlightenment and constitutionalism that presents itself as wholly uncontested.

The limited scope of this article allows only for a brief consideration of the individual pictures and must neglect many of the allusions that they contain. For the present analysis, the seriality of the individual pictures is more important than their formal and content-related complexity. They can only be programmatic pictures of Enlightenment (or expressions of critique) by cultivating or by seizing recurrent patterns. It is the repeated use and sometimes subtle, sometimes coarse, variation of certain visual formulae that enrich their meaning and accumulate propagandist potential, just as terms only become slogans when used persistently.²⁷ To capture this phenomenon, the art historian and cultural theorist Aby Warburg (1866–1929) has coined the neologism 'pictorial slogan' ('Schlagbild'), analogous to *Schlagwort* (slogan, catchphrase).²⁸ On the one hand, the series in focus creates the semantic content 'Enlightenment' by using images of lighting up and enlightening, of making visible or making someone see. On the other hand, the reference to a famous proponent of the Enlightenment is crucial in the pictures.²⁹ Of course, it was not just Voltaire who was eligible for this kind of depiction. In any case, such personalisation seems to be typical of the image-based policy of the French Enlightenment.³⁰ The obligation of a more or less variable repetition of patterns matches the tendency towards personalisation. As illustrated above, the depiction of Voltaire consistently relies on existing and already famous Voltaire sculptures.

III. *A Pictorial Programme of the Enlightenment that Precedes the Explication of the Term: Early Enlightenment in Germany*

As is well known, the specific semiotics of pictures and texts have been extensively discussed in the eighteenth century.³¹ Pictures were—and still are—considered to be more immediately accessible to the recipient, to emotionalise to a stronger degree, to be more popular and to be more apt to invite associations, because they are not as

self-explanatory as texts.³² It is doubtful, however, that even popular pictures are in any way more easily comprehensible than texts. Rudolf Schenda has shown that pictures are graphic systems consisting of several encoding levels; their meaning is hardly more evident than a text's sense. The ability to understand pictures needed time to spread across society. Schenda argues that the eighteenth century saw an expansion of such picture-reading skills ('picturacy') similar to the contemporary increase in literacy.³³ Eighteenth-century writers came to differing conclusions regarding the efficacy of pictorial as opposed to verbal representation. Today, Enlightenment researchers predominantly agree that pictures can only represent an abridged version of the texts that precede them, as Rolf Reichardt, who has studied the image policy of the French Revolution, claims. While 'written texts had the primary task of providing a theoretical basis for the terms and differentiating their content', he argues, 'the images often reduced these concepts to their most basic meaning'.³⁴

Initially, it needs to be emphasised that the images considered so far have their own complexity although—or precisely because—they do not argue theoretically. Additionally, Reichardt implies that the picture follows the text. As the analysis will demonstrate below, this is not always the case. In the early German Enlightenment, the pictorial form of the Enlightenment concept preceded the written form. The German equivalent of 'enlightenment' is *Aufklärung*. The original meaning of the word refers to the brightening of the sky as the clouds disperse. Enlightenment as improved understanding is first referred to in 1673 and more in depth 1695 in a theory of journals and newspapers conceived as new media that communicate information and fuel the readers' interest in political events.³⁵ Yet it took another thirty years until the new term, which was adapted from the lexicon of the weather to the cognitive realm, became common. By contrast, visual formulae that programmatically suggested enlightenment had already been established by 1710. The classical motif is the Sun shining in a sky that is in the process of clearing up. This motif adapts the original meteorological meaning of *Aufklärung*, as it was explained in a dictionary published only a few years before: 'Aufklären [...]. Das Wetter kläret sich auf/nubes dissipantur, coelum fit serenum. [...] Aufklärung/ [...] serenitas' ('Enlighten. [...] The weather is clearing/The clouds are dispersed, the sky becomes bright. Enlightenment/Brightness').³⁶ We find a simple version of this motif in the title vignette of the forty-five-volume series *Gundlingiana*, an anthology of essays of the jurist, philosopher and historian Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling (1671–1729), published from 1715. He did not use the term *Aufklärung* but nevertheless expressed the new connotation of the word clearly enough by using pictorial motifs corresponding to the old meteorological meaning (Fig. 5).

Gundling could not have chosen a more explicit design: the clouds are excessively dark, and the vignette verbally indicates that the Sun disperses these clouds with the word 'Dispellam' (I will disperse or I shall disperse [the clouds]). The sky represented in the image is not yet bright; rather, the dark clouds predominate. Consequently, the anthropomorphised Sun, furnished with a face, feels challenged to exert its strength and to disperse the dull clouds of error, as Gundling notes in his preface.³⁷ This endows the vignette with a decidedly combative emphasis. Gundling also provides a kind of self-portrait as a pioneer of enlightenment; accordingly, the first-person singular of the inscription can be taken to stand for the Sun as well as the volume's author, whose picture can be seen on the opposite page as well. In contrast to the depictions of Voltaire discussed above, however, Gundling's vignette does not show any specific adversaries (and neither does the preface).



5. Title page of (Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling): *Gundlingiana, darinnen allerhand zur Jurisprudenz, Philosophie, Historie, Critic, Litteratur und übrigen Gelehrsamkeit gehörige Sachen abgehandelt werden*. Vols 1-45. Halle: Renger 1715-1732, vol. 1, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle (Saale) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

The Sun is absolutely indispensable for life on Earth and, as such, is a very strong natural symbol, perhaps even the most powerful available. In claiming its power for his own enterprise, Gundling did not remain alone, certainly not at the University of Halle, which was the leading site of the German Enlightenment at that time.³⁸ In 1720, Christian Wolff (1679-1754) chose the following frontispiece of his metaphysical magnum opus (Fig. 6). Wolff favoured a different, more systematic philosophy than Gundling, but they are aligned in their pictorial policy, revealing that the meteorological Enlightenment image is not particular to any individual academic party.

Wolff possessed enough self-confidence to announce explicitly that the enlightening Sun should be identified with his own intellectual endeavour. In his *Ausführliche Nachricht von seinen eigenen Schriften* (Comprehensive Notes on His Own Writings) of 1726, he represents himself as justified to claim that he has started enlightening the discipline ('ich hätte in dieser Disciplin angefangen es lichte zu machen').³⁹ In yet another way, the aspirations linked to the image of the sun are even stronger in Wolff than in Gundling: the former adds the world as illuminated by the light returning to the struggle of Sun and



6. 'Lucem post nubila reddit' (He/she/it brings back the light after the clouds). Frontispiece of Christian Wolff: *Vernünfftige Gedancken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, Auch allen Dingen überhaupt. Den Liebhabern der Wahrheit mitgetheilet*. Halle 1720, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle (Saale) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

clouds (that is, of true insight and erroneous opinions). Beyond the controversy among scholars, Wolff conceptualises knowledge as something seizing reality, adding a perspective on the formation of the world and the life in it—a formation symbolised by the buildings in the lower part of the picture.

Numerous pictures with similar motifs could be added, but such motifs can also be found in other media, for example, in commemorative medals such as this still largely unknown medal coined in honour of Wolff in 1740 (Fig. 7). It is characteristic of the growing acceptance of an Enlightenment programme in Germany that it was not only Wolff who claimed to engage in Enlightenment with as much force as the Sun. The medal shows that this role was also publicly attributed to him. When he returned with high honours to Halle in 1740, after having been banned at the initiative of local theologians



7. Commemorative medal on the occasion of Christian Wolff's return to Halle, designed by Johann Christian Koch, 1740, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Zentrale Kustodie, Inv.Br. MLU-MS 010 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

seventeen years earlier, a medal with his portrait in profile was coined whose reverse side shows a view of the city with an enormous sun ascending above it.⁴⁰ This Sun has successfully risen above the clouds still visible in the background. The caption 'Halam reversus MDCCXXXIII' (returned to Halle in 1740) clarifies unmistakably that the enlightenment depicted should be identified with Wolff's call back to Halle. The medal's circumscription, 'Cunctando novo insurgit lumine' (pausing, it [the Sun] or he [Wolff] has arisen anew with new light), can be related both to the natural phenomenon depicted on the medal and to the person. The face of the medal explicitly calls to attention that the return was preceded by a departure: 'Christianus Wolfius Halam reliquit MDCCXXIII' (Christian Wolff left Halle in 1723). At the same time, the reminder is discreet. The inscription does *not* indicate that Wolff's departure amounted to a downright expulsion initiated by his Pietist rivals that even threatened him with the death sentence! However, by relating the short narrative of Wolff's banishment and return to Halle, enlightenment is represented not only as intellectual refinement, effort and accomplishment but also as a practice invested with ideological conflict and political influence and, hence, in need of institutional framing. Enlightenment here emerges as a concept of a social conflict and historical process, thus going beyond an understanding of the term as an exclusively intellectual activity.

The prominence of the Sun motif suggests that it was an essential part of enlightenment visualisations relying on meteorological motifs. Yet it suffices that the weather clears or the sky brightens—as in the following frontispiece from 1710 (Fig. 8). Its clear identification with the Enlightenment programme does not only result from the brightening sky on the left. The work, whose fourth volume is prefixed with this frontispiece, already employs the term *Aufklärung*, because its first volume explicitly offers a method to 'enlighten our minds' ('*Auffklärung unsers Verstandes*').⁴¹ The foreground presents the learned discipline of the *historia literaria* as a torch that leads the knowledge of all faculties into the light and into the land of well-ordered constructions.⁴² This is the direction that philology and philosophy take, represented as two forcefully prancing horses, while the cart's back is flanked by two donkeys spurred by ignorance (*Stultitia*): criticism too easily



8. Frontispiece of Jacob Friedrich Reimmann: *Versuch einer Einleitung In die Historiam Literariam Insgemein und derer Teutschen insonderheit [...]*. Vols 1-3 (in 6). Halle 1708-1713, vol. 3,2, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle (Saale) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

contented with literal meaning (*Critica literalis*) on the one hand and submissive scholastic philosophy (*Philosophia scholastica*) on the other. They turn towards a clouded, stony-bleak land that the title characterises as dry infertile wasteland (literally: karst) housing only ruins. As the ruin in the background is easily recognisable as a mediaeval castle, we may interpret the question of direction ('ad astra, ad rastra' = To the stars, to the karst) not only as a cognitive and moral choice ('Der Weisheit Weg–Der Torheit Steg' = The Way of Wisdom–the Footbridge of Folly) but also as indicating a historical orientation that offers an alternative of learning going back into the past (of infertile authoritative knowledge) or forwards into a well-ordered, rich and beautiful future with true knowledge, better living conditions and an increased command of nature.⁴³

Hence, the frontispiece prefixed to the fourth volume contains much more than the textual explanation of the concept of the *historia literaria* in the first volume. First, it assigns to the *historia literaria* and to all scholarship it inspires the task of reforming the world in

practical terms. Second, we can decode the journey of the learned cart as a programme of historical progress by acquisition and use of true knowledge. So, in 1710 already, an author who explicitly aims at *Aufklärung* works with the idea of progressive world improvement and a historical self-conception—a result that this analysis would not have produced if it had concentrated on textual sources alone. *Aufklärung* was first a pictorial slogan before emerging as a catchphrase.

IV. Summary and Outlook: The Empire of the Enlightenment Is Diverse

This article has suggested that the pictures considered are in some respects typical of the pictorial programme of the Enlightenment in Germany, on the one hand, and in France, on the other. These findings for German and French culture, however, must be considered as preliminary, because a more comprehensive examination in both countries would certainly discover many other types of 'Enlightenment Pictures.'⁴⁴

The pictures use different sources of light to visualise the power and the purpose of Enlightenment: in the German sources, artists prefer a light sky, with or without a shining sun, conforming to the original meteorological meaning of the word *Aufklärung*. The sky suggests a natural power (and, by the way, profits from the religious tradition of celestial sources of light). To be clear, the motif of the Sun breaking through the clouds can also be found beyond Germany, for example, in Jovan Rajic's *History of Various Slavic Peoples, Especially of Bulgars, Croats and Serbs*.⁴⁵ In France, *lumières* does not connect with such a particular idea of the source of the brightening light. The motif of the torch is one possibility to specify the vague pictorial nature of the *lumières* and contains a specific meaning with specific semantic implications. The torch as image of Enlightenment emphasises its nature as a man-made object; torches can be used purposefully and, if necessary, in antagonistic situations. This correlates with the elevation of single protagonists and sometimes individual antagonists, which is less pronounced in Germany.⁴⁶ The French 'Pictures of Enlightenment' considered here are governed by and a constitutive part of that 'cult of the great man' that played a crucial role in eighteenth-century French art, literary life and political culture. Voltaire had fundamentally contributed to the enlightenment-compatible articulation of this cult ('*Il ne revient rien au genre humain de cent batailles données; mais les grands hommes dont je vous parle ont préparé des plaisirs purs et durables aux hommes qui ne sont point encore nés*' [Humankind does not receive anything out of one hundred battles fought; but the great men of which I speak have prepared pure and enduring pleasures for the people who are not yet born]), as much as he was himself a central cult object.⁴⁷

We also encounter different modes of enlightenment in the programmatic pictures examined here, despite the fact that light metaphors and images were indispensable across Europe. In Germany, to disseminate the light of critical judgment, and, thus, to open up the possibility of world improvement, was first and foremost a task that *scholars* set themselves. The French picture with an analysis of which the article started, by contrast, celebrates an author as liberator of humankind who stands out primarily through his *literary* talents (hence the constant presence of features associated with poetry and theatre). Nevertheless, the analysis of the materials discussed here does not point towards a strict differentiation of the dominant motifs by linguistic regions: the frontispiece of the *Encyclopédie* equally presents philosophy and science as major instruments of enlightenment; the torch bearer also figures in the German *historia literaria* frontispiece;

Moreau's tribute to Voltaire also shows dispersing clouds in the background; in Christian Wolff, Germany also had a 'grand homme' whose veneration connects to an emphasis on Enlightenment; radiant and even religiously encoded celestial bodies also feature in the revolutionary print.

Several of the pictures analysed above juxtapose different sources of light and thus blend different motifs. This appears to be inconsistent because, on the pictorial level, the presence of the shining torch hardly seems necessary in the face of the much more intense light emerging from the sky. On the semantic level, this fusion raises the question of whether enlightenment is conceptualised as a quasi-natural power or as man-made—or, in more sociological terms, whether Enlightenment is a predominantly systemic process or consists of individual pioneering deeds. These questions are fundamental, for example, for comprehensive portrayals of the period—a task Steffen Martus has recently engaged in with an almost paradoxical methodology, that is, as interaction analysis on the basis of Niklas Luhmann's systems theory, that does not know individual actors.⁴⁸ While it does make sense to think about this question, the combination of the heterogeneous sources of light in the pictures we have considered does not appear to be designed to encourage or even guide such reflection.

Two centuries later, *L'Empire des lumières*, a series of paintings by René Magritte (1898–1967) provided the reflection on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the Enlightenment missing in the eighteenth-century examples.⁴⁹ The title does not necessarily refer to the Enlightenment; it is usually translated into English as *Empire* or *Dominion of Light*. The change into the singular should not be misunderstood as indicating a uniform kind of light. On the contrary, all versions of the painting show three different sources of light: a street gas light, several windows in houses behind the gas light that probably emit electronic light and a blue and lightly clouded sky in the upper half of the picture (Fig. 9). A particularity of the Brussels picture is the expanse of water in the foreground which mirrors the two artificial lights—we might interpret this as a visualisation of the self-reflection and self-criticism in which Enlightenment thinkers and artists sometimes failed to engage. The most important aspect for the present analysis, however, is another peculiarity, more specifically, a heterogeneity that all versions share. While the street scene is enveloped up to the roofs and trees with late evening or night, the sky is governed by bright daylight. Magritte's paintings celebrate the contrast, indeed, the impossibility: there is no physically possible way that the lights below and above, in the foreground and in the background, can shine like this simultaneously. His paintings challenge because they do not simply combine incompatible objects; rather, they show blatantly incompatible lights and deploy the light itself, that is, at the origin of all vision, like an axe splitting a single and homogeneous reality.

On close inspection, the same applies to the light of the programmatic pictures of Enlightenment examined in this article. Although they all make use of the light imagery that is also embraced by the period's keywords, they employ different motifs that additionally take on different meanings depending on the composition of the picture. The pictures analysed here do not even coincide in consistently secularising the traditional religious symbolism of light and converting it into signs for the dissemination of knowledge by and for human beings. The most recent picture in our series (Fig. 2) again adds a religious and providential source of light, from which the greatest brightness emanates. Hence, Magritte's *L'Empire des lumières* can be interpreted as a comment that openly addresses what the eighteenth-century pictures glossed over: the inconsistent identity of the Enlightenment. As Enlightenment scholars, I believe, we can confirm this perspective: The Empire of the Enlightenment is one of diversity, if not necessarily in intention,



9. René Magritte, *L'Empire des lumières*, 1954, oil on canvas, 146 × 114 cm, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels (inv. 6715), © Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels. Photo: J. Geleyns – Art Photography

certainly in effect.⁵⁰ Likewise, our research characterised by the plurality of the fields, the languages, the theoretical requirements, the methodological approaches and the individual preferences can never be restricted in favour of one single and allegedly final reconstruction and interpretation. As I said at the Fifteenth International Congress of the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Edinburgh, we all benefit from listening to each other.

NOTES

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1. The 'plural and complex physiognomy' (p.9) of the Enlightenment is emphasised by, among many others, Massimo Mori and Salvatore Veca (eds), *Illuminismo. Storia di un'idea plurale* (Rome: Carocci, 2019). Cf. also Siegfried Jüttner and Jochen Schlobach (eds), *Europäische Aufklärung(en). Einheit und nationale Vielfalt* (Hamburg: Meiner, 1992).

2. Cf. Michel Delon, 'Lumières (Représentation des)', in Delon (ed.), *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières* (Paris: PUF, 2014), p.659-62; Ulrich Ricken, 'Begriffe und Konzepte für Aufklärung. Zur

Problematik einer Begriffsgeschichte als vergleichende Lexikologie der Aufklärung', in Jüttner and Schlobach (eds), *Europäische Aufklärung(en)*, p.95-105.

3. For a discussion in favour of distinguishing retrospective period terms from key concepts coined by historical actors, even if the terms are similar or identical, see Daniel Fulda, 'Les Lumières ont-elles existé? Quelques réflexions de théorie de l'histoire et d'histoire des concepts à l'occasion de la critique par Jonathan C. D. Clark de nos concepts d'époque', *Lumières* 20:2 (2012), p.151-63.

4. *The Spectator* No. 411 (21 June 1712).

5. Pascal Griener, *La République de l'œil. L'expérience de l'art au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2010).

6. Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes. The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), p.85.

7. Voltaire [François-Marie Arouet], *Œuvres complètes, vol. 35: Dictionnaire philosophique*, ed. Christiane Mervaud, p.2 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1994), p.201 ('Idée').

8. The research question is therefore more specific than, for example, in the case of Tzvetan Todorov, *La peinture des Lumières: De Watteau à Goya* (Paris: Seuil 2014).

9. Alexander Perrig, 'Das Frontispiz der Encyclopédie oder die hohe Kunst der Verblümung', *Idea* 9 (1990), p.67-92, here p.76. I cannot subscribe to the reading of Erika Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2009), p.13 ('the scene presents religion genuflecting before the altar of radiant truth').

10. Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes, vol. 2: La Henriade*, ed. critique par O[wen] R. Taylor, 2. éd., entièrement rev. et mise à jour (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2005), p.452 (chant IV, 254).

11. Frédéric à Voltaire, Remusberg, 8 février 1737, in Johann D.E. Preuss (ed.), *Friedrich II, König von Preußen: Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, 30 vols (in 32) (Berlin: Decker, 1846-1857), vol. XXI. 41. A similar phrase also closes Frédéric's first letter to Voltaire in which he seeks the acquaintance of the admired author: 'je suis avec toute l'estime et la considération due à ceux qui, suivant pour guide le flambeau de la vérité, consacrent leurs travaux au public, / Monsieur, / Votre affectionné ami, / Frédéric, P[rince] R[oyal] de Prusse' (Frédéric à Voltaire, Berlin, 8 août 1736, in Preuss (ed.), *Friedrich II*, S. 6).

12. Rolf Reichardt, 'Light Against Darkness: The Visual Representation of a Central Enlightenment Concept', *Representations* 61 (1998), p.95-148, here p.112.

13. Moreau's catalogue of works collated by Draibel relates it to the Kehl edition of Voltaire that Moreau embellished with more than one hundred drawings; Henri Draibel, *L'Œuvre de Moreau le jeune. Notice et catalogue* (Paris: Rouquette, 1874), p.57. Reichardt, 'Light Against Darkness', p.113, calls the engraving an 'illustration of chap. 4 of the *Henriade*', which was published as vol. 10 of the Kehl edition in 1785. Emmanuel Bocher, *Les Gravures françaises du XVIIIe siècle ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes, eaux-fortes, pièces en couleur, au bistre et au lavis de 1700 à 1800, Fasc. 6: Jean-Michel Moreau le jeune* (Paris: Morgand et Fatout, 1882), p.26, by contrast, takes the picture to be part of the 'deuxième suite de gravures pour Voltaire, dite: *Suite Renouard*'. The 'suite Renouard', consisting of 150 engravings, was created around 1800; the collection as a whole was published in Renouard's sixty-six-volume Voltaire edition in 1819-1823. Marie-Joseph-François Mahéroult, *L'Œuvre gravé de Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune 1741-1814. Catalogue raisonné et descriptif avec notes iconographiques et bibliographiques, suivi d'un catalogue raisonné de gravures d'après Moreau et d'un supplément contenant un catalogue des dessins de Moreau. Réimpr. de l'éd. Paris 1880* (Amsterdam: APA-Hissink, 1979), p.314 (no. 270), relates the Voltaire allegory to a Renouard edition of 1809.

14. One such copy is held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France with the signature SMITH LESOUËF R-1410, vol. 70. I would like to thank the German Historical Institute Paris and its director Thomas Maissen for awarding me a Karl-Ferdinand-Werner fellowship, which made my research in the BnF possible.

15. Linda Gil, *L'Édition Kehl de Voltaire. Une aventure éditoriale et littéraire au tournant des Lumières*, 2 vols (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018), vol. II. 1291. Gil does not mention the engraving of fig. 1, but she discusses a portrait of Voltaire designed as the frontispiece of the *Henriade* volume with the same caption that also shows the bust created by Houdon, though in a mirrored version without any further figures and accessories (p.1288-9).

16. *Collection de 150 gravures de Moreau-le-Jeune, pour les éditions in-8° et in-12 de Voltaire* (Paris: Renouard, [1817]), p.2.

17. In the copy of Renouard's *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* held by the BnF (signature Z-25532), it is again bound with *La Vie de Voltaire* by Condorcet (here vol. 64).

18. Mahérault, *L'Œuvre gravé de Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune*, p.294-95, supposes it to represent the king, Reichardt, 'Light Against Darkness', p.121, believes it is Thouret.

19. The opponents targeted with this picture are Élie Fréron (1718-1776), a former Jesuit student who started out as an admirer of Voltaire but became one of the most acute critics of the Enlightenment authors, and his follower Jean-Marie-Bernard Clément (1742-1812). Fréron's journal *L'Année littéraire* (since 1754), depicted in the above picture as lying in the swamp, was the central organ of the Contre-Lumières. For years, Voltaire pursued Fréron with caricatures and derision. Cf. Garry Aggar, 'L'Image caricaturale de Fréron. Voltaire s'en est chargé', in Sophie Barthélemy, André Cariou and Jean Balcou (eds), *Élie Fréron: Polémiste et critique d'art* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2001). <http://books.openedition.org/pur/35355>. DOI: 10.4000/books.pur.35355 [last accessed on 20 November 2019].

20. Cf. Guilhem Scherf, *Pigalle: Voltaire nu* (Paris: Somogy, 2010); Eva Hausdorf, *Monumente der Aufklärung. Die Grab- und Denkmäler von Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1785) zwischen Konvention und Erneuerung* (Berlin: Mann, 2012), p.168-228. A shorter version of this chapter is also available in French, cf. Eva Hausdorf, 'Le Voltaire nu de Jean-Baptiste Pigalle. Grandeur et décadence d'une statue', in Thomas W. Gaethgens and Gregor Wedekind (eds), *Le Culte des grands hommes. 1750-1850* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2009), p.195-224.

21. Cf. Dena Goodman, 'Pigalle's *Voltaire nu*: The Republic of Letters Represents Itself to the World', *Representations* 16 (Autumn 1986), p.86-109, here p.104: 'In a dominant society in which the visible sign of social status was dress, in which equality found expression in the clothes one was permitted to wear, the nudity of this statue is most obviously a denial of the inequalities upon which that dominant society was based'.

22. This is targeted at Suzanne Necker, the host of a group of *philosophes* who took the initiative of erecting a Voltaire monument while he was still alive, cf. Hausdorf, *Monumente der Aufklärung*, p.187. Further figures can be identified.

23. On the interdependence of the two opposing camps, cf. Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), p.24, 28; Anton M. Matytsin, 'Whose Light Is It Anyway? The Struggle for Light in the French Enlightenment', in Anton M. Matytsin and Dan Edelstein (eds), *Let There Be Enlightenment: The Religious and Mystical Sources of Rationality* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), p.62-85, shows that light metaphors were used by both the *philosophes* and their opponents.

24. Cf. Guilhem Scherf, 'Voltaire assis', in *Houdon 1741-1828. Sculpteur des lumières. Musée National du Château de Versailles, 1er mars-31 mai 2004* (Paris: Éd. de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2003), p.167-72.

25. There are different versions of Houdon's statue. Moreau refers to the large marble version of 1780, as is evident from the shorter hair, that was on display first in the Salon of 1781 and later in the Théâtre-Français.

26. This is according to the contemporary critic, cf. Scherf, 'Voltaire assis', p.167-8.

27. Michael Diers, *Schlagbilder: Zur politischen Ikonographie der Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997), p.43-4.

28. Aby Warburg, 'Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther', in Aby Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, introd. Kurt W. Forster and trans. David Britt (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999), p.597-698, here p.622.

29. Accordingly, the pictures just examined have so far primarily been considered in studies on the iconography of Voltaire and on the author's efforts to influence the publicly disseminated pictures of himself, cf. Nicholas Cronk, 'Voltaire dans les estampes: la fabrication d'une image auctoriale', *Revue Voltaire* 12 (2012), p.185-208, here p.202-3; Hausdorf, 'Le Voltaire nu de Jean-Baptiste Pigalle', p.212-8.

30. Further evidence for Voltaire motifs is provided by Cronk, 'Voltaire dans les estampes', esp. p.200-2, who refers to a frequently varied portrait engraving by Jean Huber.

31. Cf. Norman Bryson, *Word and Image. French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Avi Lifschitz and Michael Squire (eds), *Rethinking Lessing's Laocoon. Antiquity, Enlightenment, and the 'Limits' of Painting and Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

32. Rolf Reichardt, 'Wort-Bild-Beziehungen im 'Revolutionären Zeitalter'', *Forum Interdisziplinäre Begriffsgeschichte* 7:1 (2018), p.57-71, here p.70, application/pdf ZfL_FIB_7_2018_1_Reichardt.pdf [last accessed on 20 November 2019].

33. Rudolf Schenda, 'La lecture des images et l'iconisation du peuple', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 114-115 (2002), p.13-30.

34. Reichardt, 'Light Against Darkness', p.139.

35. [Kaspar von Stieler], *Teutsche Sekretariat-Kunst [...]* (Nürnberg: Hofmann, 1673), vol. II. 335; [Kaspar von Stieler], *Zeitungs Lust und Nutz [...]* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1695), p.337: 'Just as in all things which belong to the enlightenment and improvement of the mind, above all a good nature is indispensable [...], so we also demand with respect to the newspaper a spirit, a good brain and an ingenium, which is fast and penetrating, can quickly understand a thing, find itself in it and can decide and judge this reasonably'. ('Gleich wie in allen dingen / so zur Aufklär- und Verbesserung des Verstandes gehören / zuförders eine gute Natur oder Geburts-Art gehöret [...]: also erfordern wir auch bey der Zeitung eine Geistigkeit / gutes Gehirn und ingenium / das schnell und durchdringend sey / eine Sache bald begreifen / sich darein finden und solche vernünftigt entscheiden und richten könne'.)

36. Kaspar von Stieler, *Der Deutschen Sprache Stammbaum und Fortwachs, oder Teutscher Sprachschatz [...]* (Nürnberg: Hofmann, 1691), c. 968f.

37. [Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling,] ['Vorrede'], in [Gundling,] *Gundlingiana [...]*, vol. 1 (Halle: Renger, 1715), n. pag: die 'trüben Irrthums-Wolcken'.

38. Cf. Ian Hunter, *Rival Enlightenments. Civil and Metaphysical Philosophy in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

39. Christian Wolff, *Ausführliche Nachricht von seinen eigenen Schrifften, die er in deutscher Sprache von den verschiedenen Theilen der Welt-Weisheit heraus gegeben / auf Verlangen ans Licht gestellet* (Frankfurt am Main: Andrae & Hort, 1726), p.313-4, § 113. In his interpretation of the frontispiece, Jeffrey L. Kosky, *Arts of Wonder. Enchanting Secularity—Walter De Maria, Diller + Scofidio, James Turrell, Andy Goldsworthy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p.1-7, completely ignores this important point. Furthermore, Kosky mistakes the revised frontispiece of the 1751 edition for that of the first edition.

40. Simon Grote, 'Religion and Enlightenment Revisited: Lucas Geiger (1682-1750) and the Allure of Wolffian Philosophy in a Pietist Orphanage', *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 41 (2015), p.32-56, has recently provided a new study of the famous case that is critical of traditional readings.

41. Jacob Friedrich Reimmann, *Versuch einer Einleitung In die Historiam Literariam Insgemein und derer Teutschen insonderheit*, 3 vols (in 6) (Halle: Renger, 1708-1713), vol. 1. 145. Here, we have one of the very first instances of the term's usage, overlooked by all dictionaries and conceptual histories to date.

42. The term *historia literaria* does not refer to what we commonly call 'literary history', but to a history of learning in the form of a disciplinarily and chronologically ordered catalogue, hence a kind of commented bibliography of scholarship. It aims at collecting and ordering the knowledge of all times, so as to gain an overview and identify from which vantage point contemporaries needed to start acquiring new knowledge. Francis Bacon had already framed the programme of the *historia literaria*, yet the genre especially flourished in the early German Enlightenment. Cf. Frank Grunert and Friedrich Vollhardt (eds), *Historia literaria. Neuordnungen des Wissens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Akademie, 2007).

43. The term 'karst' here relates to the limestone landscape *type* named after the Slovenian kras (in German, 'Karst'), not to this area specifically.

44. Cf. Daniel Fulda (ed.), *Aufklärung fürs Auge. Ein anderer Blick auf das 18. Jahrhundert* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2020).

45. Jovan Rajić, *Istorija raznih slovenskih narodov, najpače Bolgar, Horvatov i Serbov* (Wien: Novakovič, 1794), vol. I, inner title. I am grateful to Dragana Grbic (Cologne), to whom I owe the reference to Rajić's work.

46. Compared with France, a German cult of poets or philosophers which sought publicity in monuments was still in its hesitant and far more modest beginnings; cf. Roland Kanz, 'Le 'caractéristique' de l'idole dans les monuments allemands érigés aux poètes', in Gaethgens and Wedekind (eds), *Le Culte des grands hommes*, p.311-0, here p.312.

47. Letter to Nicolas-Claude Thieriot, circa 15 July 1735, Voltaire, *Correspondance*, éd. Theodore Besterman (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), vol. I. 610. Cf. Jean-Claude Bonnet, *Naissance du Panthéon. Essai sur le culte des grands hommes* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), p.36-40, 56, 223-241.

48. Steffen Martus, *Aufklärung. Das deutsche 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Epochenbild* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2015).

49. There is a total of seventeen versions in oil and ten in gouache. Notable examples include *The Empire of Light II*, 1950, The Museum of Modern Art, New York; *L'Empire des lumières*, 1954, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; *L'Empire des lumières*, 1954, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation/Peggy Guggenheim Collection Venice.

50. [John] G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), vol. I, infers from this that the term Enlightenment needs the plural. In his view, 'it occurred in too many forms to be comprised within a single definition and history, [...] we do better to think of a family of Enlightenments, displaying both family resemblances and family quarrels' (p.9). It is impossible to decide on the basis of such a limited analysis as the one conducted here whether there is a common Enlightenment identity or not. Irrespective of this, Pocock's conclusion remains difficult because his line of reasoning is linguistically weak: a generic term does not just subsume more different semantic content if set to the plural, while the singular form does not imply uniformity of the designated phenomena. And it does not solve the difficulty of defining Enlightenment if we speak of several enlightenments, because this also necessitates the identification of common characteristics. The plural 'Enlightenments' amounts to a rhetorical gesture but evades a solution of the terminological problem.

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