



Voltaire

A Pocket Philosophical Dictionary

A new translation by John Fletcher

OXFORD WORLD'S CLASSICS

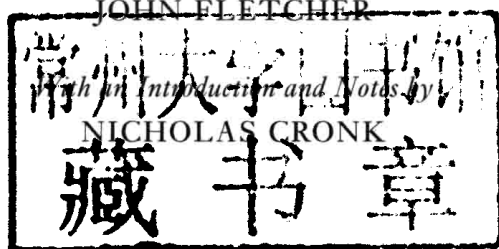
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Dictionary*

Translated by

JOHN FLETCHER



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A POCKET PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY

VOLTAIRE was the assumed name of François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778) Born into a well-to-do Parisian family, he was educated at the leading Jesuit college in Paris. Having refused to follow his father and elder brother into the legal profession he soon won widespread acclaim for *Œdipe* (1718), the first of some twenty-seven tragedies which he continued to write until the end of his life. His national epic *La Henriade* (1723) confirmed his reputation as the leading French literary figure of his generation. Following a quarrel with a worthless but influential aristocrat, the Chevalier de Rohan, he was forced into exile in England. This period (1726–8) was particularly formative, and his *Letters concerning the English Nation* (1733) constitute the first major expression of Voltaire's deism and his subsequent lifelong opposition to religious and political oppression. Following the happy years (1734–43) spent at Cirey with his mistress Mme du Châtelet in the shared pursuit of several intellectual enthusiasms, notably the work of Isaac Newton, he enjoyed a brief interval of favour at court during which he was appointed Historiographer to the King. After the death of Mme du Châtelet in 1749 he finally accepted an invitation to the court of Frederick of Prussia, but left in 1753 when life with this particular enlightened despot became intolerable. In 1755, after temporary sojourn in Colmar, he settled at Les Délices on the outskirts of Geneva. He then moved to nearby Ferney in 1759, the year *Candide* was published. Thereafter a spate of tragedies, stories, philosophical works, and polemical tracts, not to mention a huge number of letters, poured from his pen. After the death of Louis XV in 1774 he eventually returned to Paris in 1778 for the performance of his penultimate tragedy *Irène*. He was acclaimed and fêted by the entire capital as the greatest living Frenchman and as one of the most effective champions of freedom, tolerance, and common sense the world had ever seen. He died there on 30 May 1778.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- D Voltaire, *Correspondence and Related Documents*, ed. Theodore Besterman, *OCV* 85–135 (Geneva, Banbury, and Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1968–77). The letter D is followed by the number of the letter in this edition.
- OCV *Complete Works of Voltaire/Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Geneva, Banbury, and Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1968–)
- SVEC *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* (Voltaire Foundation, 1955–)

INTRODUCTION

VOLTAIRE'S *Pocket Philosophical Dictionary* (*Dictionnaire philosophique portatif*) is not a 'dictionary' (in any ordinary sense of the term), nor is it 'philosophical' (in the way we now use the word). But, crucially, it is 'portable' (*portatif*) and meant for the pocket. Voltaire wanted to write a book which would shock and which would change minds, above all he wanted to reach out to a wide readership, so portability was essential: small books are cheaper—and easier to hide if the police come looking for them. The *Pocket Philosophical Dictionary* is one of the most explosive and controversial works of the European Enlightenment; and it is also, if this all sounds rather serious, one of the funniest. It certainly tested the sense of humour of those in authority. Published anonymously in Geneva, in July 1764, the book was promptly condemned by the Paris *parlement* and ceremonially burned by the public executioner in Geneva. It was also placed on the Index of books prohibited by the Catholic Church, where it remained until the Index was abolished in 1966. Voltaire's critique of the Bible and of Christian faith was certainly shocking—some believers still find it shocking—but many of the ideas he expresses in the work were commonplace in clandestine literature of the time. Why then did the book cause such an enormous storm from the moment of its first publication?

The Patriarch of Ferney

In 1764, Voltaire was 70 years of age, and the most famous living writer, not just in France, but in all of Europe. He was a living legend, a monument to be visited by gentlemen travellers on the Grand Tour.¹ Voltaire was also, at last, established, if not quite secure, in his imposing house; it had not always been so. His life until then had been full of incident and scandal, for he had a lifelong talent for upsetting people. Born in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century, as a young man he knew the Paris of the Regency and imbibed its spirit of libertine freethinking. But he went too far, and was exiled from Paris, then put in the Bastille on more than one occasion. He visited Holland as

¹ See the Appendix, 'Two Portraits of Voltaire in 1764'.

a young man, then spent two formative years in England (1726–8), an experience which led to one of his early masterpieces in prose, the *Letters concerning the English Nation* (1733). Later, with his companion Mme Du Châtelet, he would spend many years (1734–43) at Cirey in eastern France, and after her death he travelled to the court at Potsdam as the guest of Frederick the Great. When he left Berlin in 1753, he was almost a refugee, welcome neither in Berlin nor in Paris. He moved to Protestant Switzerland in 1755, living in Lausanne and Geneva, but eventually even this idyll faded: the Protestant pastors turned out to be as intolerant as their Catholic counterparts. In 1760 Voltaire moved into a château at Ferney in France, near Geneva, and it was here that he would remain for the remainder of his long life; he left only in 1778 to travel to Paris, where he died.

Voltaire was famous from an early age, and famously outspoken; his challenge was always to find a position of authority from which to speak. He was not welcome at the court of Versailles, he was no longer welcome at the court of Potsdam, and the image of the itinerant philosopher did not suit him in the way it suited Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Ferney was therefore the perfect solution. It was only just on French soil. After years of being abroad, Voltaire could now proudly boast that he lived in France (and he reacted strongly when it was suggested he was in exile). But the little village of Ferney lay hidden behind the Alps, very remote from Paris and the centres of power whom he continued to annoy. Ferney was close to the border with the Protestant republic of Geneva, a centre of commerce and culture, and crucially a city with thriving printers and publishers. Within the tiny village of Ferney—nowadays called Ferney-Voltaire in his honour—Voltaire was lord of the manor, enjoying seigneurial rights. He had considerable personal wealth, and relished the independence which that gave him; he was a generous host to his numerous visitors (many of them English), and they never failed to comment on his luxurious lifestyle.

After so many years of searching for stability, it was at Ferney that Voltaire's authorial voice finally became anchored, and after 1760 he acquired a new authorial posture, that of 'the patriarch of Ferney'.² His writing changed and developed in a new direction. Had he died

² See N. Cronk, 'Voltaire and the 1760s: The Rule of the Patriarch', in N. Cronk (ed.), *Voltaire and the 1760s: Essays for John Renwick*, *SVEC* 2008: 10, pp. 9–21.

in 1760, Voltaire would be remembered as a great poet and dramatist whose career had reached a climax with the publication of his novel *Candide* in 1759. The reputation that Voltaire enjoys today, as the ironist who campaigned relentlessly for liberty and freedom against the forces of intolerance, was forged essentially in the course of the 1760s. W. H. Barber sums up in this way:

By 1760, one can see coming together all the main factors needed to give Voltaire the power to make a serious impact on public opinion, in France and even further afield, on any issue of political or social significance which he felt moved to take up. He was rich; he lived virtually beyond the reach of potentially oppressive governments but nevertheless at the crossroads of Europe; he was visited near Geneva by travellers of note from every country; he was famous everywhere as a major dramatist, poet, historian, freethinker, and wit. Nothing that he wrote could fail to attract public attention, and he was convinced that action to improve the human lot was both necessary and possible.³

Voltaire's political involvement grew in this period, and he even invented a campaign slogan: in many of the letters written at this time he signs off with the cryptic 'Ecr: L'inf'. *Écrasez l'Infâme* became Voltaire's rallying-cry, and it is not easy to translate: it means something like 'Crush the despicable', *l'Infâme* referring to the infamy of Catholic bigotry, intolerance, and stupidity. Voltaire was not growing old gracefully. As Mme Denis wrote to Voltaire's old friend Cideville in 1759, 'His petulance grows with age' (D8341). From the beginning, Voltaire had argued robustly for religious toleration. He made his reputation with his epic poem *La Henriade* which describes how France had been torn apart in the civil wars of the sixteenth century and how the conflict between Catholics and Protestants had finally been resolved by the statesmanship of Henri de Navarre who became king of France as Henri IV. In his *Letters concerning the English Nation*, Voltaire had proclaimed England as a country of toleration where different religions lived side by side in harmony. In a famous passage, inspired by Addison's *Spectator*, Voltaire had sung the praises of the Royal Exchange where traders came to make their deals: trade and commerce bring men of different cultures together, he seems to say, where religion needlessly divides them. The basic principles of

³ W. H. Barber, 'Voltaire: Art, Thought, and Action', *Modern Language Review*, 88 (1993), p. xxxvi.

Voltaire's toleration did not change, but after 1760 they acquired new urgency as he applied them to specific cases.

The Malagrida and Calas affairs

In October 1761, Voltaire read in the *Gazette de France* about an auto-da-fé which had occurred in Lisbon the previous month, in which the Inquisition had executed some forty-odd people, including an elderly Jesuit, Father Malagrida. Voltaire had no reason to want to defend a Jesuit—especially a Jesuit who had become famous for arguing that the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 was God's judgement on man—but the spectacle of the Inquisition putting one of their own to death piqued his curiosity. Voltaire tried hard to find out more details of the case, which was a complicated affair: unable to find Malagrida guilty of attempted regicide, the court had eventually condemned the Jesuit instead for heresy, on the basis of extremely flimsy, even ludicrous, evidence. There were evidently political ramifications which Voltaire could not have fully known but which he suspected: in reality Malagrida was guilty of being an opponent of the prime minister, the future marquis de Pombal, who feared the growing influence of the Jesuits at the court of Joseph I. Whatever the precise facts, it is clear that Voltaire found the burning of Malagrida an excessive punishment, and the justification given for it utterly absurd—as fantastic and fanatical as anything in *Candide*. As Voltaire wrote to his Paris friends, the d'Argentals: 'Another auto-da-fé! In this century! What will *Candide* say?' (D10090). This was life imitating art. In late 1761, Voltaire published a fifteen-page brochure about the Malagrida affair, the *Sermon du rabbin Akib* (*Sermon of the Rabbi Akib*), in which he adopted the voice of a Jew in order to lament the cruelty inflicted by Catholics on one another. Voltaire's 'Jewish' speaker makes clear that intolerance is an invention of the Christians.

The 'Malagrida affair' was an important turning point. An event in far-off Lisbon became known to Voltaire at Ferney; it grew into a 'news story' thanks to the efficiency of the eighteenth-century press, and to the appetite of the reading public. Voltaire quickly grasped the polemical (and comic) potential of the story of one group of Catholics using, for their own political reasons, trumped-up charges and a faulty judicial process to execute a fellow group of Catholics. Not only was the question of religious faith put into question by these events, so

were the due processes of the legal system and civil society: the laws should protect man, even a Jesuit, from injustice, not aid and abet the intolerant and the bigoted. And Voltaire learned something too about the power of the press to sway public opinion. His magnificently ironical *Sermon du rabbin Akib* was an instant success, and the work was widely distributed, even in England, where it appeared many times in the press.⁴ Pombal, anxious to project a positive 'Enlightened' image of Portugal in Europe, and concerned about public opinion, published the sentence against Malagrida, and a justification for it, in French translation. But it was too late: Malagrida had achieved fame across Europe as a victim of the Inquisition, and moreover Voltaire's name was linked indissolubly to his cause. From Pombal's point of view, the publicity war was lost in advance; Voltaire was victorious.

The 'Malagrida affair' paved the way for the better remembered Calas affair. The cruel execution of Malagrida had taken place in a foreign country, and it did, in Voltaire's portrayal at least, have a comic side. The Calas affair was closer to home, and it was not amusing at all. The Calas family were Protestant merchants who lived in Toulouse. In October 1761, one of the sons of the family was found dead. The authorities moved quickly and decided on scant evidence that he had been murdered by his father. In March 1762 Jean Calas was tortured and then broken on the wheel in front of a crowd in the place Saint-Georges in Toulouse. From start to finish, proper judicial process was ignored, and there was a strong suspicion that the Catholic judges were motivated by religious prejudice. Voltaire was outraged: he made contact with Jean Calas's widow, and began to publish a series of writings proclaiming the executed man's innocence. This grew into a more general plea for religious toleration, culminating in the publication in 1763 of the *Traité sur la tolérance* (*Treatise on Toleration*). In June 1764—just weeks before the publication of the *Pocket Philosophical Dictionary*—the privy council in Paris overruled completely the judgements of the Toulouse courts; finally in 1765, three years after the death sentence pronounced on Jean Calas, all members of the family were declared innocent. It was an enormous victory for Voltaire, who was remembered thereafter as 'l'homme aux Calas'. Even Diderot, who did not always find Voltaire

⁴ See Antonio Gurrado's introduction to his critical edition of the *Sermon du rabbin Akib*, OCV 52.

easy to like, was full of praise, writing to his mistress Sophie Volland: 'What a good use of genius! . . . If ever Christ existed, I can assure you that Voltaire would be saved.' Voltaire's campaigns of the 1760s against judicial incompetence and in favour of religious tolerance would continue throughout the 1760s, and would shape definitively the image of Voltaire which has passed to posterity.

To return to 1764: the patriarch Voltaire had attained the biblical 'threescore years and ten' and he was not of a retiring nature. He had published his *Traité sur la tolérance* in which he reaffirmed the importance of toleration, and now he wanted to focus more forcefully on the sources of intolerance: religious bigotry. He was angry. Moreover, thanks to the Malagrida and then the Calas affairs, he had learnt about the power of public opinion, and he was clearly thinking about how he could put this power to use. In 1763, in his *Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur les mœurs*, he spoke of the 'power of opinion', and the idea resurfaced in his tragedy *Olympie* (1764): 'L'opinion fait tout; elle t'a condamné' ('Opinion is all-powerful; it has condemned you'). Again in 1764, Voltaire wrote: 'Opinion rules the world, but in the long run it is the philosophers who shape opinion.' It was in these circumstances that Voltaire turned (back) to his *Pocket Philosophical Dictionary*.

A Pocket Philosophical Dictionary

The project for this book was not a new one, it went back to his years at the court of Frederick the Great. In 1752 there had been talk of a collective alphabetical work aimed at fighting prejudice and fanaticism. Frederick was to be the patron of the project, and it seems that Voltaire duly sketched out the first articles in suitably aggressive and anticlerical style. His departure from Berlin brought this work to a sudden halt, and Voltaire then busied himself with other books. But he had clearly returned to the *Dictionary* by early 1760, when he told Mme Du Deffand that he was planning a 'dictionary of ideas': 'I am absorbed in making a reckoning for myself, in alphabetical order, of everything that I must think about this world and the next, all of it for my personal use, and perhaps, after my death, for the use of respectable people' (D8764). Later that year he sent her the article 'Ezekiel', then in 1762 he sent part of 'Moses' to Damilaville and Diderot. We can infer that after publishing his *Traité sur la tolérance* he decided it

was time to confront *l'Infâme* head-on. In June 1763, he wrote to the d'Argentals:

The time has come when my blood is boiling, the time has come to do something. I must hurry, age is advancing. There's not a moment to lose. They make me act the big tragic roles to amuse our children and our Genevans. But it's not enough to be an old actor. I am and I must be an old author, for you have to live out your destiny until the last moment. (D11283)

The publication of the *Pocket Philosophical Dictionary* caused a storm as great as Voltaire had feared (and hoped). He wrote much in his letters about fearing for his personal safety, and even if we make allowances for a certain sense of theatre, he undoubtedly felt uncomfortable. Voltaire had attacked the enemy head-on and knew they would be remorseless. But Voltaire was the better writer, and there now ensued the most extraordinary campaign of letter-writing in which Voltaire announced to all the world that, of course, he knew nothing at all about this new book. To Damilaville, his confidential friend in Paris, Voltaire wrote in July 1764: 'God preserve me, my dear brother, from having anything to do with the *Pocket Philosophical Dictionary*! I have read some of it: it reeks horribly of heresy'—and then Voltaire added 'But since you are curious about these irreligious works and keen to refute them, I'll look out a few copies, and send them to you at the first opportunity' (D11978). There, in a nutshell, was Voltaire's publicity campaign. The book was banned in Paris, so Voltaire was promising Damilaville to send him some copies which he could circulate in the capital; and at the same time, there were a few choice sentences of denial which Damilaville could read out on any appropriate occasion. In fact, Voltaire used a range of defensive strategies.

To begin with, he could simply deny. To d'Alembert in Paris, 'I beg you to declare that I have no part in the *Pocket Dictionary*' (D12073). No matter that d'Alembert knew perfectly he was the author: his role was simply to repeat the lie. A second strategy was to suggest that the true author was a certain theology student called 'Dubut'. This tactic was not an unqualified success: Voltaire calls him young in one letter, and old in the next, and he can't quite get the name right, hesitating between Dubut, Dubu, Desbutes . . . And a third strategy was to suggest that the *Dictionary* was a collective work, thereby minimizing the significance of his own particular contribution. Again to d'Alembert

he wrote: 'This collection is the work of several hands as you will have easily noticed. People insist with amazing fury on believing me to be the author' (D12090). Voltaire's desire to invent stories at moments got the better of him: not only was his participation in the *Dictionary* part of a collective enterprise, he suggested, but he became involved merely to help a large family who were in need (D12137)—the pathos was not persuasive and this version was soon dropped. The most effective lies were the simplest, and Voltaire fell back on the notion of a collective work: to any number of correspondents in the autumn of 1764, Voltaire repeated that this work was by several authors, even 'a collection of pieces already known taken from different writers' (D12159). Better still, the work was by 'a society of men of letters', a phrase which echoes the title page of the *Encyclopédie* which had begun to appear in 1751. So he could reassure a correspondent in December 1764: 'It is certain that the *Portatif* is not by me, and that this work is by a society of men of letters who are well known abroad' (D12266). This fiction, in being so often repeated, began to acquire an aura of truth, or at least of familiarity. The first English translation of the *Dictionary* appeared promptly in 1765, and its title is interesting: *The Philosophical Dictionary for the Pocket. Written in French by a society of men of letters, and translated into English [. . .], corrected by the authors*. The English translator seems to have been taken in by Voltaire's protestations; or perhaps he too found the notion of collective authorship a convenient fig leaf when publishing what was a controversial work even in England.

This whole comedy of denial was something of a fixture in Voltaire's comic repertoire—he had stage-managed something similar after the publication of the equally anonymous *Candide* in 1759. But it did have a serious side too. Voltaire had published his book anonymously, and the authorities, in order to prosecute him, would have needed proof that he was the author. Everyone knew that Voltaire was the author, but so long as they had no absolute *proof*, then he was safe from prosecution. Anonymity was a perfectly respectable, and legally sensible, means of publishing a dangerous work. Only Jean-Jacques Rousseau thought it improper to refuse to sign your name on a title page; and needless to say, Voltaire thought Rousseau's scruples ridiculous. But Voltaire's insistent claims that the *Dictionary* was a collective work are intriguing in so far as they contain a tiny grain of truth, to which we will return.

One theme dominates everything else in the *Dictionary*: the critique

of the Bible. Beginning with 'Abraham', Voltaire opens *in medias res* with an attack on the whole biblical tradition, as the patriarch of Ferney goes head to head with Abraham the first patriarch of Israel. In the Qur'an, Islam is referred to as 'the religion of Abraham', so to begin with the person seen as a founding figure of not just one but two faiths is a bold opening: from the outset, Christianity's claim to uniqueness is relativized. Voltaire's particular focus is on the Old Testament: he shows that the world view which it presents, far from being inspired by God, derives from earlier pagan structures of myth; it paints a picture of God which is absurd and cruel, and expounds views that are repugnant, even immoral. This is a world view at odds with the findings of modern science, and moreover one which is incoherent and contradictory, a work of fiction in fact. This critique of the Judaeo-Christian tradition was widely shared by the freethinkers of the Enlightenment, but none of the other *philosophes* could rival Voltaire's learning in the subject. He knew the enemy better than anyone else, and writes with a depth of historical knowledge (even if he presents it tendentiously) which cannot fail to impress, at times intimidate, the reader. Voltaire is gentler with the New Testament; he may not have fully shared its spiritual values, but he was in sympathy with its ethical core. Throughout, Voltaire 'desacralizes' religious faith, subjecting it to the pragmatic test of how it helps mankind. So in the article 'Baptism', he considers the sacrament as an image: 'In itself, any sign is immaterial: God attaches his grace to the sign he is pleased to choose'—in other words, claims to transcendence are circular and meaningless. What matters is practical, ethical action: 'Philosophy'—by which he means reasoned reflection—'brings peace to the soul' (article 'Fanaticism'). Alongside the articles on religion, a smaller but important subset deals with philosophy (including 'Good, Sovereign Good', 'All is Good', 'Great Chain of Being', 'Great Chain of Events', 'On Free Will', 'End. Final Causes', 'Sensation'). Politics is touched on (for example 'States, Governments', 'Tyranny', 'War'), the rights of man ('Equality'), and justice ('Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws')—this last theme will acquire more importance in future revisions. And finally, perhaps surprisingly, we find a couple of articles on aesthetic topics ('Beauty', 'Criticism').⁵ Taken as a whole, then,

⁵ See N. Cronk, 'L'Article "Critique" et la présence de la poésie dans le *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif*', *Méthode!*, 14 (2009), 155–60.

Voltaire offers us in parallel a critique of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and an alternative system of belief grounded in reason. All mankind can acknowledge a Supreme Being, who created the universe and who punishes evil. What more do we need? All that matters for Voltaire is the practical effect of this belief: the happiness of individuals, prospering in a tolerant society. The individual exercise of critical reason is essential to this world view—and this perhaps explains the otherwise puzzling inclusion in the work of articles dealing with beauty and literary criticism. Article after article makes reference to the Supreme Being, and yet there is no article ‘Deism’—for the simple reason that Deism is at the core of the whole edifice of the *Dictionary*.

The reader is immediately struck by the form of this work. The eighteenth century was a great age of dictionaries, and two particular models stand out. The first is Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697), a pioneering expression of scepticism that exercised an enormous influence on the thinkers of the French Enlightenment. Some of Voltaire’s articles in the *Dictionary*, beginning with the first, ‘Abraham’, draw much of their material from Bayle. The second model is the great *Encyclopédie* edited by Diderot and d’Alembert, which had as its ambitious purpose to gather together knowledge on all subjects, filtered through a ‘philosophical’ (Enlightened) viewpoint. Voltaire’s response to the *Encyclopédie* is complex. First, there are personal considerations. The earliest volumes had begun to appear from 1751, when Voltaire was with Frederick in Germany, and it was only in 1754 that d’Alembert invited Voltaire to become a collaborator; his first articles appeared in volume 5 (1755), and even then d’Alembert would only entrust him with articles of a safe nature, like ‘Taste’, ‘Genius’, or ‘History’. Voltaire repeatedly dropped hints that he would like to tackle a meatier philosophical topic, but d’Alembert—or was it Diderot?—was clearly not keen on his closer involvement. Voltaire remained a prominent contributor (author of some forty-five articles in all), but one confined to non-controversial articles, which was not a position that suited him. After the appearance of volume 7 in 1757, the publication of the *Encyclopédie* was halted by the authorities; Diderot was unwilling to accept Voltaire’s suggestion that publication could continue abroad, and the project seemed blocked for the foreseeable future; the following year Voltaire decided to cease his collaboration. Secondly, Voltaire was always attuned to

questions of readership, and readership was determined by the price of books. The *Encyclopédie* was an enormously costly enterprise, and Voltaire poked fun at the notion that books so expensive could ever be thought dangerous: 'The king justified his confiscation: he had been warned that the twenty-one folio volumes that were to be found on the dressing-table of every lady were the most dangerous thing in the world for the kingdom of France.' Writing to d'Alembert about the *Encyclopédie* in April 1766, Voltaire is trenchant on the relationship between price and readership:

I should really like to know what harm can be caused by a book costing a hundred *écus*. Twenty in-folio volumes will never cause a revolution; it's the little pocket books at thirty *sous* you have to be wary of. If the gospels had cost 1,200 sesterces, the Christian religion would never have got off the ground. (D13235)

Thirdly, Voltaire had misgivings about the intimidating scale of the encyclopedic project. The very drive for completeness implicit in the enterprise inhibited not just the volume's portability but its polemical thrust. Voltaire undoubtedly admired such articles as Deleyre's 'Fanatisme' ('Fanaticism', 1756) or Diderot's 'Intolérance' ('Intolerance'), which would appear in 1765. But they are buried in a mass of other articles less interesting and less well written, and Voltaire was highly critical of certain long, verbose, and sometimes poorly written articles. His own strong preference was always for prose which was brief and incisive.

The *Encyclopédie* came to a halt, as we have seen, in 1757 at the letter 'G', so when Voltaire published his own *Pocket Philosophical Dictionary* in 1764, no one knew when or if the *Encyclopédie* would ever be completed (in the event, the remaining volumes 8–17 were published all together in December 1765). The article 'Idol, idolater, idolatry' Voltaire had written for the *Encyclopédie*, and he redeployed it in the *Dictionary*. In a letter to d'Argental (D12155), Voltaire suggests that other articles ('Love', 'Self-Love', 'Love Called Socratic Love', 'Friendship') had also originally been destined for the *Encyclopédie*, but this does not seem altogether persuasive. What is clearly the case, however, is that in some articles in the *Dictionary*, Voltaire is in dialogue with articles in the *Encyclopédie*. This can be explicit, as when at the end of 'Certain, Certainty', a footnote refers the reader directly to the article on the same subject in the *Encyclopédie*. In other cases,