

The City and the Process of Transition from Early Modern Times to the Present

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Edited by

Magdalena Gibiec, Dorota Wiśniewska
and Leszek Ziątkowski

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-3817-6

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-3817-7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	viii
Chapter One.....	1
Imagining Athens in Enlightenment France: J.-J. Barthélemy's <i>Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis and the French Republic of Letters</i>	
Victoria Mcvicar	
Chapter Two	28
Mars Wandering the City: Foreign Soldiers in the Service of the Republic of Venice Garrisoned in the City of Zadar During the War of Crete (1645-1669)	
Filip Novosel	
Chapter Three	65
Ethnic Coexistence and Urban Space. Monastiri: A Case of a Balkan City in the Last Ottoman Era	
Sofoklis Kotsopoulos	
Chapter Four	79
"To Cut Down the Forest of Minarets": The Transformation of Bulgarian Cities After 1878	
Krzysztof Popek	
Chapter Five	94
Unwelcomed Guests at First: The Franciscans' Arrival in the Royal Town of Slaný in the Seventeenth Century	
Josef Kadeřábek	
Chapter Six	110
Representing Urban Change and the Social "Others" in Interwar Lesbos	
Dimitra Glenti	

Chapter Seven.....	127
Domestic Tension, Power, and Transition in the Arbitration of Housing Disputes in 1940s Tel Aviv	
Michal Kofman	
Chapter Eight.....	145
The Process of Transition and its Expression in the Building Façades: The Case of Tel Aviv from the 1920s to the Present Day	
Anat Goldman	
Chapter Nine.....	174
Public Spaces in the City: The Legacy of the Past with a Modern Interpretation on the Example of Chandigarh, India	
Ekaterina Tretyakova	
Chapter Ten	193
From Monarchy to Democracy: The Power of Royal Courts and its Impact on Urban Practices	
Ofita Purwani	
Chapter Eleven	205
An Oasis of Order: The Case of Milano Farini Rail Yard	
Valerio Tolve	

ABBREVIATIONS

AM Slaný—Archive of the town of Slaný
ANTT—Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
ASVe—Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BIA—B’lgarski istoricheski arhiv, Sofia
CDA—Tsentralen d’rzhaven Arhiv, Sofia
CdG—*Senato. Dispacci. Dispacci dei Capi da Guerra (condottieri)*
DA-Varna—D’rzhaven arhiv, Varna
FO—Foreign Office
HAZU—Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti
HR-DAZD—Hrvatski Državni Arhiv u Zadru
HR-DAZD-1, GPDA—Generalni providuri za Dalmaciju i Albaniju
HR-DAZD-2, MD—Mletački Dragomani
HR-DAZD-31-BZ, AL—Ambrogio Lomazzi
HR-DAZD-31-BZ, FS—Francesco Sorini
HR-DAZD-31-BZ, SL—Simon Lovatello
HR-DAZD-31-BZ, ZB—Zuanne Braicich
HR-DAZD-31-BZ, ZS—Zuanne Sorini
HR-DAZD-31-BZ—Bilježnici Zadra
JAZU—Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti
LMA—Labour Movement Archive
MSHSM—Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium
PTM—*Senato. Dispacci. Proveditori da terra e da mar e altre cariche*
SOA Praha—State Dictirct Archive Praha
SOKa Kladno—State Municipal Archive Kladno
Vs Smečno—Manor Estate of Smečno
Zbornik OPZ HAZU—Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti

INTRODUCTION

The vocabulary used to define “cities” significantly differs depending on the language we use. For instance, the Polish word “*miasto*” refers in English both to a “town” and a “city,” which seems to reflect much more than just a linguistic nuance, as it results from a deeper, legal-historical-cultural background. This problem occurs in the relatively homogeneous culture of Europe, but for urban historians studying other civilisations—Chinese, Indian, pre-Columbian or Middle-Eastern—the ambiguity becomes even more apparent. One may ask if it is adequate to invoke the word “city” in historical contexts while referring to very distinct legal-cultural areas. How have researchers dealt with this issue so far?

The entry in the 11th edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica concludes: “It is clear from the above that the word ‘city’ is incapable of any very clear and inclusive definition, and the attempt to show that historically it possesses a meaning that clearly differentiates it from ‘town’ or ‘borough’ has led to some controversy.” Perhaps the best way to define the concept would be to juxtapose the city with the country. This approach, however, may complicate the whole picture even more, as the opposition city-country is the most characteristic for continental Europe since the Middle Ages. What is more, historians tend to express their doubts concerning this division.¹ Finally, for other times and cultures, this criterion could definitely not be applied.²

The lack of clear indicators that would allow us to develop a satisfying definition led some researchers to opt for focusing on the historical

¹ For example, urban historians working on the early modern period wonder, “whether it is meaningful [...] to distinguish between town and country, and therefore valid to isolate a specifically urban variable.” Peter Borsay, *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820* (London and New York: Longman, 1990), 2. About difficulties in establishing a coherent definition of a European city, see: Jean Luc Pinol, *Histoire de l'Europe urbaine: De l'Ancien Régime à nos jours: expansion et limite d'un modèle* (Paris: Seuil, 2003); Jean-Claude Boyer, *Les villes européennes* (Paris: Hachette Éducation, 2003).

² A good example may be the British settlement in North America or Australia; in fact, it is hard to speak of establishing countries there in accordance with European notions, but rather of dispersed farmlands that becoming more and more numerous, transformed into what we call a town today.

experiences characteristic for cities rather than on the concept itself.³ Hence, following this direction, the distinctive factors of the city may be all the processes that occur specifically in an urban space, such as: an intensification of contact resulting from demographical density, cultural and social diversity, and consequently, the coexistence of upper and lower classes; cooperation between producers and consumers, sellers and buyers; as well as those who have leisure time and those who provide entertainment, etc. All in all, we could see the city as a space of continuous meetings and exchanges (in a broader sense). This perspective would allow us to centre our attention on the community, people, which sounds particularly reasonable, if we take into consideration the remark of Philip Abrams that “cities have never been real independent entities but were merely social constructs explicable only in terms of the societies which produced them.”⁴

Nevertheless, resigning from more or less clear legal and administrative criteria and subsiding them with those of a definite subjective character, may generate even more confusion and lack of precision. A good illustration of our doubts might be the example of Ancient Rome, built by the state-empire. In order to create the great Rome, the municipal rights were granted to more and more groups of people living on the territories successively incorporated into the growing entity. One may perceive this process as an expansion of Rome far beyond its walls, into the territory of Italy, so that the city eventually encompassed the whole territory, exercising power over it. The analysis of political, social and cultural interactions in Rome as a city will naturally differ from the ones concerning Rome as an empire. Lastly, such freedom of interpretation may result in treating a city as an incidental space, where events and processes just happen, thereby omitting the important question of what constitutes a city.⁵

Bearing in mind all these discrepancies, in 2017, we invited an international group of early career researchers and PhD candidates to a

³ See, for example: Marcel Roncayolo, *La Ville et ses Territoires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 28.

⁴ Philip Abrams, “Introduction,” in *Towns in Societies*, ed. Philip Abrams, Edward Anthony Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

⁵ About researchers’ tendency to study “urban histories” instead of “urban history,” see: Borsay, *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, 2; Bernard Lepetit, *Les Villes dans la France moderne* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1988), 14; Derek Fraser, “The Urban History Masquerade: Recent Trends in the Study of English Urban Development,” *The Historical Journal* 27, no. 1 (March 1984): 254; Don Karl Rowney, “What Is Urban History?” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, no. 2 (1977): 319-327.

conference held at the Historical Institute of the University of Wrocław, Poland, to discuss the process of transition in cities from early modern times to the present day. Although the question of concept would be much easier to work out, if we had decided to focus on a specific region or a country,⁶ we proposed to reflect on a given aspect from international and global perspectives. Of course, in order to address it in a coherent and satisfactory manner, the example of which may be *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*,⁷ the project would demand much more time, people and funding than we had. What we are presenting here is a selection of case studies prepared by researchers affiliated in different institutions worldwide. As the definition of a city seems to be deeply rooted in the mentality of people regardless of the cultural or political circle one belongs to (similar to the perception of “individualism” and “collectivism”), the papers show particular and subjective approaches to the concept. Although they do not capture all the aspects typical for a constantly changing urban environment, their interdisciplinary and international character make them interesting and valuable points of reference for other researchers working on urban history. Furthermore, they deliver new analyses concerning cities, the study of which is often limited due to language barriers.⁸

The book focuses on social, economic, political and structural transformations of some cities in Europe, Near East and Asia from the seventeenth century until the present day. Throughout history, cities have received the majority of immigrants: people seeking a better living, political emigrants and refugees. Those arriving in foreign lands often suffer(ed) from an accumulation of social, economic, cultural and individual problems; on the other hand, host communities experience(d) irreversible changes in their local environment. Also, in times when steam power had not yet been invented and mobility was not as intense as has been the case for the last two centuries, cities have constituted the most socially and culturally diverse spaces. Multiculturalism and diversity appear thus as typical features of the urban landscape throughout time. The

⁶ However, even the analysis of cities in the same geographical zone brings with it some limitations and difficulties to be overcome, see for example: David Michael Palliser, Peter Clark, Martin Daunt, eds., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vols. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁷ Peter Clark, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁸ Ewen Shane stresses, among others, the importance of applying interdisciplinary and comparative approaches in urban studies, see: Ewen Shane, *What is Urban History?* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2016), 3.

first part of the book, entitled *Facing the Other. Perception, Relations, (Co)existence* explores the attitudes of the locals towards newcomers to a city, as well as the coexistence of different social, ethnic, religious and cultural groups: their adaptation, assimilation, integration, and rejection. In short, this part tries to explain how progressing urbanisation influenced relations within communities. Victoria Mcvicar examines Jean-Jacques Barthélemy's work *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, in which he creates a fictional Athens and uses it as a microcosm of Enlightenment Paris in his year of 1788. In fact, in Barthélemy's writing we may discover social networks and institutions that the Enlightenment philosophers and their companions frequented in eighteenth-century French capital. Then, Filip Novosel and Joseph Kadeřábek focus on adaptation and integration processes. The former concentrates on soldiers in the service of the Republic of Venice who garrisoned in Zadar during the War of Crete (1645-1669), whereas the later observes interactions of the members of the Franciscan order and townspeople in the royal city of Slaný in the seventeenth century, during the second period of re-Catholicisation in Bohemia. The issue of coexistence of different ethnic and national minorities is in the centre of last three chapters' attention. Sofoklis Kotsopoulus takes a Balkan city of Monastiri at the Last Ottoman era as his case study. Dimitra Glenti presents the consequences of the refugee tide that the Greek island Lesbos faced in the interwar period, when 1.2 million Christian refugees from Asia Minor arrived in Greece in the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish War and a subsequent exchange of populations. Lastly, Michal Kofman shows housing disputes in Tel Aviv between the years 1940 and 1948, a time of transition for the city as well as the Jewish settlement in Palestine, due to the end of the British Mandate, and impending foundation of the State of Israel. The author seeks to understand the main reasons for the tensions between inhabitants, and the ways in which the courts endeavoured to organise their relationships.

The *spatial turn* produced many important studies shedding light on the distribution of power, work, wealth and the changing structures of societies in cities (segregation, migration, demography).⁹ The second part *The Evolution of the Urban Space* supports Robert Ezra Park's claim that "social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spatial

⁹ Ian N. Gregory, Donald Arthur DeBats, and Donald Lafreniere, "Introduction to Part III," in *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History*, ed. Gregory N. Ian, Donald Arthur DeBats, and Donald Lafreniere, Routledge Companions (London: Routledge, 2017), 225.

relations.”¹⁰ It concentrates on municipal and central authorities’ policies that together with structural transformations in urban tissue had a direct impact on public space and everyday life of the city dwellers. Firstly, the importance of decisions undertaken by power representatives to urban development is well seen in the texts of Krzysztof Popek and Ofita Purwani. Despite the fact that they examine two geographically, historically and culturally different milieus, Bulgarian and Javanese ones, they both explain how the state’s actions may influence the public spaces in cities, and consequently, the daily lives of their inhabitants. Secondly, the book seeks to envisage the processes of structural transitions in urban planning that commenced in the last century and can be observed in our times. This is the main interest of Anat Goldman’s paper regarding transformations of building façades in Tel Aviv from the 1920s to the present day and Ekaterina Tretyakova’s chapter on the functional changes of the public spaces in Chandigarh in the second half of the 20th century. Finally, Valerio Tolve reflects on modern housing solutions on the example of the district Scalo Farini in Milan.

According to *World Urbanization Prospects*, published by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations in 2014, 54 per cent of the world’s population resided in urban areas. This number almost doubled in comparison to the year 1950, when the percentage of urban dwellers was 30 per cent.¹¹ The same report predicts that by 2050, 66 per cent of the world’s population will live in cities. As the latter continue to grow, a sustainable development is one of the most important challenges of our times. The editors of this book and its authors do hope that it will contribute to the international discussion on the complexity of progressive urbanisation and its consequences from the early modern period onwards.

¹⁰ Robert Ezra Park, “The Urban Community as a Spatial Pattern and a Moral Order,” in *The Urban Community: Selected Papers from the Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, ed. Ernest Watson Burgess (New York: Greenwood Press, 1925), 18.

¹¹ *World Urban Prospects. 2014 Revision*, New York: United Nations, 2014, accessed May 26, 2018, 1, <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/publications/files/wup2014-highlights.pdf>.

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CHAPTER ONE

IMAGINING ATHENS
IN ENLIGHTENMENT FRANCE:
J.-J. BARTHÉLEMY'S *VOYAGE DU JEUNE
ANACHARSIS AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC
OF LETTERS*

VICTORIA MCVICAR

*If any part of Greece could seem relevant, it must be Athens, which had so long been treated as a symbol or a type of France, or, in particular Paris.*¹

Elizabeth Rawson

On the eve of the French Revolution in 1788, the Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy published his life's work of almost thirty years, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce, dans le milieu du quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire*.² The purpose of this work was to offer his readership a novel way of exploring the history of ancient Greece and an opportunity for them to reflect on the lessons of her glorious past.³ The city at the epicentre of his historical narrative is classical Athens during the time of Demosthenes, prior to the Athenian defeat at the Battle of Chaeronea by

¹ Elizabeth Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 269.

² Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce dans le milieu du quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire* (Paris: De Bure, 1788), 1:7.

³ Claude Mossé, *Antiquité dans la Révolution française* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1989), 41. The purpose of histories and historical fictions throughout the Enlightenment was to provide morally "didactic art" from which the audience might gain moral, philosophical or political insight from the examples of the past.

Philip II of Macedon in 338 BC. While the narrative is historical, I shall argue that Barthélemy's Athens in *Le Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* is no historical Athens at all, but rather acts as a representational reflection of Enlightenment Paris into which the characters, philosophy and politics of Greek history are presented through an eighteenth-century prism.

Jennifer Tolbert Roberts remarks that Barthélemy presents "the most dramatic view of Athens in the eighteenth century," noting his significant attention to details that make the work so readable.⁴ This, in conjunction with Rawson's observation that Paris was viewed as a type of Athens during the French Enlightenment and Revolution, permits Barthélemy's vision of Athens to manifest itself in an innovative and radical way in the *Anacharsis*. I will examine his use of a variety of literary settings and multiple narrative techniques in which key philosophical and historical discussions are presented to examine how his notion of Athens was modelled uniquely on Enlightenment Paris and its society. Barthélemy's choice of Athens as the epicentre for the narrative events and philosophical discussions was a deliberate choice and was highly symbolic, as can be observed through discussions of Athens representational significance in works on Greek history throughout the eighteenth century. Central to Barthélemy's choice and portrayal of Athens in *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* is the perspective that the French public held at the time regarding their own place in history. It is apparent that during the Enlightenment ancient Athens acted as an example against which the public and *philosophes* compared their own achievements, they aspired to her civic and political values, and were ever hoping to surpass her in the arts, sciences, philosophy and culture.⁵

The literary settings of the debates and discussions incorporated in *Anacharsis* by Barthélemy directly reflect the institutions of eighteenth-century urban life that underpinned Parisian Enlightenment society in which the discussions of the luminaries and their associates took place. The key literary settings that act as spheres for discussions of philosophy in Barthélemy's Athens are the Library of Euclides, the Athenian Lyceum and Plato's Academy, as well as the epistolatory exchanges of Anacharsis, and the memoirs of Anacharsis. Barthélemy's literary settings reflect the institutions that Dena Goodman identifies as the component institutions

⁴ Jennifer Tolbert Roberts, *Athens on Trial: The Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 94.

⁵ Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: a Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 4.

that comprised the eighteenth-century Republic of Letters: libraries, academies, salons, various forms of printed works and epistolary exchange. As in the philosophical circles in Barthélemy's Athens, Goodman and Habermas confirm that the Parisian Enlightenment both depended upon and was the product of its urban environment.⁶

The emergence of the "literary public sphere" brought about by changes in court society and the rise of the merchant classes that were merging together.⁷ The social networks of these private individuals evolved into the "public sphere." The Republic of Letters permitted the transaction of ideas between equals that were valued equally, disregarding any deference to real-world socio-economic status. These individuals also created a number of urban, social institutions in the *académies* and salons that they frequented in which they could meet to debate, discuss and exchange ideas.⁸ Goodman expands on Habermas' argument that members of these institutions of the Republic of Letters came to represent a "literary public sphere."⁹ Therefore, the urban institutions they frequented created the space in which private individuals became "the public." These institutions provided a centralised environment this public could utilise in creating, exchanging and disseminating its ideas beyond the confines of the Paris metropolis to the wider Republic of Letters. By modelling his Athens on this Paris, Barthélemy was presenting his public with a vision of themselves that acted as a familiar window through which they could experience the history of classical Greece, sociability of Athens and its philosophers.¹⁰

The Athens that Barthélemy portrayed in 1788 also held great significance in the political visions and ideologies of the French revolutionaries. The transition from the Enlightenment to the realisation of the Revolution occurred when the "literary public sphere" was transformed into the "political public," and, as the political ideals of the *philosophes* of the Republic of Letters became the political ideologies of

⁶ Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 286.

⁷ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 34.

⁸ Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 49.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 8. It is fully understood by both Habermas and Goodman that this public sphere was a space occupied by urban elites, demarcating a clear division between the "masses" and "the public."

¹⁰ Mossé, *Antiquité dans la Révolution française*, 65.

the revolutionaries.¹¹ If we understand the symbolism of Athens through this process from Enlightenment to the Revolution, we are able to gain insight into this process of transformation from the “literary public sphere” to the “public political sphere” that Goodman describes. Thus, I will assess Claude Mossé claim that the Enlightenment imaginings of Antiquity such as Barthélemy’s:

Across these writings emerges an antiquity more imaginary than real, ready to enflame the future orators of the revolution already incited by their university lectures.¹²

Representing Athens in the Enlightenment

Barthélemy’s portrayal of Athens was the final portrayal of Athens during French Enlightenment which had been preceded by numerous others over the course of the eighteenth century. Athens was much admired during the Enlightenment period for its philosophy, constitution and political virtue as much as for its cultural contributions to the arts, philosophy and sciences.¹³ Although it is one of the later portrayals of Athens to emerge in the eighteenth century, Barthélemy’s Athens remained innovative due to his use of ancient sources to give the city a physical description which was permitted through his choice of genre. He presents the narrative of Anacharsis’ travels through a *récit de voyage* that was one of the most popular genres of the Enlightenment period, the most well-known of these being Honore D’Urfé’s *Astrée*, followed by Fénelon’s *Les Aventures du Télémaque*.¹⁴ Through the eyes of his protagonist Anacharsis, grandson of the Scythian philosopher, the reader experiences Athens in its final halcyon days as Demosthenes and Phocion united to defend the city-states

¹¹ Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, 271. Rawson elaborates that there were numerous political ideologies held by many revolutionaries. She assesses the thought Montesquieu and Rousseau to have been most influential in shaping these ideologies.

¹² Mossé, *Antiquité dans La Révolution française*, 12. All translations in this paper are my own unless stated otherwise.

¹³ Mossé, *Antiquité dans La Révolution française*, 60. These political and civil values associated with Athens in the Enlightenment include, but are not limited to concepts of active citizenry, political virtue, civic duty and a constitution creating political equality among those of unequal means.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

of “free Greece” against the Macedonian expansionism of Philip II and Alexander the Great.¹⁵

Prior fictional portrayals of ancient Greece had been presented in experimental genres that allowed for philosophical and historical discourses, often as a *récit de voyage* or a fictional *dialogues*.¹⁶ Other authors behind the most influential of works of this genre were also men of the cloth: Abbé François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon published *Les Aventures du Télémaque* in 1699 followed by his *Dialogues des Morts* (1712). His works were hugely popular throughout the century due to his former position as a royal tutor.¹⁷ This was later followed by Abbé Gabriel de Mably’s dialogic historical fiction *Entretiens de Phocion* (1763). Ian Macgregor Morris asserts that these rather “bizarre” ways in which such authors sought to use their sources were driven by an intense competition that existed among the French men of letters during the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Barthélemy and his contemporaries were extremely familiar with the Greek history and historical Athens. The history of ancient Greece and Athens was presented many times throughout the eighteenth century by Tourriel, Rollin, Bayle and Mably. Macgregor Morris argues that Jacques De Tourreil’s *Préface historique* to the translation of Demosthenes’ *Olynthiacs and Philippics, les Harangues de Démosthène* (1701), marked a significant turning point as it attempted to consider the historical context of the speeches. It was Charles Rollin’s *Histoire ancienne* (1730-1738), he asserts, that would set the standard for historical works on Ancient Greece for the century.¹⁹

Barthélemy himself participated in this tradition of attempting to historically contextualise his work, as de Tourriel did before him, including his own history of ancient Greece in his extensive *Préface historique* that precedes the fictional narrative of *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*.²⁰ Even in the more florid accounts of ancient Athens by Pierre

¹⁵ Andrew J. Bayliss, “Greek but not Grecian? Macedonians in Enlightenment Histories,” in *Reinventing History: The Enlightenment Origins of Ancient History*, eds. James Moore, Ian Macgregor Morris, Andrew J. Bayliss (London: Cromwell Press, 2008), 221.

¹⁶ Ian Macgregor Morris, “Navigating the Grotesques; or, Rethinking Greek Historiography,” in *ibid.*, 283.

¹⁷ Nanner O. Keohane, *Philosophy and The State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 332.

¹⁸ Macgregor Morris, “Navigating the Grotesques,” 283.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 249-251.

²⁰ Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, 1:1-224.

Bayle and Tourriel, we see a consistent and robustly historical view of Ancient Greece and Athens, although the critiques of the historical events and characters vary subjectively from author to author.²¹ Yet it was only Barthélemy who constructed a physical description based on numerous ancient historical sources into his fictive account of Anacharsis' experiences in Athens.

In the second half of the eighteenth century Athens had been observed on an archaeological basis many times over. The architecture and sculpture of the city were the subject of Winklemann's 1764 *History of Ancient Art* and Julien Leroy's 1758 *Les Ruines des plus beaux bâtiments de la Grèce*. In Britain, James Stuart had also published his own observations and surveys in *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece* (1762).²² Although Barthélemy does not cite either of these works, it is plausible he may have had access to these during his research for the *Anacharsis*. Leroy was an architect who had visited the ancient sites of Greece and Athens to survey, sketch and study them in 1755.²³ In his *Préface historique* and *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis* what becomes apparent is that Barthélemy presents his reader with two distinct images of Athens quite deliberately: a historical Athens in the former and a representative Athens in the latter. Barthélemy would go on to publish a variety of historical works: in 1790 *Abrégé de l'histoire grecque depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à la prise d'Athènes, en 404 avant Jésus-Christ*, then *Dissertation sur une ancienne inscription grecque relative aux finances des Athéniens* in 1792.

Barthélemy's two images of Athens expand on existing scholarly notions of Enlightenment portrayals of Athens. Claude Mossé and Iain Macgregor Morris have correctly identified the views of antiquity that existed in the Enlightenment as "image" or "mirage" respectively.²⁴ In creating his own representation of Athens, Barthélemy was joining in a long-standing tradition of reshaping the city for his readerships' tastes that took course over the eighteenth century. Notable examples of these representative portrayals of Athens are those of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Mably. The argument that a representative portrayal of Athens is a

²¹ Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, 224-229.

²² James Moore and Ian Macgregor Morris, "History in Revolution? Approaches to the Ancient World in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Reinventing History*, 13.

²³ Christopher Drew Armstrong, *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History* (London: Routledge, 2011), 300.

²⁴ Mossé, *Antiquité dans la Révolution française*, 12; Macgregor Morris, "Navigating the Grotesques," 284.

“mirage” can be extended to observe that both historical and representative traditions of antiquity existed simultaneously: one in fictive and philosophical works, the other in historical works. Athens was repeatedly used as a literary or philosophically representative space into which the political, moral or philosophical views of respective authors are projected. Montesquieu and Voltaire used Athens as a space which represents the ideals of freedom of expression, tolerance, constitutionalism and citizen virtues.²⁵ Mably’s Athens, on the other hand, is representative of the dangers of popular government and unlimited suffrage. He also uses it as an historical example of political corruption and moral decadence.²⁶

Barthélemy’s representation of Athens on the eve of the French Revolution is more than a variation of these traditions, but is unique in that his Athens is consistently both a historic and a representational one. In the narrative of the *Anacharsis*, his historically reconstructed Athens is a place where political virtue is alive in its politicians as they strive to maintain the ideal of a “free Greece” against the tyranny of Philip II of Macedon, reflecting an emerging political ideology in pre-Revolutionary France that hoped to model itself on examples derived from classical antiquity.

A second innovation that will become relevant to this inquiry is that this work broke with the eighteenth century perceptions of the fall of democratic Athens was, Bayliss argues, that Barthélemy was both unique and influential in choosing to use the Battle of Chaeronea as the cut-off point for the history of classical Greece.²⁷

Barthélemy’s City of Athens

Barthélemy was the arch-contextualist of his time, demonstrating he dedicated significant energies to reimagining the physicality and landscape of ancient Greece and Athens. His Athens is a much more dynamic and complex place, portrayed in a remarkably different way to his Sparta. In no way does it act merely as an extended metaphor for the city’s political values, using panoramic imagery, but rather he uses ancient sources to supply physical details of the city using descriptions from Thucydides’, Pausanias’ and Herodotus’ works. This is unlike his predecessor, Mably, whose *Entretiens de Phocion*, in which the philosopher-politician, Phocion, and his associates hold a discussion of the merits and vices of

²⁵ Mossé, *Antiquité dans la Révolution française*, 60.

²⁶ Macgregor Morris, “Navigating the Grotesques,” 239.

²⁷ Bayliss, “Greek but not Grecian?” 224.

Athens' and Sparta's governments in symposium-like setting in a space without any physical attributes.²⁸ Barthélemy describes the cityscape of ancient Sparta as an extended metaphor of the laconic political spirit: modest, selfless and virtuous: their temples are made out of basic stone, their statues of the gods are of brass, the statues of heroes are hewn from wood, the houses are small and lacking in ornamentation.²⁹ Here the physical description of the city acts as an extended metaphor for the political spirit that Sparta was idealised for in the Enlightenment.³⁰

He describes the Athenian citadel, the city and the harbour in precise and exquisite detail: when they were built and the dimensions of each part of the city, its walls, water supply and its geology. He describes the streets of the city as being "misaligned," while the public buildings are magnificent, the homes of the Athenians are mostly humble. He goes on to explain that Anacharsis finds that in Athens

everything has an air of simplicity and that travellers who visit there find their admiration for the city increases most insensibly, once they have examined at leisure these temples, porticos and public builds which all the arts have fought the glory to embellish.³¹

Later in the work he gives a highly detailed description of the theatre in Athens, saying it was built of wood with no covering from the rain, where during a downpour the audience had to take cover under neighbouring porticos of the public buildings. Barthélemy cites each source for this information from ancient sources such Polybius, Suidas, Vitruvius, Athenaeus and Aelian.³²

His usage of a plethora of different ancient sources from which he creates his vision of ancient Athens is a testament to the painstaking research and attention to detail that he undertook, offering his audience a historically authentic experience of the city. Within his descriptions of Athens, we see a marked difference in the ornamentation between the public and the private spaces of the city. The private residences of the "everyday citizens" are humble and simple, the public spaces, on the other hand, are magnificent and adorned to represent the collective glory of the *polis*. While there is no doubt that Barthélemy's scholarship was

²⁸ Rawson, *Republic of Letters*, 245-246.

²⁹ Barthélemy, *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, 2:570-596.

³⁰ Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*.

³¹ Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, 1:311-313.

³² *Ibid.*, 4:1-3.

meticulously rigorous in utilising ancient sources and perhaps contemporary surveys of Athens, his image of Athens reflects his contemporary Parisian reality.

Paris had seen great changes to its urban landscape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a number of large-scale building programmes saw the *boulevèrsement* of its central squares and palaces. In 1780, the Palais-Royal on Richelieu street, owned by the Duke of Orleans, was expanded and, through commercialisation was opened to the public. Many premises set up in the galleries: shops and cafés, coffeehouses and salons.³³ These coffeehouses and salons were crucial social institutions which facilitated public meetings and thus public discussions. Byrne-Paquet overlooks the significance of both the topographical location of this new, public commercial space and the time of its commercialisation. The Palais-Royal, with its close proximity to the Hôtel de Rambouillet on Saint-Honoré street, home to the salon of Madame de Scudéry and the Académie française, a mere stone's throw from the Jardin des Tuileries, and the Bibliothèque nationale on Richelieu street, formed part of a social and institutional epicentre for the public life of the late Republic of Letters and the future revolutionaries. The chronology of this commercialisation is significant as in the 1780s, this commercialisation of the Palais-Royal created a public epicentre at a time great frustrations were developing among the Third Estate in French society. This frustration occurred in the parlements and États-Généraux concerning their lack of political agency within the absolutist Bourbon monarchy. The parliamentarians and representatives of the États-Généraux frequented the salons and cafés of the Palais-Royal. Thus it should come as no surprise that the Palais-Royal became a significant location during the storming of the Bastille in 1789.

This explicit demarcation between the public and private sphere that existed both in historical Athens and Barthélemy's Athens had also become a social reality in the Paris of his own time when the opening up of public spaces allowed for increasingly widened public discourse. Barthélemy's *Anacharsis* not only reflects the public epicentre of Paris in his representative Athens but also the social aspects of the discourses and their participants.

³³ Laura Byrne-Paquet, *The Urge to Splurge: A Social History of Shopping* (Toronto: ECW Press), 90-93.

Philosophers and Citizens

On his first visit to the city, Anacharsis ventures into Plato's Academy and the Lyceum. In Plato's Academy, Barthélemy's characters, Plato, Diogenes and Phocion debate on the nature of rhetoric and logic through fictional discussions in the courtyard.³⁴ On another occasion Anacharsis and his companions are treated to a private discussion-turned-lecture with Plato on his *Republic*.³⁵ Later, on the way to the Lyceum, Anacharsis meets and converses with the orator Isocrates.³⁶ Euclides and Anacharsis then return to the Lyceum where, in the courtyard, they witness a debate between Leon, an orator, and Pythadore, a sophist, debating that the connotations of sophism and the differences between the role of the orator and the sophist. Barthélemy supplemented these dialogic exchanges with rhetorical concepts lifted from Aristotle's *Poetics* and Cicero's *De Oratione*.³⁷ He describes the Lyceum as an ornate and decorated place in a continual process of being embellished with paintings, outside it had beautiful ornate gardens where one might go to "repose."³⁸ The Academy and the Lyceum in Barthélemy's Athens act as spaces in which like-minded philosophers and citizens meet with equal prestige to discuss a range of philosophical and theoretical issues.³⁹ The Lyceum, historically attached to the Temple of Apollo, is portrayed as a purely public space for the Athenian citizenry to meet and debate, while the Academy acts as a more exclusive space where the philosophers and their disciples discuss.

At the Academy only those who are esteemed philosophers engage in discussions while others look on and observe. Although Anacharsis comes to both the Lyceum and the Academy as an outsider, he is welcomed as an equal who upholds the values similar to those Athenian citizens and philosophers he encounters. This mirrors an aspect of institutional sociability reflected in the salons and academies of Barthélemy's own time, where membership was secured through the affirmation of the respective institutional values.⁴⁰

The use of these institutions for the debate and discussion of ideas by Barthélemy represent those of eighteenth-century Paris. Academies had

³⁴ Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, 1:322-338.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:78-103.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:339-351.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3:172.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:339-351.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:344.

⁴⁰ Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, 105.

been a feature of French urban intellectual life since the foundation of the Académie française in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu under the auspices of Louis XIII at the Hôtel Rambouillet on Richelieu street. By the time Barthélemy published *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, there were multiple *académies* for a variety of scientific, philosophical and historical disciplines. Barthélemy was a member of *L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* at the time of writing his *Anacharsis* and would later join the Académie française.⁴¹ The academies fostered a competitive intellectual environment for the Parisian elites, patronised by the monarchy. As an offshoot of the culture of the French court, the academies created a space for the pursuits of intellectual, scientific and philosophical discourse that would propel France to the forefront of European culture. This development also offered the absolutist establishment a means to be able to regulate and influence the public intellectual discourse. Dena Goodman argues, however, that the *académies* were limited, as the Republic of Letters was absorbed into them and effectively entered the service of the state.⁴²

To avoid state interference, another social institution for the pursuit of these discourses occurred in the salons. Goodman asserts that the *philosophes* “abandoned” the sphere of the *académies* and instead flocked to the salons.⁴³ These social institutions acted as the social life blood of the *philosophes* and their associates. The most notable of these salons were the salons of Madame Geoffrin, Madame Necker and Madame Lespinasse, which, as Goodman rightly claims, “formed the social basis of the Enlightenment Republic of Letters.”⁴⁴ The salons emerged to form a space apart from the state often in various hotels across the city.⁴⁵

Goodman argues that there were two distinct phases in the culture of the salon: one in which women held great power in determining admission to the salons as well as the topics for discourse, and another that emerged in the later part of the century which sought to exclude women and to create an exclusively male space.⁴⁶ It is clearly the latter of the versions of

⁴¹ *Dictionnaire général de biographie et d'histoire, de mythologie, de géographie ancienne moderne et comparée des Antiquités et des institutions grecques, romaines, françaises et étrangères*, vol. 2, eds. Charles Dezobry, Théodor Bachelet and M. E. Darsy (Paris, 1821), 239.

⁴² Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, 22.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 90-91.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

these social spaces that we see reflected in Barthélemy's Athens, where the Lyceum and Academy of Plato are exclusively male spaces both by his design and by historical fact. Spheres of discussion such as the Lyceum and Academy give Barthélemy's Athens a feel of the academy and salon circles described by Goodman in the later phase of the Parisian Enlightenment. This is not mere conjecture as Goodman even goes so far as to remarks that Rousseau complained of the female orientated salons as corrupted, and that only the ancient Greeks and Swiss were distinguished by the fact they created male spheres for discussion in which a form of sociability of virtue could be built.⁴⁷ She also quotes Morellet, who relished escaping the formalities and restraint of the salon to attend a discussion group in the garden of the Tuileries where the all-male group could "subvert the government and philosophise at ease."⁴⁸ Barthélemy is clearly invoking this ideal of a space in which discussion occurs freely when he comments that one might seek respite in the gardens of the Athenian Lyceum.

In *du jeune Anacharsis*, the Lyceum and Academy act as places for informal and formal discussion respectively. We see a much more formulaic and controlled format for discussion at Plato's Academy where the choice of topics and speakers are designated prior to the discussion. Barthélemy, unlike Mably, does not use the symposium as a setting for any discussions as a parallel to the salon. Instead he chooses to use the setting of the library for his more informal, meandering discussions.

The Library of Euclides

Barthélemy's Library of Euclides is his most utilised sphere in which Anacharsis and his companions exchange ideas in discussions and debates. The themes of these discussions are wide-ranging on poetry and morality, logic and rhetoric, natural history, history, astronomy and the history of Greek philosophy. The Library of Euclides is the setting for all except one of these discussions, the exception being a lesson on the history of Greek philosophy that takes place in the public Athenian library, created by Pisistratus.⁴⁹ Throughout these discussions we see many sentiments that were designed to invoke a certain amount of self-reflection from his readership of their own time. The first of the major philosophical

⁴⁷ Ibid., 54.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 107.

⁴⁹ Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, 2:174.

conversations concerning Athenian politics is set in the private Library of Euclides, a learned Athenian scholar with connections to Plato as well as a friend of Aristotle.⁵⁰ Here they explore the political uses and contexts of rhetoric within the different Athenian political institutions. As he approaches the ‘tablets’ containing Demosthenes’ orations, Euclides remarks that “the progress of society is measured by the state of its literature.”⁵¹ While this is certainly aimed at reminding the reader of the heights that the of culture ancient Athens was capable of, it is also a direct reference to the state of French literature as a result of the Enlightenment. The main thrust of this discussion, however, focuses on the mechanisms and theory of oratory, the process of its composition, as well as the requirements for what he classifies as “eloquence.”⁵² In an extraordinarily self-reflective statement to his eighteenth-century French readership, Euclides claims that the state of Athens literary prestige it such that:

That a foreigner hears our best orators, that he might read our best writers and he will soon judge for himself early on that he is in the midst of a mannered nation, enlightened, full of spirit and taste.⁵³

Upon his entrance to the Library on a later visit, Anacharsis remarks “Euclides showed me some treatise on animals, plants and fossils.”⁵⁴ On this occasion, they are joined by Meton and Anaxarchis: the former is a relation to the philosopher Empedocles, the latter a disciple of the philosopher Democritus’ school. He critiques that the natural sciences became somewhat neglected during the time of Socrates, who was concerned with *l’étude de l’homme* but had been renewed in their own times paralleling developments in eighteenth-century France in the transition from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment.⁵⁵ Euclides defends Aristotle against Meton and Anaxarque saying he has kept in correspondence with him following his departure from Athens and that they had no right to judge him based on only a few of his works that he had published. He exhorts that they should learn of the scale of his projects and reproach his errors and omissions themselves, if they dare.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Ibid., 3:404.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 3:135.

⁵³ Ibid., 3:165.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 3:402.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 3:404.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 3:406.

On the next day, Anacharsis returns to Euclides' Library and the two discussions on ancient historiography take place. This is the most self-reflective of the discussions held in the Library for Barthélemy's eighteenth-century readership.⁵⁷ They discuss the roles and methods of the historian debating the merits of Herodotus and Xenophon contra Thucydides. Barthélemy argues that Herodotus and Xenophon see the causes and effects of history produced by the anger, jealousy or favour of the Gods. Thucydides, on the other hand, sees that the occurrence of events in the Peloponnesian war were matters of human agency. Finally, they discuss the role of history and the historian deciding that: "History is a theatre where politics and morality are put into actions."⁵⁸ It provides lessons for the young, but also sovereigns and nations can take important lessons from history. The "historian-philosopher" looks for the causes of events rather than the mere facts. The historian also has a moral duty to his readership, must be inscrutable and uphold the "rights" of morality with justice, he must be sincere and truthful in his rendering of events.⁵⁹

What is evident is that the Library of Euclides in Barthélemy's Athens entirely reflects the predilections and trends seen in the Enlightenment libraries. Jonathan Israel examines both the progression and the composition of libraries during the period of the early to mid-Enlightenment. The Library of Euclides is entirely representative of the libraries, Israel demonstrates, as they were created by private individuals. Despite his association with the various *académies*, Barthélemy chose to use the Library of Euclides, maintained by a private citizen, rather than any institutional or public library as a sphere for several significant discussions.

The Republic of Letters incorporated the "literary public sphere" of the printed word, allowing an idea to be spread to a mass audience. It is self-evident that the process behind producing printed text was also dependant on the urban environment to function in terms of both its consumer base and its resources networks. To answer the question as to why Barthélemy chose this model, Israel's observations are worthy of examining as he argues that institutional and religious libraries had a tendency to be "doctrinally narrow," those of the universities containing mostly works of law, theology and the classics.⁶⁰ Instead, Barthélemy adopts the model that

⁵⁷ Ibid., 3:456.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 3:462.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 119.

Israel identifies as the “universal” library following on from the ideas that Gabriel Naudé set out in his 1644 *L’Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque*. Such libraries were to have a balance of modern and ancient authors, of innovation and traditional works and have a broad range of texts covering different fields of study from natural philosophy, the arts, histories, mathematics and sciences at one’s disposal (as well as some prohibited works for good measure).⁶¹ In terms of its content Euclides’ Library is certainly worthy of the title of a *grande bibliothèque*.⁶² These *bibliothèques* of private individuals were that rare (but the majority, Israel argues) were situated in the very heart of the urban Enlightenment in Paris. While there were some in the provinces, these were much smaller and many collections ended up devolving into Parisian libraries nonetheless.⁶³ The only one of these great public libraries to have been made public was the Bibliothèque du Roi when, in 1724, it was moved to become the Bibliothèque nationale on the Rue Richelieu. Barthélemy briefly considers the Athenian public library donated by Pisistratus, but it is in the private Library of Euclides that he finds the discursive sociability for philosophical debate.

Israel claims that private libraries were the “workshops of political thought” in the early Enlightenment, but neglects to discuss their social functions.⁶⁴ The printed word acted as the great conduit through which the ideas from those in attendance at the salons and *académies* were able to disseminate their ideas to a wider public.⁶⁵

Libraries evidently had a highly significant role in the social relationships and the pursuit of status as well as the spread and acquisition of knowledge during the Enlightenment. The compositional reality and social functions of the Enlightenment libraries are surely reflected in Barthélemy’s creation of the Library of Euclides in his Athens which remains the space that so many pertinent discussions took place in. There is also something of an autobiographical element to Barthélemy’s focus on the Library of Euclides as one of the main spheres for philosophical discourse in Anacharsis. Barthélemy was a librarian for the Duc de Choiseul and was later nominated as a librarian at the Bibliothèque nationale following his release from incarceration during the revolution in

⁶¹ Ibid., 123, 127.

⁶² Ibid., *Radical Enlightenment*, 122. Such libraries were known to have contained from 40,000 to 60,000 works.

⁶³ Ibid., 127.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 119.

⁶⁵ Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 27.

1793.⁶⁶ By setting so many of these discourses in the Library of Euclides, Barthélemy reflects a personal preference for his own discursive sphere.

The Athenian Republic of Letters

Observations of Athenian politics do not occur in their physical political institutions but, instead, the unfolding of the political events during the chronological narrative of the *Anacharsis* are witnessed in an epistolary format. In this chapter Barthélemy narrates, through a series of reported letters via Apollodorus, Nicetas, and Callimedon, in Athens which paraphrase and offer commentary on Demosthenes and Aeschines speeches before the Athenian *assemblée*. In these letters Barthélemy displayed two different political perspectives: one pro-Macedonian (royalist) and the other anti-Macedonian (anti-royalist).

These letters chart the course of Athens' negotiations with Philip II between 354 BC to 343 BC, during the Third Sacred War, in which Barthélemy offers his own translation and detailed reinterpretation of Demosthenes' *Olynthiacs*, *Philippics* and *On the False Embassy*.⁶⁷ Barthélemy presents the letters from Apollodore and Nicetas to adopt a strong stance of opposition to Philip's expansionism and his tyrannical, barbarian tendencies in his treatment of the Phocians. They praise the endeavours of Phocion and Demosthenes as they rally the Athenians to oppose Philip and heavily criticise Philocrates and Aeschines for colluding with Philip in his machinations to subjugate the Greeks and Athenians. They are presented as unpatriotic to their city, self-serving and sycophantic.

Within this corpus of letters, he also includes letters from a certain Callimedon who offers a contrasting view on the character of Philip. Callimedon defends Philip's atrocities in saying, "But he is human, soft, weak but essentially good of heart," adding:

I adore Philip! He loves glory, riches, women and wine. On the throne, he is the greatest of kings; in society the most affable of men... What easiness in his character! What politeness in his manners! What taste in all that he says! What grace in all that he does!⁶⁸

In this epistolary chapter Barthélemy is, again, reinterpreting a central institution of the Republic of Letters into his representation of Athens.

⁶⁶ *Dictionnaire général*, 239.

⁶⁷ Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*, 3:246-324.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 3:269.