

Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert
Supplementa

Herausgegeben von der
Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung
des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts

Band 15

Das Erdbeben von Lissabon
und der Katastrophendiskurs im
18. Jahrhundert

Herausgegeben von
Gerhard Lauer und
Thorsten Unger



WALLSTEIN VERLAG

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung von



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

© Wallstein Verlag, Göttingen 2008
www.wallstein-verlag.de

Vom Verlag gesetzt aus der Adobe Garamond
Umschlaggestaltung: Basta Werbeagentur, Steffi Riemann
unter Verwendung eines Seismograms des Erdbebens vom 26.12.2004 in Sumatra,
aufgenommen vom Pennsylvania Geological Survey
(www.dcnr.state.pa.us/topogeo/hazards/sumatra.aspx)
und eines holländischen Stiches, vermutlich von Reinier Vinkeles.
Druck: Hubert & Co, Göttingen

ISBN 978-3-8353-0267-9

Inhalt

Vorwort	II
GERHARD LAUER / THORSTEN UNGER Angesichts der Katastrophe. Das Erdbeben von Lissabon und der Katastrophendiskurs im 18. Jahrhundert	13
I. Die Medialität des Ereignisses und seine geologische Rekonstruktion	
MARION EHRHARDT Ein unbekannter deutscher Augenzeugenbericht über das Seebeben vor Lissabons Küste 1755	47
MARIA MANUELA GOUVEIA DELILLE Eine Briefinszenierung über das Erdbeben von Lissabon. Die <i>Sammlung authentischer Briefe</i> , veröffentlicht im <i>Hannoverschen Magazin</i> des Jahres 1779	53
JÜRGEN WILKE Das Erdbeben von Lissabon als Medienereignis	75
MATTHIAS GEORGI Das Erdbeben von Lissabon in der englischen Publizistik	96
HANS-ULRICH SEIFERT Das Erdbeben von Lissabon in illustrierten Ausgaben von Voltaires <i>Candide</i>	110
CONSTANZE BAUM Ruinen des Augenblicks. Die bildliche Repräsentation des Erdbebens von Lissabon im Kontext eines Ruinendiskurses im 18. Jahrhundert	134

- CHRISTOPH WEBER
Glück im Unglück.
Reaktionen deutschsprachiger Autoren
auf das Erdbeben in Lissabon am 1. November 1755 148
- BERND HAMACHER
Strategien narrativen Katastrophenmanagements.
Goethe und die ›Erfindung‹ des Erdbebens von Lissabon 162
- ULRIKE ZEUCH
Goethes Sinnggebung des Erdbebens von Lissabon.
Zur Funktion der Seismos-Episode im *Faust II* 173
- ACHIM KOPF
Die geologische Ursache
des Mega-Erdbebens von Lissabon im Jahre 1755 188

II. Pope, Voltaire und die Folgen

- ODO MARQUARD
Die Krise des Optimismus
und die Geburt der Geschichtsphilosophie 205
- MARION HELLWIG
»Alles ist gut«.
Zur Bedeutung einer Theodizee-Formel
bei Pope, Voltaire und Hölderlin 216
- MONIKA GISLER
Optimismus und Theodizee.
Voltaires *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne* und seine frühe Rezeption . . 230
- EWA MAYER
Inszenierungen des Schreckens.
Voltaires Tragödienkonzept nach 1755 244
- STEFFEN DIETZSCH
Denken und Handeln nach der Katastrophe.
Pombal und Kant als Meister der Krise 258

- HANS GRAUBNER
Hamanns Auseinandersetzung mit der Theodizee
und sein Urteil über Voltaires Erschütterung 275
- JENS WOLFF
Hamanns Beben.
Die Überwindung Leibnizscher Theodizee aus Hiobs Geist 285
- WINFRIED WOESLER
Justus Möasers *Anti-Candide* als Antwort an Voltaire 309
- ESTHER BERNER
Deutungen von Naturkatastrophen im Zürich der ›Aufklärung‹.
Ausgangspunkte für Überlegungen
zum Wandel der populären Bedeutung der Straftheologie 318

III. Erzählte Naturkatastrophen

- STEFANIE AREND
Alte oder neue Katastrophendiskurse?
Seneca, Plinius, Opitz, Voltaire 337
- ALESSA JOHNS
Gender, Disaster, and the Grand Tour:
Visits to Vesuvius, 1770-1825 351
- RAUL CALZONI
»Nach dem ungeheuren Unglück, das Messina betraf«.
Das Erdbeben in Kalabrien und Sizilien von 1783
als geistesgeschichtliche Zäsur 364
- CHARLES F. WALKER
Lisbon and Lima:
A Tale of Two Cities and Two Catastrophes 377
- UWE JURAS
From Acts of God to Acts of Man:
Rationalizing and Nationalizing Catastrophe in America 392

ELENA AGAZZI

Von der *Rede des Toten Christus*bis zu den *Nachtwachen von Bonaventura*.

Apokalyptische Visionen und Skepsis

vor dem Weltzerfall in der Literatur 406

MARIA DE LURDES DAS NEVES GODINHO

Der Untergang Lissabons und die Macht des Schicksals.

Über die Darstellung eines portugiesischen Mythos in der Novelle

Das Erdbeben (1932) von Reinhold Schneider 422

IV. Die Semantik der Katastrophe in der Politik

ULRICH LÖFFLER

»Gott wollte verschonen, nun tödteten wir.«

Das Erdbeben von Lissabon und der Siebenjährige Krieg

im Spiegel protestantischer Predigt 437

ANA CRISTINA ARAÚJO

The Lisbon Earthquake and the Seven Years' War:

Public Distress and Portuguese Political Propaganda 454

MARTIN KAGEL

»Wie ein Strom, im frühen Lentz, [...] so rauscht die wilde
Schaar Athens daher«.

Kriegserfahrung und Katastrophenmetaphorik

in Ewald Christian von Kleists *Cisjides und Paches* 466

OLAF BRIESE

Militärisch, juristisch, moralisch.

Immanuel Kants wesentliche kulturelle Translation 482

CHRISTINA OBERSTEBRINK

Politische Apokalypse und Naturkatastrophe.

Die Metaphorik der französischen Revolution

in der skeptischen Kunstauffassung James Gillrays 501

MICHAEL GAMPER

Menschenmasse und Erdbeben.

Natur- und Bevölkerungskatastrophen

im 18. Jahrhundert und bei Kleist 520

V. Risiko und Katastrophe in Wissenschaften und Ökonomie

PASCAL NICKLAS

»... shudder at the description ...«.

William Stukeleys *The Philosophy of Earthquakes* (1750/1756)

und der Zuschauer im Kontext des Katastrophendiskurses 539

CHRISTIAN M. ZACHLOD

Katastrophenhilfe, Kreditwesen und Konjunktur.

Zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte

der staatlichen Feuerversicherung in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts

am Beispiel des Hochstifts Hildesheim 553

JOHANNES ENDRES

Erdbeben und Evolution.

Zur Genese adaptationistischer Kulturtheorien 575

Die Beiträgerinnen und Beiträger 596

Register 603

Ich habe einige Häuser bewohnt gefunden, sogar eine oder zwei Straßen mit offenen Kramläden; doch hat sich der grösste Theil der Einwohner in Zelten und Hütten geflüchtet, die in drey oder vier verschiedene Quartiere außerhalb der Stadt vertheilt sind, aber deren gegenseitige ziemliche Entfernung dem Handel nicht gar vortheilhaft ist.⁴⁵

Selbst wenn Frantisek Bielinskj acht Jahre nach dem Beben schreibt, dass »die Einwohner noch um ihre Familien und Freunde trauern, die durch diese plötzliche Katastrophe gestorben sind«,⁴⁶ hatte das Beben, als Hamilton Messina besichtigte, vor allem zu »sonderbaren Begebenheiten und Zufällen«⁴⁷ Gelegenheit gegeben. Zu diesen unerhörten Begebenheiten, auf die bereits Goethe in seiner Darstellung des zerstörten Messinas hinweist, gehört nach Hamilton auch das Verhalten der süditalienischen Klosterfrauen, hier beurteilt aus der Perspektive der aufgeklärten Anthropologie:

Ich kann mich nicht enthalten hier im vorbeigehen zu bemerken, dass die Klosterfrauen, die auch in Hütten leben, beständig unter der Hut und Obsicht ihrer Beichtväter in der unterliegenden Gegend Spazieren gehen. Sie schienen mir ziemlich munter, so daß ich glaube, die haben sich leicht an die angenehme Freyheit gewöhnen können, die ihnen der erzwungene Austritt aus ihrem Kloster verschafft hat. Ich hatte die nemliche Bemerkung in Ansehung der Schüler zu Reggio gemacht; so daß ich auf ein kleines Tagebuch, das ich in Eile schrieb, und wovon ich diesem unvollkommenen Bericht, den ich Ihnen schicke umgeschrieben habe, diese Anmerkung setzte: Erdbeben, den Nonnen und Schülern besonders günstig.⁴⁸

Das ist ganz der Blick des Aufklärers, der in der Katastrophe des Erdbebens von 1783 den befreienden Untergang der alten Welt vor der Aufklärung sieht.

45 Ebd., S. 47.

46 Frantisek Bielinskj: Pout-pourri, Troisième centaine, Manuskript N. 667, S. 273 (Bibliothek der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Krakow); zit. nach: Placanica, Filosofo (wie Anm. 13), S. 195.

47 Hamilton, Schreiben (wie Anm. 5), S. 47.

48 Ebd., S. 47-48.

CHARLES F. WALKER

Lisbon and Lima

A Tale of Two Cities and Two Catastrophes

In the mid-eighteenth century, a massive earthquake struck a coastal capital city built on a river. Buildings caved in as roofs, walls, towers, and bells toppled to the street. A massive wave or tsunami followed the earthquake, its surge drowning many and furthering the destruction and mayhem as the death count reached the thousands. Survivors confronted the danger of fire, disease, social upheaval, and food shortages in the following days and months. The earthquake had destroyed much of the city, from the ornate government buildings and churches to more humble residences of the poor, and crippled the active port. All residents of the city – the rich, the poor, the considerable religious community, and others – sought refuge and social distinctions had been temporarily vanished. Owners of dignified residences wore whatever they could, many forced to sell for a pittance the treasures they had recovered to purchase food. Looting began.¹

An absolutist state, however, proved itself highly capable in returning order (and social hierarchies), assuring necessities, and rebuilding the city. Its leaders envisioned a vastly different city. The disaster prompted widespread discussions about the causes or meanings of earthquakes. Many questioned the Catholic Church's insistence that it was providence, a sign of God's wrath at this sinful city. The catastrophe left a long, multilingual paper trail that ultimately crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Analysts then and now agree that it was a key historical moment, a watershed, a turning point.

This description does not refer to Lisbon but rather Lima, Peru and its nearby port Callao. The earthquake struck on the evening of October 28, 1746, Saint Simon's and St. Jude's Day, and the tsunami enveloped Callao at about 11 pm. It killed all but a few hundred of Callao's population of 6,000 or so, the survivors either miraculously floating to nearby beaches or having the great fortune of finding themselves sufficiently inland at the time of the wave. Unlike Lisbon, where fire was the great culprit, the tsunami was responsible for the majority of the deaths. Over a thousand people in the city of Lima itself perished but timing and architecture greatly reduced the num-

1 I would like to thank Professors Gerhard Lauer and Thorsten Unger for the invitation to the conference. This essay benefited from the comments of Ulrich Mücke.

ber of mortalities. A full moon illuminated that spring evening and many people were eating outside at the time of the earthquake, safe from their collapsing residences. Moreover, it almost never rains in Lima and thus the roofs were light, usually some type of thatch. When these fell, they prompted panic but generally did not kill.

The parallels in the aftermath and rebuilding phases in the two cities are stunning. Social control was an immediate problem – as it is in every major disaster, including the horrors of New Orleans – and authorities in both cities took stern measures. In the rebuilding phase, the Marquês de Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, radically altered power relations in Portugal and Lisbon's layout. He created a classic eighteenth-century absolutist city, with symbolic power pointing towards the Crown. In doing so, he weakened the aristocracy and the Church. The Jesuit Gabriel Malagrida, who derided Pombal's interpretation of the earthquake, was garroted and burnt in an auto-da-fe.² Viceroy José Manso de Velasco had a Pombalian vision, although less success in implementing this absolutist urban plan. He sought to take advantage of the disaster to remake Lima into a more rational, controllable city. The upper classes, the Catholic Church, and others, however, fought his plans energetically.

Perhaps the most interesting contrast is over the interpretation of the earthquake. Unlike Lisbon, the Lima catastrophe fortified the Church and providential interpretations dominated. Hours after the earthquake, friars walked the streets and harangued the dazed survivors to repent and recognize God's will. The following day religious processions snaked through the rubble-laden streets, invoking Santa Rosa de Lima and Peru's other saints. For more than a decade, Franciscans and others warned that the earthquake was only a warning – that further catastrophe was to follow if the citizens did not change their ways. The clerics targeted women for their wanton, liberal ways and clothing. Although Viceroy Manso de Velasco attempted to rein in the Church, enacting a moderate secularization program in the aftermath, he was a highly religious man who agreed that Lima was a profane and ostentatious city. The New World brothers and sisters of friar Malagrida of Lima were, in contrast, not silenced.

2 Thomas Downing Kendrick: *The Lisbon Earthquake*, Philadelphia, New York 1955; Kenneth Maxwell: *Pombal. Paradox of the Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1955; Russell R. Dynes: *The Lisbon earthquake of 1755. The first modern disaster*, in: *The Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Representations and reactions*. Ed. by Theodore E. D. Braun and John B. Radner, Oxford SVEC 2005: 02, pp. 34-49, on Malagrida, pp. 42-44; João Duarte Fonseca: *1755. O Terramoto de Lisboa*, Lisbon 2004. This last book indicates one contrast between Lima and Lisbon not explored here: the profusion of illustrations on Lisbon and the dearth for Lima.

Less than a decade apart, the Lima and Lisbon earthquakes offer wonderful comparisons. Of course, Lima has not received the attention that Lisbon did. Its 250th anniversary did not prompt important meetings such as that of Göttingen. The reasons are clear. Lisbon struck at the heart, or perhaps flank, of Europe and was discussed by most of the period's major figures throughout the continent. The British presence in Lisbon guaranteed its place in English discussions. It rocked Spain and northern Africa and its intellectual aftershocks reverberated throughout the continent. Voltaire's writings no doubt cemented its importance in discussions then and now about »the enlightenment«. It affected much or all of Europe and prompted debates with a brilliant cast of characters, including Voltaire, Goethe, Kant, Rousseau, Benjamin Franklin, and others.³

But the contrast should not be exaggerated – Lima was not an insignificant, overlooked and then forgotten incident. The destruction of much of Lima and the flattening of Callao, the entrepot to Spanish South America, threatened the colonial economy. Authorities in Lima communicated with nervous officials in Madrid as well as in New Granada and other viceroyalties. Zenón de Somodevilla y Bengoechea, the Marquis de Ensenada, King Philip V's key advisor on the Americas, was delighted to learn that the port and the rest of the mining-based economy were quickly back in order. He demanded that his friend Viceroy Manso y Velasco resume tax remittances as quickly as possible, vetoing exemptions to pay for reconstruction.⁴ In Peru itself, the Viceroy's rebuilding plan prompted more than a decade of debates, lawsuits, and resistance. Articles and books delved into the controversies about the price of bread, the rebuilding of convents, the place of bullfights and other key issues.⁵ And as was the case with Lisbon, the Lima earthquake gained international attention. Accounts were published in English (London and Philadelphia), Italian, Flanders, French, and, of course, Spanish (Lima, Mexico City, Seville) and many luminaries referred to the Lima earthquake.

This essay compares and contrasts Lima and Lisbon. Focusing on Lima, I pay particular attention to the contrast in rebuilding. Pombal imposed radical reforms in Lisbon yet the changes were much more moderate in Lima. The paper also delves into the weight and persistence of a religious interpretation of the calamity as God's wrath. This happened in both deeply Catho-

3 For recent overviews of the intellectual repercussions, see Theodore E. D. Braun and John B. Radner and Duarte Fonseca, chapter 8 (see note 2).

4 This correspondence is found in Archivo de Indias (Sevilla), Lima, Legajo 642; Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallaína Bueno, *Retrato de una ciudad en crisis: la sociedad limeña ante el movimiento sísmico de 1746*, Sevilla 2001, chapter 3.

5 This is the focus of my forthcoming book *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and its Long Aftermath*, Durham 2008.

lic cities but, unlike Lisbon, persisted and dominated in Lima. This is not just a matter of the power of the Church or a particular order – we will also review how people viewed the earthquake. Finally, I will examine the international interest in the Lima disaster. How did an American disaster play out or affect debates? Can the case of Lima help answer the rich questions posed by the conference organizers and others interested in disasters and the enlightenment?

I. Lima and Lisbon

In the eighteenth century, Lisbon was considerably larger than Lima, with a population calculated between 160,000 and 200,000. Lima had 50,000 and its nearby port had until the tsunami about 6,000. Nonetheless, it was Peru's most populated and important city. Lima was the absolute political and economic center of the Peruvian viceroyalty, as Potosi's silver and other products flowed through the port of Callao. The colonial state and the Catholic Church administered their activities from the city and key merchants and aristocrats resided there as well. The bastion of Spanish control in South America, it was a multi-racial city. Slaves had been shipped from Africa since the sixteenth century and Indians had also arrived, some from the sparse coastal settlements but most from the Andes. In 1700, Spaniards constituted 56 percent, blacks 22 percent, Indians 12 percent, and mulattos 10 percent. Other censuses registered mestizos and Asians, primarily from the Philippines. Almost all travelers commented on Lima's active social life and mixed population.⁶

Francisco Pizarro founded the city on the Rimac River, six miles inland from what became the port of Callao. Today the two cities run together. He built it on what had been a minor temple in a sparsely populated area. The Spanish used the grid system to create a geometrical city, most of it in the core area of nine by thirteen blocks. Across the river lay what became Rimac, a poorer neighborhood. At the symbolic center was the Plaza Mayor, renamed the Plaza de Armas in the nineteenth century, where the Cathedral, municipal palace, and the viceregal palace were built and key rituals as well as the market held. Therefore, after the destruction of 1746, reformers did not need to straighten medieval or Moorish streets, as was the case of European reformers, or unify different neighborhoods. The city continued in its checkerboard fashion, although the streets were clogged with rubble. Lima did not undergo the radical refashioning of Lisbon – it already satisfied en-

6 For overviews of colonial Lima, see Juan Günther Doering and Guillermo Lohmann Villena: *Lima*, Madrid 1992; James Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History*, Oxford 2005.

lightened notions of space and order. Yet like Lisbon (and in contrast to Turin) it was not moved or built on adjacent land but rebuilt in the same place. Leaders considered moving it to another area, perhaps farther inland. Not only did the cost discourage this reform – the Spanish were not quick to spend on their colonial cities at this point, once again at war with England – but the fear that former slaves and escaped slaves, maroons, would inhabit the ghost city petrified the elite.⁷

The late hour and light roofs of Lima's residence saved thousands of lives. In contrast, the Lisbon earthquake found many people in church on the morning of All Saint's Day, many of them crushed by tumbling towers and roofs. Most accounts put the number of dead somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000.⁸ Although difficult to tabulate, the death and destruction seems quite egalitarian, at least at first. Most houses in Lima were made of adobe and quinchá or wattle and daub. Although the elite took elaborate measures to differentiate their houses from those of the poor, painting them bright colors and adding balconies, windows, and facades, the cores were similar. While elite houses counted on more wooden frames (an expensive element that became scarce after the earthquake) and thus held up better, they also had heavier exteriors that could do more damage. The light material used in the homes of the poor masses did not resist the earthquake well but nor did it crush and kill people.

As is usually the case in disasters, this initial egalitarianism vanished quickly. The upper classes were able to find food, water, clothes and shelter through their money, goods, social prestige, and political contacts. Their houses were rebuilt quicker. For these and other reasons, they fared better in the coming months of desolation and disease. Sheltered and nourished, they withstood tertiary fever and other maladies. It is difficult, however, to describe with any detail or certitude the misery and death rate of the masses. Despite an outpouring of writing about the earthquake, ranging from thousands of pages on interest rates to ruminations on its causes, little was written about the ensuing desolation and the mourning. Life remained very difficult for months, particularly for the poor. Aftershocks and food shortages continued, animal carcasses lined the streets, and diseases ravaged. In Callao, the small group of survivors was forced to relocate to Lima until rebuilding began.

7 I develop this in Charles F. Walker: *The Upper Classes and Their Upper Stories. Architecture and the Aftermath of the Lima Earthquake of 1746*, in: *Hispanic American Historical Review* 83, 1 (2003), pp. 53-82.

8 Kenneth Maxwell: *Lisbon. The Earthquake of 1755 and Urban Recovery under the Marques de Pombal*, in: *Out of Ground Zero: Case Studies in Urban Reinvention*. Ed. by Joan Ockman, Munich 1992, pp. 20-45, quote p. 25.