Introduction

Cosmopolitanism and the Enlightenment

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Whose Cosmopolitanism?

Sometime early in the seventeenth century, a native Andean named Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1530s –c. 1616) decided to write his own account of the Inca past, together with a fierce denunciation of Spanish colonialism.[1] An indigenous interpreter fluent in Quechua and erstwhile collaborator of the Spanish religious authorities, Guaman Poma had participated in the campaigns to "extirpate idolatries" in the Andean highlands. More recently, he had also, as part of a team of scribes and artists, helped illustrate the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa's *Historia General del Pirú*. The historical work that eventually emerged from Guaman Poma's hand with the title *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (and preserved today, remarkably, in a single autograph copy in the Royal Library of Denmark) was, in many ways, a reply to the work of Murúa.[2] Denouncing the entire colonial system for its fundamental injustice, Guaman Poma's work not only placed the Andean kingdom in a novel historical and moral context but also reveals with extraordinary clarity the specific mental universe of a dispossessed but literate Amerindian from Peru,

[1] For a synthetic account of Guaman Poma, see Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 21–60. For further hypotheses concerning his contacts with the civil administration, see also Alfredo Alberdi Vallejo, *El mundo está perdido. Influencias de Acuña y Arteaga en el ideario de Guamán Poma* (Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013).

[2] Among its many drawings, it even included one that depicted the friar beating an old indigenous woman while she toiled at the loom, with a caption referencing the "*mercenary* friar Morúa" who "mistreats the Indians and makes them work with a stick." Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, ed. John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste (Madrid: Historia16, 1987), 695. Guaman Poma seems to have worked on the illustrations to Murúa's chronicle in 1599–1600. Subsequently, while the Mercedarian substantially revised his work and commissioned a new set of illustrations for his new manuscript, Poma wrote his counter-chronicle, where the pre-Inca period received more attention. Both works were completed, separately, c. 1615, but neither was published at the time. For a detailed discussion, see Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, "The Making of Murúa's Historia General del Piru," in *The Getty Muruá*, ed. Thomas B. Cummins and Barbara Anderson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 7–76.

three-quarters of a century after the Spanish conquest.[3] Guaman Poma's denunciation of the entire colonial system from the perspective of a literate Andean native showcased the power of local identity and critical faculties developed far from the European metropole, as he reimagined the Inca past not only from a distinctly Andean perspective but also through a Christian version of universal history going back to Adam and Eve.

In order to portray his own worldview most effectively, Guaman Poma also resorted to a cosmographical device of European inspiration, a *mapamundi de las Indias*, where he merged European and native Andean spatial concepts to describe a continent bordered by a sea full of European symbols (see Figure I.1). Yet Guaman Poma's world remained essentially the world of the Inca: divided into four parts, each represented a different region of the imperial body, with its capital or "head" (*cabeza*) in Cuzco – a largely symbolic ordering of the four parts of the world that replicated old Inca hierarchies.[4] What is especially relevant here is that while resolutely Peruvian-centered, Guaman Poma's vision sought to encompass the wider world under a single imperial system, one headed by the Roman pope and by the Catholic Monarch, Philip III, "monarca del mundo."[5] This mixing of universal and local identities within a single depiction illustrates one of the central tenets of *Cosmopolitanism and the Enlightenment*, the fact that local and global identities need not have been incompatible but, rather, often coexisted and reinforced one another – and that this could be true of a *ladino* Indian in the colonial Andes no less than of a philosopher in eighteenth-century London, Geneva or Königsberg.

Guaman Poma's attempt to place himself within a world that had expanded radically from the world of his ancestors was an exercise that was common, and probably essential, to those who considered themselves cosmopolitans in

[3] Guaman Poma's career was in effect built upon his linguistic skills in Quechua and Spanish, although he was largely unsuccessful when seeking to uphold his claims to property and status as a member of the native elite at the courts and was treated as an impostor.

[4] *Nueva crónica*, 1076–1080. To the symbolic West (or "right" side) one found Chinchay Suyo, including Quito, New Granada, and eventually Panama; to the East (the subjective left) was Colla Suyo, with Potosi and Chile, and eventually, "Guinea" (Africa, the land of the Blacks); going north from Cuzco brought one to Anti Suyo – over the Andes, into the Amazon River basin, and after crossing unconquered territories, the Atlantic (Northern Sea); while in the South lay Conde Suyo, with the coast of southern Peru and the Pacific Ocean (Southern Sea). For a discussion, see Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: Universisty of Texas Press, 1988; 2nd ed. 2000), 89–99.

[5] Clearly influenced by the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, Guaman Poma placed the old imperial capital of the Incas, Cuzco, under the symbolic authority of a universal Christian empire, which may have reached Peru by means of the Spanish intervention, but which, in reality, was not the product of a conquest. Instead, the Indies had received Christianity from Saint Bartholomew in apostolic times, and the Inca rulers (Guaman Poma's own direct ancestors, he claimed) had willingly submitted to Charles V and to the Church. Therefore, there had been no just war, only a series of Spanish abuses of what should have been a peaceful encounter.

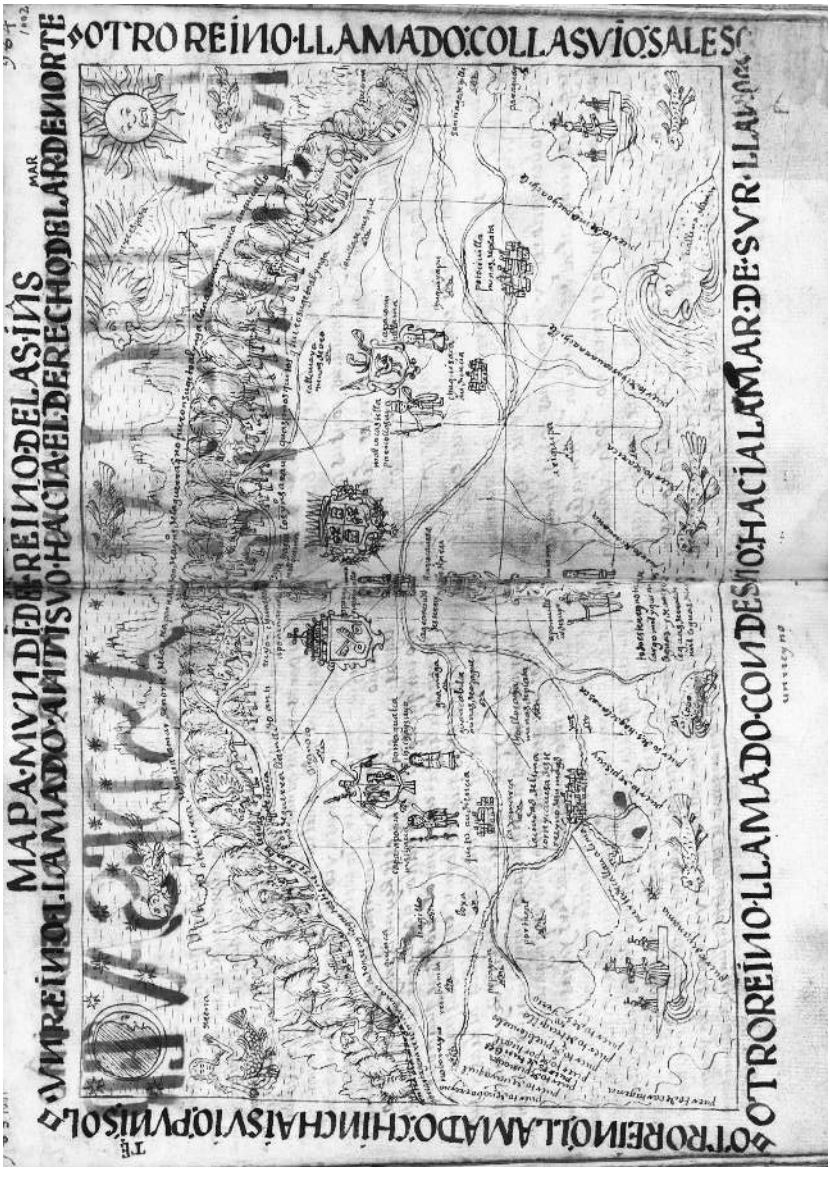

Figure I.1 "Mapamundi del reino de las Indias,"
from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Corónica y buen Gobierno*, Royal Library, Copenhagen

early modern Europe – by which we mean those who made an explicit effort to imagine themselves as members of a global human community, morally and politically. He did so within the ideological parameters of the very colonial system against which he was seeking to rebel, by denouncing injustices and claiming authority for native local elites (authentic Indians, he insisted, as opposed to *mestizos*), all in the name of a universal justice defined using the terms that the Counter Reformation Church had taught him.[6] In light of the evidence made possible by the previous century's geographical discoveries, many of Guaman Poma's contemporaries in Europe – including all those cosmographers, natural historians, and antiquarians who re-wrote universal history on an increasingly global scale – would have frowned at his geographical and historical perspective; instead, they would have felt more comfortable with Martín de Murúa's account, or especially with José de Acosta's extremely influential *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590), also conceived in Peru, remarkably sober in his scientific speculations and imbued with a sense of modernity vis-à-vis the ancient authorities.[7] Nonetheless, the point here is not simply that Guaman Poma's marginal voice would have been dismissed as ignorant (or at least overly local) by those fully trained in European cultural assumptions.[8] Rather, it is to understand that while he rejected the hypocrisy of a colonial discourse about paternalistic royal justice, the Peruvian author embraced the cosmopolitan Christian vision of a universal moral and political order, seeking to mobilize the voice of his ancestors against those of Acosta and other Spanish chroniclers.[9] Arguably, there was as much cultural bias in the strongly hierarchical and religiously exclusivist Catholic

[6] Of course, the king of Spain and the Roman Church did not de facto control the whole world – they had enemies like the Ottoman Sultan – but Guaman Poma understood that the Catholic monarchy was multinational, global in its reach, and universalistic.

[7] For an assessment of Acosta's originality, the best discussion remains Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 146–197. Acosta's text was extremely influential throughout Europe all the way to the Enlightenment.

[8] Even amateur local antiquarians who claimed that the American Indians were descendants from the biblical patriarch Ophir and from the *nayars* of South India, such as the soldier turned parish cleric Miguel Cabello Valboa, had a better chance of gaining cultural recognition than a ladino Indian who had been deprived of his lands and titles. Within very few years of the completion of Cabello Valboa's *Miscelánea Antártica* in 1586, Acosta's discussion of the origins of the peoples of the New World would define a more sensible approach to the subject, one that cast doubt on superficial ethnographic parallels with Old World peoples and the possibility of ancient navigations across the oceans.

[9] He did so consciously, by presenting his "new chronicle" as heir to the Inca tradition with the support of a series of local "testigos de vista" and setting it against a substantial list of Spanish historians of Peru that included amongst others Acosta, Cabello Valboa and (of course) Martín de Murúa, who was accused of failing to properly investigate the origins of the Incas. See Guaman Poma, *Nueva crónica*, 1161–1163. In reality, Guaman Poma often followed the very authors he sought to correct.

universalism of Acosta and Murúa as there was in attempts by ladino or mestizo writers who had accepted Christianity to rescue the Inca past from systematic denigration: whether in Guaman Poma's version or through the Platonic idealization of the Inca solar cult as a *praeparatio evangelica* in Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (Lisbon, 1609). Garcilaso's work, written in elegant Spanish by an elite mestizo writer uncommonly proud of his double heritage, was, unlike the work of Guaman Poma, remarkably influential in the European Republic of Letters and exemplifies with particular clarity how the language of Christian humanism widened the scope of a cosmopolitan historical vision beyond the confines of Europe.[10]

The example of Guaman Poma de Ayala could easily be interpreted as evidence of the penetration of European culture in a colonial setting, and hence of how an early modern process of globalization centered in Europe, by connecting different parts of the world (however unevenly) across the oceans, offered new horizons for the cosmopolitan ideals of Christian humanism.[11] As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra observes in this volume (Chapter 5), there were many Guaman Pomas in the Spanish Atlantic, "upwardly mobile urban natives whose literacy and mastery of the legalese and bureaucratic procedures of appellate courts and high courts transformed them into powerful yet ubiquitous brokers in the indigenous world" – and we could certainly find equivalent figures in the late eighteenth century, at the height of the Enlightenment.[12] However, what the present collection of essays also seeks to highlight as a necessary starting point is that all cultural traditions – even those that were isolated from one another – produce their own "maps of the world" that

[10] There were full and partial translations of the *Comentarios* in English (1625, 1688), French (1633, 1644), and German (1787). It is important to observe that Inca Garcilaso was claiming his Peruvian heritage from Spain, where he had settled. For an analysis of his European humanist library, see *La biblioteca del Inca Garciaso de la Vega* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2016).

[11] Consider an anonymous late eighteenth-century chorography of the region of El Collao – located in the altiplano near the present-day border between Bolivia and Peru – in which the region's mineral resources shared center stage with the cattle and sheep that provided clothing and other goods to the native, European, and mestizo populations. In the image, a symbolic structure held aloft by the indigenous figure in the map's lower left-hand corner shows El Collao and Madrid as two equal and interconnected components of a global commercial alliance that also includes Asia, Africa, and the rest of Europe. Without El Collao, this image seems to say, Buenos Aires, La Paz, Cuzco, and Lima would be cut off from imperial commerce, emphasizing the importance of local identity and global interconnections from the Andean perspective. For more details, including a reproduction of this manuscript map held at the William L. Clements Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan, see "Mapping the Material Wealth of Spain's American Empire, in Peter Barber, ed., *The Map Book* (New York: Walker Books, 2005).

[12] For Indian readers in colonial Peru, see Pedro M. Guibovich, "Indios y libros en el virreinato del Perú," in *Sujetos coloniales: Escritura, Identidad y Negociación en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, ed. Carlos F. Cabanillas Cárdenas (New York: Instituto de Estudios Auriseculares, 2017), 171–193.

transcend their local realities, even if often only symbolically, opening up the possibility of alternative histories of cosmopolitanism – that is, alternative ways of imagining the moral and political fellowship of mankind.[13] As a counterpoint to an inevitably Eurocentric history of the cosmopolitan ideal that follows the contours of its growing prominence from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, this volume seeks to emphasize the many forms that cosmopolitanism could take and the many distinctive locales from which it could emerge. This involves a conscious recovery of complex, sometimes unrecorded tales where local and universal perspectives intertwine and where social actors heretofore left out of the traditional (European) narratives are reinserted and used to reimagine the meanings of universal citizenship in a geographically, culturally, and linguistically diverse and multipolar world.

Whose Enlightenment?

In between the two approaches we have described – one that is primarily concerned with the "Europeanization" of the world and the global impact of its peculiar version of universalism, another that is committed to exploring the underestimated relevance of local contexts (and the potential for cultural pluralism within a cosmopolitan vision) – interpreting the legacy of the Enlightenment remains fundamental. The first intervention that this volume seeks to make is to assert that the grand narrative of Western cosmopolitanism, which continues to be invoked today when discussing globalization, moral universalism, and the international order, can only be properly interpreted by addressing the Enlightenment from a variety of perspectives. This necessitates taking account of, but also going beyond, an intellectual history approach that remains inevitably Eurocentric and which too often has failed to acknowledge a plurality of cosmopolitan discourses, within Europe and outside it. If, as has been argued, competing accounts of eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism involve disputes about the meaning of the Enlightenment, and interpretations of the Enlightenment lead, sooner or later, to varying assessments of imperialism and modernity, the stakes of this exercise are high.[14] For this reason, this volume seeks to acknowledge the work of a number of scholars who in recent decades have worked to pluralize the Enlightenment, encompassing alternative understandings of eighteenth-century social, cultural, and

[13] This is not to argue that Guaman Poma articulated a cosmopolitan ideal of "world citizenship" that could stand above all local identities, but rather that he inscribed his local political vision within the wider vision of a global moral and political community influenced by the Catholic construction of universal monarchy.

[14] Michael Scrivener, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in the Age of Revolution and Reaction, 1776–1832* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), 7.

political thought.[15] In particular, the various attempts to "provincialize" European ideas, whether disciplinarily or historically, would seem to be especially pertinent when discussing the ways in which European and non-European actors conceptualized their own place in the cosmos in relation to both the local and the universal, home and abroad. This is especially the case when such attempts to "provincialize Europe," as emphasized by Dipesh Chakrabarty, do not seek cultural relativism as their end product.[16]

And yet, pluralizing the Enlightenment after a global turn should not diminish the analytical cogency of the concept or its historical significance. In particular, when discussing cosmopolitanism, we are not suggesting that all versions of moral and political universalism are the same and equally deserve to be analyzed as parts of the same Enlightenment. The Jesuit historians of the New World are a case in point. It would not be helpful, for example, to treat the kind of moral universalism implicit in Counter Reformation Catholicism – the universalism that led José de Acosta to assume that the American Indians must have come from the Old World because the account of common human origins in Sacred Scripture cannot be denied – as a pillar of the Enlightenment. Neither would we wish to find an example of the "early Enlightenment" in the creole society of seventeenth-century Peru on the grounds that a historian like Bernabé Cobo (1580–1657) engaged in activities that are reminiscent, a century later, of a certain set of "enlightened" practices, such as carrying out natural historical inquiries with the tools of humanist antiquarianism or pursuing rational scientific endeavors that involved taking seriously native lore, while making abstraction of the fact that the same Jesuit fully participated in a moral and political vision that was Catholic, monarchical, and hierarchical, and which remained obsessed with denouncing and destroying the demonic idolatry of the natives.[17] In the same vein, we would not be comfortable

[15] One such example centered on French materials is Laurent Dubois, "An Enslaved Enlightenment: Rethinking the Intellectual History of the French Atlantic," *Social History* 31:1 (2006): 1–14. For a work particularly strong on English sources, see Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa, *Postcolonial Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). For alternative readings of the Enlightenment in the Spanish American world, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); and Bianca Premo, *The Enlightenment on Trial: Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). For a recent volume on other approaches to the Enlightenment in the context of colonial and imperial identities, see Damien Tricoire, *Enlightened Colonialism: Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[16] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 42–43.

[17] Cobo's account of Peruvian idolatry was the standard denunciation of native moral shortcomings, mental confusion, and the influence of the devil – although this analysis was also true of Old World gentiles (*Obras del Padre Bernabé Cobo*, ed. Francisco Mateos, 2 vols. [Madrid: Atlas, 1956], II, 145–149). Although elsewhere Cobo admired the Indians of Peru for their artistic skills and valued their local empirical knowledge, he also described them as particularly

analyzing Joseph-François Lafitau's great comparative treatise *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* (Paris, 1724) primarily as a precursor of modern anthropology.[18] The Jesuit Lafitau, in his capacity as historian and antiquarian comparatist concerned with analyzing the customs of gentile peoples as vestiges of an Adamic religion common to all mankind, could certainly be described as a notable participant in the Republic of Letters, one whose work was praised by fellow Jesuits such as Louis Castel, used or plagiarized by others such as François-Xavier de Charlevoix or the euhemerist Abbé Banier, read with some skepticism by Jean-Fréderic Bernard and Montesquieu, and cruelly mocked by Voltaire. However, Lafitau contributed to the construction of a "science of customs" from a fundamentally reactionary ideological position, both in terms of his pursuit of Christian apologetics (defending the evidence for *consensus gentium* among savages) against libertine thinkers such as Pierre Bayle, and in terms of the antiquarian methods and ideas that he deployed: the work of Athanasius Kircher, the interpreter of Egyptian hieroglyphs according to Hermetic and Neoplatonic principles, was Lafitau's intellectual starting point, and his symbolic anthropology remained a vehicle for a new version of *prisca theologia*.

How, then, can Enlightenment cosmopolitanism be distinguished from cosmopolitanism more generally? In particular, what did the eighteenth century add to the classical Stoic and Ciceronian traditions of philosophical cosmopolitanism, which sixteenth-century Christian humanists had subsequently appropriated in the light of the new geographical discoveries (as discussed by Rubiés in Chapter 2)? Is it possible to identify a "distinctive mental attitude" that, building upon ancient and early modern formulations of the idea of world citizenship directed by reason, became a "common denominator underlying the variety of eighteenth-century thought," as proposed by Thomas Schlereth in what remains the standard book on the topic?[19] Would, perhaps, the vague ideal of a universal fraternity (articulated through the

ignorant, gullible, and slow thinkers. Cf. Claudia Brosseder, "Bernabé Cobo's Recreation of an Authentic America in Colonial Peru," in *God in the Enlightenment*, ed. William Bulman and Robert G. Ingram (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 83–106.

[18] Anthony Pagden already noted this anachronism in *The Fall of Natural Man*. More recently, and in greater detail, Andreas Motsch, *Lafitau et l'emergence du discours ethnographique* (Paris; Quebec: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001). See also Joan-Pau Rubiés "Histoire sacrée et ethnographie comparative chez Lafitau," in *La plume et le calumet. Joseph-François Lafitau et les sauvages ameriquains*, ed. Sara Petrella and Melanie Lozat (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019), 63–81.

[19] Thomas J. Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume and Voltaire, 1694–1790* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1977), xxv. Schlereth's germane argument is that the cosmopolitan ideal of an integrated world order ruled by reason and civilization was not a creation of Enlightenment thinkers, who were in this respect the intellectual heirs to Stoics and Renaissance humanists, but that, nonetheless, they "endowed it with additional persuasion and force" because, for a

language of humanity and benevolence) suffice to define this attitude? Or should we rather emphasize the plurality of Enlightenment thought and its contradictions and limit ourselves to acknowledging that, in a context of conceptual volatility, what was new in the eighteenth century was the emergence of a metadiscourse, or conscious reflection, on the cosmopolitan ideal?[20] While we certainly would not wish to reduce the Enlightenment to a single intellectual tradition or ideological position – for instance, Spinozism and the attack on revealed religion, which was of course highly controversial – nor would we wish to argue that the Enlightenment was necessarily anti-religious (or anti-monarchical), the Enlightenment strain of cosmopolitanism nonetheless usually involved as a condition of possibility the defense of philosophical freedom, indispensable to the pursuit of *lumières*, and a critique of what was perceived to be fanaticism and superstition.[21] Similarly, while Enlightenment-era thinkers did not invent the rational pursuit of historical erudition and scientific knowledge, they did privilege a belief in the progress of secular learning geared toward public utility, catalyzed by means of the open exchange of ideas and a rejection of religious intolerance. The Enlightenment was complex and ideologically plural, but it was also distinguished by a number of issues and debates, as well as by some cultural institutions that made these debates possible. Most notable among them was the Republic of Letters, an institution open to participation from many different quarters, which, at least in theory, transcended religious and political boundaries and sought to preserve an independent "empire of truth and reason" characterized by freedom of thought, as expressed by Pierre Bayle.[22] In a world connected by the possibility of global travel but

moment, and despite many contradictions, there was amongst the international elite "a partial realization of the cosmopolis" (135).

[20] As recently proposed by Leigh T. I. Penman, *The Lost History of Cosmopolitanism: The Early Modern Origins of the Intellectual Ideal* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 106.

[21] There was of course an issue of perception of what constituted religious excess here. For example, the Jesuit order was from its creation in the sixteenth century particularly cosmopolitan, and its members in the eighteenth century thought of themselves as participating in the pursuit of rational Enlightenment within the Republic of Letters. Nonetheless, even in officially Catholic countries, they were understood by many others – prominent writers like Montesquieu and d'Alembert – as a despotic organization bent on universal dominion and a fundamental threat to freedom of thought. Anthony Pagden's notable intervention, *The Enlightenment and Why It Still Matters* (New York: Random House, 2013) has often been interpreted as placing a strong emphasis on the anti-religious aspects of the Enlightenment – hence, in his view, the Supreme Being of the philosophers was not God, the "patently absurd, grotesque" figure of the Old and New Testaments (109). For the opposite view of some fundamental continuity, see, for example, William J. Bulman, "Introduction: The Enlightenment for the culture wars," in *God in the Enlightenment*, ed. W. J. Bulman and R. G. Ingram (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1–41.

[22] Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1697, vol. II, 102, entry "Catius" (an Epicurean philosopher), note D. Bayle's definition of the Republic of Letters had a long life, with variations, and was inspirational throughout the eighteenth century.

vulnerable to the violent competition between states and empires for lack of common political institutions and divided by a plurality of languages, religions, and customs, this Republic of Letters was, arguably, also the model for realizing the cosmopolitan ideal of the moral unity of mankind through civility, friendly communication, and learning.[23] In other words, the capacity of individuals to think of themselves as citizens of the world was more than an optional moral or political ideal: it was the necessary corollary to the context of the Republic of Letters as a transnational and non-confessional institution, one that was not simply universalist in its philosophical and scientific pretensions but also, however imperfectly, in many of its cultural practices as well.[24]

This book proposes to explore the topic of cosmopolitanism and the Enlightenment from the intersection of three perspectives: the history of ideas, the new cultural history of empire and encounters, and global politics. With an eye toward interdisciplinary conversations, one of our premises is that the historical significance and continued relevance of the cosmopolitan ideal can be best interpreted if we treat these three perspectives as connected spheres of inquiry. Each of the contributions deals with one of a number of specific themes. These include the limits and foundations of universal reason, the impact of empirical ethnographies on anthropological speculation, the experience of colonial imperialism in the universalizing discourses of natural science and philosophical history, subaltern identities in colonial contexts, gender, commercial globalisation and slavery, patriotism, and civil war. Although we consider the Enlightenment to be a crucial moment for the development of these themes in the European tradition, we also underline the importance of deeper chronological perspectives that consider both the classical and early modern origins of enlightened cosmopolitanism and its more modern legacies. What is more, the essays in this collection seek to illuminate the dialectic between Eurocentric perspectives, traditionally built on an analysis of ideas about cosmopolitanism and the global order, and other perspectives that encompass extra-European geographies and colonial realities, often illuminated through the broader

[23] The cosmopolitan ideal of the Republic of Letters was not necessarily fulfilled in practice, as it had its social hierarchies, its national contexts, and its centers and peripheries. It did promote, however, the idea of detachment from national and religious bias, and this became, by itself, a distinctive "cosmopolitan" style. See Lorraine Daston, "The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment," *Science in Context* 4:2 (1991): 367–386.

[24] On the Republic of Letters as a transnational institution – and ideological construct as well as a community that often fell short of the ideal – see Hans Bots and François Waquet, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 1997); and Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters 1680–1775* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). For the cultural practices underlying the distinctive cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century, see also Margaret Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). In practice, most networks of correspondence remained overwhelmingly national as well as predominantly European, and it is hard to imagine that this could have been otherwise.