

剑桥政治思想史原著系列（影印本）

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

忒勒马克斯

Telemachus

Fénelon

费内隆

Edited by

PATRICK

RILEY

中国政法大学出版社

弗朗西斯·德·费内隆

FRANCOIS DE FENELON

忒勒马克斯

*Telemachus , son of
Ulysses*

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CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT



FRANCOIS DE FENELON
Telemachus, son of Ulysses

Fénelon's *Telemachus* (1699) is, alongside Bossuet's *Politics*, the most important work of political theory of the *grand siècle* in France. It was also the most widely read work of the time, influencing Montesquieu and Rousseau in its attempt to combine monarchism with republican virtues. Fénelon tells of the moral and political education of Telemachus, young son of Ulysses, by his tutor Mentor (the goddess Minerva in disguise). Telemachus visits every corner of the Mediterranean world and learns patience, courage, modesty, and simplicity, being the qualities he will need when he succeeds Ulysses as king of Ithaca. It is the story of the transformation of an egoistic young man into a model ruler, and is meant (among other things) as a commentary on the bellicosity and luxuriousness of Louis XIV.

剑桥政治思想史原著系列

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在政治理论领域，“剑桥政治思想史原著系列”作为主要的学生教科丛书，如今已牢固确立了其地位。本丛书旨在使学生能够获得从古希腊到 20 世纪初期西方政治思想史方面所有最为重要的原著。它囊括了所有著名的经典原著，但与此同时，它又扩展了传统的评价尺度，以便能够纳入范围广泛、不那么出名的作品。而在此之前，这些作品中有许多从未有过现代英文版本可资利用。只要可能，所选原著都会以完整而不删节的形式出版，其中的译作则是专门为本丛书的目的而安排。每一本书都有一个评论性的导言，加上历史年表、生平梗概、进一步阅读指南，以及必要的词汇表和原文注解。本丛书的最终目的是，为西方政治思想的整个发展脉络提供一个清晰的轮廓。

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CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

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In Memoriam
Judith N. Shklar
1928–1992

Le fruit de l'amitié est dans l'amitié même
(Fénelon, after Cicero)

Acknowledgments

Fénelon died, prematurely, in his sixty-fourth year; my dear friend and revered teacher Judith Shklar died at that same age in September 1992. For thirty years I was the beneficiary of her kindness and her knowledge; much of her encyclopedic wisdom is preserved in her writings, and her generous largeness of spirit will remain with me as long as I live and remember. The greatest Rousseau scholar of the age, she captured more of the Fénelon–Rousseau *rapport* in three pages of *Men and Citizens* than one can find in many a full-length study. By convention the Enlightenment ends with Hegel; in reality it was preserved in her ardent defense of the humane values of Locke, Montesquieu, and Kant. Her disinterested affection for Fénelon sustained me while I labored on this edition of *Telemachus*; now it is dedicated to the memory of a great scholar and devoted friend.

There are others to thank as well. Quentin Skinner kindly encouraged my version of *Télémaque* for Cambridge, as he earlier supported my edition of Bossuet's *Politics from Scripture*; John Rawls generously wrote on my behalf to make *des recherches féneloniennes* possible; the National Endowment for the Humanities (Washington) liberally underwrote my efforts; the Maison Française (Oxford University) provided a congenial atmosphere for the study of Fénelon's writings; and I must not forget that the late George A. Kelly (who died in 1987) warmly urged me to undertake the first English version of *Télémaque* since the 1770s. My debt to him is ongoing and permanent, as is my affection for his memory.

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As always, my whole scholarly life is made possible by the constant help of my wife, Joan A. Riley; and to my son, Dr John Riley (Christ Church, Oxford) I am indebted for valuable aid in interpreting Cicero's *De Amicitia*.

Patrick Riley

Spring 1993

(The 300th Anniversary of the composition of *Télémaque*.)

Introduction

I

François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon was born in Périgord in 1651, the son of an aristocratic provincial family which was distinguished but threadbare.¹ Ordained a priest in 1675, he was within three years given an important ministry in the Church – that of spiritual guide to the “New Catholics” (ex-Huguenots) in northern France.² This ministry lasted for a decade (1678–88), and was crowned by the publication of the treatise *On the Education of Girls* (1687), which first revealed Fénelon’s classicizing taste for the ancient pastoral simplicity depicted by Virgil in the *Aeneid* and *Georgics*.³ By this time the Abbé Fénelon had caught the eye of Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux and the most powerful French ecclesiastic of the *grand siècle*: for him Fénelon produced his *Réfutation de Malebranche* (c. 1687/8), which attacked Malebranche’s notion of a “Cartesian” *Providence générale* operating through simple, constant, universal laws, and sustained Bossuet’s notion (outlined in the *Histoire universelle*) of a *Providence particulière* which had furnished David and Solomon to ancient Israel and Louis XIV to modern France.⁴ In 1689 he was

¹ See Ely Carcassonne, *Fénelon, l’homme et l’œuvre* (Paris: Boivin, 1946), ch. 1, and (above all), Jeanne-Lydie Goré, *L’itinéraire de Fénelon: humanisme et spiritualité* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), pp. 33ff. See also M. Aimé-Martin, “Etudes sur la vie de Fénelon,” in *Oeuvres de Fénelon* (Paris: Chez Lefèvre, 1835), Vol. 1, pp. iiiif.

² Jacques Lamaison, “Introduction” to *Télémaque* (Paris: Editions Larousse, 1934), p. 6.

³ J. H. Davis, *Fénelon* (Boston: Hall and Co., 1979), p. 113.

⁴ On the (brief) Bossuet-Fénelon alliance *contra* Malebranche, see particularly Henri Gouhier’s splendid *Fénelon philosophe* (Paris: Librairie Vrin, 1977), pp. 33ff. See also Patrick Riley, *The General Will before Rousseau* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

named tutor to Louis's grandson, the duc de Bourgogne (1682–1712);⁵ and it was for his royal pupil that he was soon to write *Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse* (c. 1693–4) and the *Dialogues of the Dead*. Rhetorically the high point of Fénelon's "court" period was his speech on being received into the Académie Française (1693), with its fulsome praise of the Sun King.⁶ The archbishopric of Cambrai followed in 1695, carrying with it the titles of duke and prince of the Holy Roman Empire.⁷

But in the late 1680s Fénelon had also become deeply interested in the quietistic notion of a "disinterested love of God" free of hope for personal happiness – a disinterested interest fanned by the mystical pieties of his friend Mme Guyon.⁸ His insistence that one must "go out of oneself" (*sortir de soi*), even "hate oneself" (*se haïr*), finally yielded the *Maxims of the Saints on the Inner Life* (1697) – a work in which Fénelon argued for five degrees of "purity" or "disinterestedness" in human love of God. At the lowest end of the scale one finds the love of God, not for himself but for "the goods which depend on his power and which one hopes to obtain"; this Fénelon contemptuously calls "purely servile love." One small notch above this Fénelon places loving God, not for "goods" which he can provide but as the "instrument" of our salvation: even this "higher" love, however, is still "at the level of self-love." At the third and fourth levels Fénelon finds a mixture of self-love and true love of God: but what really interests him is the fifth and highest degree, the "pure love" of God that one finds only in "saints": "One can love God," Fénelon urges, "from a love which is pure charity, and without the slightest mixture of self-interested motivation." In such a love, Fénelon adds, neither the "fear of punishment" nor the "hope of reward" plays any part at all.⁹ As is well known, Bossuet and others – including

1986), ch. 2. For the *Réfutation* itself, see Fénelon, *Oeuvres de Fénelon* (Paris: Chez Lefèvre, 1835), Vol. II, pp. 232ff.

⁵ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, Book I, cited in Paul Janet, *Fénelon: His Life and Works*, trans. Victor Lenlette (London: 1941), ch. 3, "Fénelon as tutor", pp. 41ff.

⁶ For the text of Fénelon's reception-address, see *Oeuvres de Fénelon* (1835 edn), Vol. III, pp. 210–13: "Travaillez donc tous à l'envie, messieurs, pour célébrer un si beau regne."

⁷ Goré, *L'itinéraire de Fénelon*, pp. 454ff.

⁸ See Louis Cognet, *Le crépuscule des mystiques: le conflit Fénelon-Bossuet* (Tournai: Desclée, 1958), *passim*.

⁹ Fénelon, *Explication des maximes des saints*, critical edn. of Albert Cherel (Paris: Librairie Bloud, 1911), pp. 118–30.

Malebranche, in his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*¹⁰ – argued that Fénelon's "disinterested" love excluded all hope of salvation, as well as all fear of justified punishment, and thus subverted Christianity; Fénelon's work was finally placed on the Index of banned books in March 1699. In this condemnation the prime mover was Bossuet, now Fénelon's greatest detractor: "To detach oneself from himself to the point of no longer desiring to be happy, is an error which neither nature, nor grace, nor reason, nor faith can suffer."¹¹

A month later *Télémaque* was printed, without Fénelon's permission, through "the infidelity of a copyist."¹² Louis XIV had already banished the "chimerical" Fénelon to his Cambrai diocese in 1697, and with the double disaster of 1699 – condemnation by Rome followed (within a few weeks) by publication of the "Homeric" novel which Louis considered an attack on his faults – Fénelon was divested of his pension and of his tutorship to the duc de Bourgogne. He never set foot in Versailles, or even Paris, again.¹³

With the premature death in 1712 of the duc de Bourgogne, whom Fénelon had carefully educated to be an enlightened successor to his grandfather, Fénelon's hopes for a renewed France collapsed like "a house of cards." His *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu* (1713) was a work of pure theology;¹⁴ indeed, had Fénelon not been a royal tutor for ten years, *Télémaque* and the *Dialogues of the Dead* would almost certainly never have come into existence. Conscientiously administering his half-Flemish diocese even as Louis XIV made perpetual war on its borders, constantly engaging in a wide-ranging correspondence as spiritual counselor, Fénelon died, prematurely worn out, in January 1715.¹⁵ To this day many French Fénelonians view the archbishop of Cambrai as a saint

¹⁰ Malebranche, *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. A. Robinet (Paris: Librairie Vrin, 1963), Vol. xiv, pp. 7ff.

¹¹ Bossuet, "Avertissement" to *Quatre écrits sur les maximes des saints*, cited by Michel Terestchenko in "La volonté déracinée dans la doctrine de Fénelon du pur amour," *Les études philosophiques* (Paris, 1992), No. 2, p. 170.

¹² Lamaison, "Introduction" to *Télémaque* (Larousse 1934), p. 7.

¹³ Aimé-Martin, *Vie de Fénelon*, pp. xxiiff. In his celebrated letter to the duc de Chevreuse (31 August 1699) he says that "I am in a dry and bitter peace, in which my health increases with work" (*Correspondance de Fénelon*, ed. Jean Orcibal (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1993), Vol. x, p. 23).

¹⁴ For a fine commentary see Gouhier, *Fénelon philosophe*, pp. 127ff.

¹⁵ See Cardinal L.-F. de Bausset, *Histoire de Fénelon* (Paris: Chez Giguët et Michand, 1809), Vol. III, *passim*; Paul Janet, *Fénelon*, ch. 2 ("Fénelon à Cambrai"), pp. 231ff.

and martyr, the victim of the "interested" high politics of Louis XIV, Bossuet, and the Roman *curia*.¹⁶

The year 1716 saw the posthumous publication of the magnificent *Letter on the Occupations of the Académie Française* (written in 1714), in which Fénelon contributed to "the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns" by offering glowing praise of Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, Virgil, and Cicero, and insisting that "it is our insane and cruel vanity, and not the noble simplicity of the ancients, which needs to be corrected."¹⁷ It was that "noble simplicity" which he had tried to illustrate, in the demi-Platonic myths of "Bétique" and "Salente," in *Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*.¹⁸

When the ancient poets wanted to charm the imagination of men, they conducted them far from the great cities; they made them forget the luxury of their time, and led them back to the age of gold; they represented shepherds dancing on the flowered grass in the shade of a grove, in a delightful season, rather than agitated hearts, and great men who are unhappy in virtue of their very greatness. . .

Nothing so much marks a declining nation, as this disdainful luxuriousness which rejects the frugality of the ancients. It is this depravity which overturned Rome. . .

I love a hundred times better the poor Ithaca of Ulysses, than a city [Imperial Rome] shining through so odious a magnificence. Happy the men who content themselves with pleasures that cost neither crime nor ruin!¹⁹

Howsoever *Télémaque* may have contributed to Fénelon's downfall, the book was spectacularly successful: the most read literary work in eighteenth-century France (after the Bible), cherished and praised by Rousseau, it was first translated into English in the very year of its publication, and was re-rendered by no less a figure than the

¹⁶ In this vein see Raymond Schmittlein, *L'aspect politique du différend Bossuet-Fénelon* (Mainz: Editions Art et Science, Bade, 1954), pp. 13-25.

¹⁷ Fénelon, *Lettre sur les occupations de l'Académie Française*, in *Oeuvres de Fénelon* (1835 edn), Vol. III, pp. 249-50.

¹⁸ Fénelon, *Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse*, critical edn. of Albert Cahen (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1922), Books VII and X. (This fine edition has valuable notes relating Fénelon's text to Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Plato, etc.)

¹⁹ Fénelon, *Lettre sur les occupations de l'Académie Française*, pp. 249-50. For Fénelon's own précis of the *Odyssey*, see *Oeuvres de Fénelon* (1835 edn), Vol. III, pp. 155-209.

novelist Tobias Smollett in 1776.²⁰ In Rousseau's *Emile* the eponymous pupil is given *Robinson Crusoe* as his sole adolescent reading, then Fénelon's *Télémaque* on reaching adulthood²¹ – a striking concession from one who thought almost all literature morally suspect.

II

Without doubt the two most important pieces of French political theory at the turn of the eighteenth century are Bossuet's *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture* (completed in 1704)²² and Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse* (published in 1699). While Bossuet offered the greatest of all defenses of divine-right monarchy – in which Louis XIV's rule is unbrokenly descended from Abraham's covenant with God in Genesis ("kings shall come out of you")²³ – Fénelon by contrast theorized what might be called a "republican" monarchy in which the key notions are simplicity, labor, the virtues of agriculture, the absence of luxury and splendor, and the elevation of peace over war and aggrandizement. This proto-Rousseauian, demilitarized "Spartanism" led Louis XIV, of course, to read *Télémaque* as a satire on his luxuriousness and bellicosity, and Fénelon fell permanently from official favor. Fénelon combines monarchical *rule* with republican *virtues* in a unique way: after him Montesquieu was to draw a necessary connection between monarchy and "war and the enlargement of dominion," and to separate monarchy by a categorical gulf from republican simplicity and "virtue";²⁴

²⁰ Fénelon, *Telemachus*, trans. Tobias Smollett (London: Crowden, Longman *et al.*, 1776), 2 vols. Smollett is sometimes very faithful to Fénelon, but occasionally tries to make his prose elaborately "Johnsonian."

²¹ Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. B. Foxley (London: Everyman, 1910), pp. 147–50, 431–2. For a fine appreciation of the Fénelon–Rousseau rapport, see Judith N. Shklar, *Men and Citizens: A Study of Rousseau's Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 4–6.

²² Bossuet, *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte*, critical edn. of Jacques Le Brun (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1967), *passim*; Bossuet, *Politics drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*, trans. and ed. Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), *passim*.

²³ Bossuet, *Politics from Scripture* (Riley, ed.), Book VII, Art. vi, prop. 1, p. 245: "It is again God who establishes reigning houses. He said to Abraham, 'Kings shall come out of thee.'"

²⁴ Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, ed. A. Cohler *et al.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Book V.

Rousseau was to restore a more nearly Fénelonian view of “republican monarchy” in his glowing Plutarchian encomium of Lycurgus²⁵ – in a Sparta not just temporally and geographically but *morally* distant from Versailles.

It was no accident that Rousseau so greatly admired Fénelon’s fable; for, like *Emile*, *Télémaque* is the story of the moral and political education of a young man by a knowledgeable and virtuous tutor. While *Emile*, however, is – in some sense – Everyman, the tutor in *Télémaque*, Mentor, is preparing a young prince to succeed Ulysses at Ithaca.²⁶ Fénelon himself, in a letter from 1710, indicates his objective in writing *Télémaque* for his royal pupil, the duc de Bourgogne:

As for *Télémaque*, it is a fabulous narration in the form of an heroic poem like those of Homer and of Virgil, into which I have put the main instructions which are suitable for a young prince whose birth destines him to rule . . . In these adventures I have put all the truths necessary to government, and all the faults that one can find in sovereign power.²⁷

Louis XIV, for his part, saw nothing but the alleged “faults” of sovereign power in *Télémaque* – faults which Fénelon describes at length in his account of the misrule of Idomeneus, former king of Crete. (Since Idomeneus kills his own son and is deposed and exiled, one can understand Louis’s displeasure!) One of Mentor’s long speeches to the slowly reforming Idomeneus (now king of Salente) in Book X of *Télémaque* must have been read by Louis XIV as a veiled, mythologized version of what Fénelon would have wanted to say at, or rather against, Versailles:

It is with sadness that I feel myself constrained to tell you hard things; but shall I betray you by concealing the truth from you? Put yourself in my place. If you have been deceived up till now,

²⁵ Rousseau, *Gouvernement de Pologne*, in *Political Writings*, trans. F. Watkins (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1951), pp. 163–5; Rousseau, “Rome et Sparte,” in *Political Writings*, ed. C. Vaughan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), Vol. 1, pp. 314ff.

²⁶ Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. Foxley, p. 431: “*Emile* is not a king, nor am I a god, so that we are not distressed that we cannot imitate Telemachus and Mentor in the good they did.”

²⁷ Fénelon, letter to Father LeTellier (1710), in *Oeuvres de Fénelon* (1835 edn.), Vol. III, pp. 653–4.

it is because you wanted to be; it is because you have feared advisors who were too sincere. Have you sought after people who were the most disinterested, and the most likely to contradict you . . . to condemn your passions and your unjust feelings? . . . No, no: let us see whether you will now have the courage to be humiliated by the truth which condemns you.

. . . You have exhausted your riches; you have never thought of augmenting your people, nor of cultivating fertile lands. Was it not necessary to view those two things as the two essential foundations of your power – to have many good people, and well-cultivated lands to nourish them? It would require a long peace to favor the multiplication of your people. You should never think of anything but agriculture and the establishment of the wisest laws. A vain ambition has pushed you to the very edge of the precipice. By virtue of wanting to appear great, you have let yourself ruin your true greatness. Hasten to repair these faults; suspend all your great works; renounce this display which would ruin your new city; let your people breathe in peace.²⁸

Nor did Fénelon put such speeches only into the mouth of Mentor: at every turn, and in every chapter, the *inventions de la vanité et de la mollesse* are denounced. In Book VII, having escaped the seductions of Calypso, Mentor and Telemachus are told a story of the land of Bétique by Adoam, who reveals that the luxuries of Greece and Egypt are anathema in that simple land.

Among these people [Adoam says] we found gold and silver put to the same use as iron – for example as plowshares . . . They are almost all shepherds or laborers [who practice only] those arts necessary for their simple and frugal life. . .

When one speaks to them of peoples who have the art of making superb buildings, furniture of gold and silver, fabrics ornamented with embroideries and with precious stones, exquisite perfumes . . . they reply in these terms: “These people are very unfortunate to have used up so much labor and industry in order to corrupt themselves. This superfluity softens, enervates, torments those who possess it: it tempts those who are without

²⁸ Fénelon, *Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse* (critical edn. of Albert Cahen), Book X, pp. 248–9. See the astonishingly parallel passage in Fénelon's “Letter to Louis XIV,” cited in Nannerl O. Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 462. See also Fénelon, *Dialogues des morts*, “Louis XII et Louis XI”: “I preferred the repose [of the people] to the glory of vanquishing my enemies”, cited in Gilbert Gidel, *La politique de Fénelon* (Paris, 1960), p. 9.