

剑桥政治思想史原著系列（影印本）

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

贝尔政治著作选

Bayle

Political

Writings

Edited by

SALLY L.

JENKINSON

中国政法大学出版社

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CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT



BAYLE
Political Writings

Pierre Bayle was among the most important sceptical thinkers of the late seventeenth century. His work was an influence on the ideas of Hume, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire (who acclaimed it for its insight on toleration, and emulated its candour on such subjects as atheism, obscenity, and sexual conduct). Banned in France on first publication in 1697, Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* became a bestseller and ran into many editions and translations. Sally L. Jenkinson's masterly new edition presents the reader with a coherent path through Bayle's monumental work (which ran to seven million words). This is the first volume in English to select political writings from Bayle's work and to present its author as a specifically political thinker. Sally L. Jenkinson's authoritative translation, careful selection of texts, and lucid introduction will be welcomed by scholars and students of the history of ideas, political theory, cultural history and French studies.

SALLY L. JENKINSON is part-time Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, and a former Senior Lecturer in Political Studies at the University of North London. She has published widely on politics and toleration.

剑桥政治思想史原著系列

丛书编辑

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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。

本丛书已出版著作的书目，请查阅书末。

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

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Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought is now firmly established as the major student textbook series in political theory. It aims to make available to students all the most important texts in the history of western political thought, from ancient Greece to the early twentieth century. All the familiar classic texts will be included but the series seeks at the same time to enlarge the conventional canon by incorporating an extensive range of less well-known works, many of them never before available in a modern English edition. Wherever possible, texts are published in complete and unabridged form, and translations are specially commissioned for the series. Each volume contains a critical introduction together with chronologies, biographical sketches, a guide to further reading and any necessary glossaries and textual apparatus. When completed, the series will aim to offer an outline of the entire evolution of western political thought.

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To the memory of Elisabeth Labrousse, 1914–2000

For her commitment to intellectual liberty, and for making
Bayle's ideas accessible to future generations.

Acknowledgements

This selection of texts in part originates with Quentin Skinner's insight that Bayle's Dictionary should be read for its political theory. It has roots too in the doctoral thesis on Bayle's early political writing which I submitted to the University of Sheffield in 1975. That project was supported by the Morrell Studies in Toleration whose advisors included the late Sir Isaiah Berlin, and whose Director was Professor Bernard Crick. Earlier still, at the London School of Economics, I had been dazzled by the seminars on Logic and Scientific Method of Karl Popper and Imre Lakatos. So when I came to read Bayle's *Pensées diverses*, his *Critique générale*, and his *Commentaire philosophique*, I was able, thanks to such distinguished teaching, to perceive not just Bayle the reputed 'sceptic' but also the theorist of pluralism, equipped to support his convictions with an epistemology of conjecture and refutation.

No study of Bayle from a political perspective can ignore the debt that is owed to the recent work of Professors John Pocock, Quentin Skinner, and Richard Tuck. For their respective analyses of Renaissance humanism and Atlantic republicanism have recovered a framework which reveals many of the nuances to which Bayle responded. There are debts to be acknowledged too, both to Professor Patrick Riley and to Professor Jerome Schneewind: their interpretations of normative theory after Descartes and before Kant have elucidated a context in which Bayle as a moral thinker can find a place.

Throughout the continent of Europe and beyond, students of Bayle's ideas continue to build upon the historical and biographical

Acknowledgements

erudition of Mme Elisabeth Labrousse. Many have been recipients too of her personal generosity of spirit. In 1996 colleagues paid their tribute in essays published by the Voltaire Foundation which they presented at the Sorbonne. Following that ceremony, Mme Labrousse sent me some comments on a draft introduction to these texts for which I thank her immensely. It goes without saying that I am responsible for the interpretation and for any errors of fact.

To Professor Patrick O'Brien, until recently Director of London University's Institute of Historical Research, I am doubly indebted. Firstly, because his Institute and its staff provided a base for completing this study, and secondly because it hosts beguiling seminars, including that in the History of Ideas led by Professors James Burns, Gregory Claeys, Janet Coleman, and Fred Rosen. At the University of California in 1997 and 1998, and as visitor to UCLA's Department of Political Science, this project has benefited from conversations, formal and informal, with Emeritus Professors Richard Popkin and David C. Rapoport, and Professor John Christian Laursen. Other friends and colleagues whose ideas have enriched this project include: Judith Evans, Mark Goldie, Sarah Hutton, John Hope Mason, Effa Okupa, and Professors Bernard Crick, Robert Goodin, Iain Hampsher Monk, Preston King, Marianne Horowitz, Cary Nederman, Melvin Richter, Amie and Donald Tannenbaum, Lyman Tower Sargent, Harry Bracken, and Giovanni Mori.

To the Nuffield Foundation I express my appreciation for providing, in 1996–8, a grant at the moment it was needed, and to Rudolf Richter who contributed word processing and other skills. Dr Lucy McGuinness, now of the Warburg Institute, is to be especially acknowledged for her learning in the classics and for her sensitive translations of Bayle's Latin citations. Responsibility for any errors, or over-free renderings, is, of course, mine. Finally, I thank the two editors of the Cambridge Texts for their constructive criticism, and the Cambridge University Press for their scholarly editing.

A note on the translation

The text

The excerpts selected for the present anthology have been newly translated. The text is based on the last complete French edition (ed. Beuchot) (Paris, 1820–4), 16 vols. in octavo, of which there is an easily accessible facsimile reproduction by Slatkine (Geneva, 1969). The earliest French editions, however, those of 1697 and 1702 in particular, carry non-textual messages which no translator can ignore. Likewise, the English translation of 1710, set in the same format, was a major event in English publishing. Its title page read: *An Historical and Critical Dictionary by Monsieur Bayle, with Many Additions and Corrections Made by the Author Himself that are not in the French Editions*. Subsequent English translations were published in 1734–8 in five volumes, in 1734–41 in ten volumes, and were read on both sides of the Atlantic.

Layout and referencing

The huge in-folio volumes of the eighteenth-century editions, whether of Rotterdam or London, carried visual information that is lost in modern format. By taking advantage of their length, width, and spacious margins, the printers could reinforce, with three font sizes, Bayle's three-fold distinction between fact, comment, and evidence. Accordingly, the framework of each article (referred to by convention as 'the body of the text', abbreviated here in cross-references to 'txt') was outlined in the largest print. Footnotes

(referred to by convention as ‘remarks’) contained the editor’s critical comments and appeared on the same page, set in a medium-sized print. These ‘remarks’, frequently essays in their own right, imparted extra impact through their two-column format as in a gazette. We follow Bayle in sometimes altering slightly the wording of the body of the text to which the remarks are referenced. Thirdly, the sources relied on by Bayle were set in fine print and were located in the side margins.

Beuchot’s edition of 1820–4 abandoned the in-folio page and the three sizes of font, as well as the use of the side margins for bibliographic references. It retained the format in two columns, and the system of notation. These excerpts follow Beuchot apart from the two-column format. That is, the ‘remarks’ are indicated by uppercase letters in round brackets: (A), (B), (Z) etc. and follow the ‘body of the text’, and the sources by superscript lower-case characters. Letters a, b, . . . z etc. denote the sources relating to the ‘body of the text’, while numerals 1, 2 . . . 9 etc. denote the sources relating to the ‘remarks’. So that the reader can easily consult Beuchot’s edition, we retain Bayle’s system of notation for sources, but before Bayle’s letter or number we place the appropriate character and an ‘equals’ sign if necessary to generate an unbroken sequential order. To take ‘Elizabeth’ as an example, Bayle’s last lettered footnote in the body of the text of that article, note h, appears here as ‘g=h’, while Bayle’s first numbered footnote to the remarks appears as ‘1=8’. This means that our footnotes ‘g’ and ‘1’ are footnotes ‘h’ and ‘8’ in Bayle’s original text, omissions in text and remarks having led to the loss of the footnotes attached thereto. Our sequence for notes and remarks omits ‘j’, following Bayle’s preference. Omission of complete remarks is shown thus: ‘[Remarks (A)–(H) omitted.]’. Starred footnotes appear among the footnote sequences from time to time. Sometimes they represent Bayle’s own afterthoughts, sometimes they indicate the comments of the editors of other editions, and when this is so, we point this out by an observation within square brackets. We have not attempted to verify all Bayle’s references, nor identify all his sources. Comments added to this anthology are contained within square brackets, mainly in the headnotes that introduce each article; elsewhere (occasionally) to explain references. All footnotes to the texts, therefore, are Bayle’s, unless expressly indicated otherwise.

Cuts within the text

Given that the Dictionary consists of some seven million words, and that even many 'remarks' run to several thousand, making cuts within an article could not be avoided. A strategy was to omit a whole 'remark' in order to leave as intact as possible the 'remarks' retained. Omitted 'remarks' and footnotes remain referenced in the 'body of the text' in square brackets, and can be consulted in the complete editions. Cuts are indicated by '...', whether within the 'body of the text' or within a 'remark'.

Translation from French

Many concepts in political thought pose pitfalls in translation. '*La politique*', for example, is more accurately translated as 'policy' than as 'politics', and this was as true in Bayle's day as in the present though, as the articles 'David' and 'Elizabeth' show, the word 'statecraft' can, on occasions, be even better. Additionally, it was requisite to consider context and Bayle's thought as a whole when deciding whether to render '*le mal*' as 'harm', or 'pain', or 'evil', or in some other way. Faced with such hazards, who would dare to omit Bayle's own caveat when he says in his 'Project' that he is certain that he will make 'only too many . . . mistakes', and that his critics will 'gratify him' if 'they correct and enlighten' him?

Translation from Latin

Bayle supposed that he had no need to translate into the vernacular many of his Latin quotations. No such assumption can be made today. Where a long passage is involved we have supplied the first few words of the Latin to indicate the language of the original, followed by the English rendering in brackets. All Latin quotations, excepting one, have been especially translated for this compilation. The exception, a passage from Augustine, occurs in the article 'Juno', Remark (AA), n. 12=168. In this case the translation, by R. W. Dyson, is reproduced from Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans* (Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 258–9).

Abbreviations

For further details, see the Note on the Translation, the Bibliography and the headnotes to the selections in this compilation.

<i>Dic</i> 1–xvi	Bayle, <i>Dictionnaire historique et critique</i> (Paris, 1820–4, based on original edns of 1697 and 1702), 16 vols.
<i>Proj</i>	Bayle, <i>Project for a Critical Dictionary dedicated to M. du Rondel, professor of belles lettres at Maestricht</i> (1692)

Articles from Bayle's Dictionary in this compilation:

<i>Ald</i>	'Sainte-Aldegonde'
<i>Bod</i>	'Bodin'
<i>Brut</i>	'Brutus'
<i>Clar</i>	'Clarifications'
<i>Clar</i> I	'First Clarification: On Atheists'
<i>Clar</i> IV	'Fourth Clarification: On Obscenities'
<i>David</i>	'David'
<i>Eliz</i>	'Elizabeth'
<i>Greg</i>	'Gregory I'
<i>Hob</i>	'Hobbes'
<i>Hôp</i>	'de l'Hôpital'
<i>Hot</i>	'Hotman'
<i>Jap</i>	'Japan'
<i>Juno</i>	'Juno'
<i>Loy</i>	'Loyola'
<i>Mach</i>	'Machiavelli'
<i>Mâcon</i>	'Mâcon'

List of abbreviations

<i>Mar</i>	'Mariana'
<i>Nav</i>	'Navarre, Marguerite, reine de'
<i>Nic</i>	'Nicole'
<i>Ovid</i>	'Ovid'
<i>Sainc</i>	'Saintes'
<i>Soc</i>	'Socinus' (<i>F</i> , 'Faustus'; <i>M</i> , 'Marianus')
<i>Syn</i>	'Synergistes'
<i>Xen</i>	'Xenophanes'

Other works by Bayle:

<i>OD 1-v</i>	Bayle, <i>Œuvres diverses</i> , ed. Labrousse (1964-82) [1727-31], 5 vols.
<i>APD</i>	<i>Additions aux Pensées diverses sur les comètes</i> (<i>OD</i> III, pp. 161-86)
<i>Avis</i>	<i>Avis important aux réfugiés</i> (1690) (<i>OD</i> II, pp. 578-633)
<i>Com Phil</i>	<i>Commentaire philosophique</i> (1686) (<i>OD</i> II, pp. 357-496)
<i>CPD</i>	<i>Continuation des Pensées diverses sur la comète</i> (1704) (<i>OD</i> III, pp. 187-417)
<i>Cr Gén</i>	<i>Critique générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de M. Maimbourg</i> (1682) (<i>OD</i> II, pp. 1-160)
<i>FTC</i>	<i>Ce que c'est que la France Toute Catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand</i> (1686) (<i>OD</i> II, pp. 336-54)
<i>NLHC</i>	<i>Nouvelles lettres de l'auteur de la Critique générale de l'histoire du Calvinisme</i> (1685) (<i>OD</i> II, pp. 161-335)
<i>NRL</i>	<i>Nouvelles de la République des Lettres</i> (1684-7) (<i>OD</i> I, pp. 1-760)
<i>PD</i>	<i>Pensées diverses sur la comète</i> (1681) (<i>OD</i> III, pp. 1-160)
<i>RNC</i>	<i>Réponse d'un nouveau converti</i> (1688) (<i>OD</i> II, pp. 561-75)
<i>Sys Abr</i>	<i>Système abrégé de philosophie</i> (c. 1679) (<i>OD</i> IV, pp. 200-520)

Introduction: a defence of justice and freedom

Diversity in religion has its inconveniences . . . but, on the other hand, it prevents the development of corruption and obliges religions to treat one another with respect.

‘Juno’, Remark (AA)

What is the reputation of Pierre Bayle, and why should his ideas be restored to the canon of political thought? For his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, first published in 1697, was for nearly two centuries rarely out of print. As one man’s encyclopaedia of error the Dictionary, even at first glance, seemed remarkable. Its most celebrated feature, however, was the extended footnote where the author elaborated his criticisms of current scholarship. Bayle’s admirers in the age of the Enlightenment were apt to distil the essence of these comments into just two words: tolerance and scepticism. They were notions with which Bayle’s name became synonymous, even though his concerns went deeper than his posthumous admirers supposed. For in addition to tolerance and scepticism Bayle’s Dictionary promoted justice as the end of government, and critical freedom as its prerequisite.

The texts in this collection have been selected to highlight the Dictionary’s political ideas. Recent scholarship has in any case begun to redraw the links between Bayle’s historical criticism and his convictions as a Huguenot who opposed persecution. Bayle’s biographer, Elisabeth Labrousse, uncovers in his *œuvre* as a whole an engagement with a range of specifically political themes: for

example, *raison d'état*, absolutism, the philosophy of history, tolerance both ecclesiastical and civil, and liberty of conscience (Labrousse (1963–4), vol. II, pp. 449–591). Bayle sought also, through natural psychology, to explain political behaviour and especially the causes of intolerance. Reasoned argument, he believed, was among humanity's achievements, but it is noteworthy that, on the eve of the Enlightenment, Bayle warned persistently of reason's limitations. For though humanity has the capacity to make improvements, it has equally the capacity to abuse them.¹ The way is open, then, to re-interpret Bayle as analyst of both political thought and conduct – who responded to the great thinkers of early modernity such as Machiavelli, Bodin, and Hobbes – and as protagonist, before his time, of a political theory of diversity.

Bayle's Dictionary was far from eclipsed by the rivals it inspired. During the next two centuries it saw many re-impressions in French as well as translations into English and German and new editions.² It was read throughout Europe by successive generations alongside both the great *Encyclopédie* (1751–72) of Diderot and D'Alembert, and Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), and Bayle became, posthumously, an honorary figure of the Enlightenment. If great thinkers – for example Hume, Voltaire, or John Stuart Mill – reveal evident debts to Bayle's ideas, there were many others, for example Rousseau, Jefferson, Paine, Kant, Bentham, Hegel, Feuerbach or Marx, who absorbed his ideas selectively, or who turned to the Dictionary's sources.³

So what in fact did posterity value in Bayle's Dictionary? Scepticism and toleration undoubtedly, but also rigour in criticism, sources of new and recovered learning, and careful bibliographic notation. Educators could recommend the Dictionary because it exemplified these skills, and because it introduced useful ways of distinguishing between what was true, false or speculative. In addition, the Dictionary extended to the middle classes the idea of openness about questions which occur naturally to the young: about God, creation, Satan, atheism, generation, sex, violence, tyranny or insurrection. Bayle himself was convinced that free discussion

¹ See *Loy* (T); *Soc F* (A), (I), (L); *Xen* (E); *Brut*.

² For the Dictionary's reception see Rétat (1971); Labrousse (1983), p. 90; Popkin (ed.) (1991), pp. viii–x.

³ *Ibid.*

provided a better antidote than censorship to every sort of problem whether factual or moral. In short, the *Dictionnaire* reassured an age eager for self-improvement that no topic need be thought too sacred, or too embarrassing, for serious discussion.

Today's historians of scepticism recognise that Bayle's Dictionary includes important articles on Pyrrhonism, and the philosophy of antiquity called 'sceptical'.⁴ However, the present collection adds to that picture by showing that Bayle's approach to history, politics, and human conduct relies on a method of factual refutation. His critique of intolerance, these pieces show, was based not only upon 'sceptical' objections to dogmatic teaching, but also upon a public rhetoric in which empirical evidence plays a part. For Bayle maintains (*Proj*:§1x) that if some types of conjecture are too obscure for certainty, others are quite precise enough to be tested for their truth. A student of scientific method can see resemblances between this approach and that of Karl Popper.⁵ From these texts we can ascertain that Bayle indeed held, as do today's theorists of conjecture and refutation, that a scientist of the natural world can get nearer to the truth by testing received ideas, and by discarding as fallacies those that are negated by sound evidence. Using this approach, Bayle rejected the *politique's* limits upon toleration, showing that freedom might safely be extended. His alternative was the plural society, committed to a diversity of schools and sects and, as in modern democracy, to imposing no religious tests upon citizens (*Greg* (G); *Com Phil*, p. 364). Bayle of course supported the existing practice of limited toleration for that was always better than the cruelty of persecution (see *Sainc* (F); *Soc* (A), (F)), but his long-term preference was for complete freedom. For Bayle questioned whether a case could ever be made, in logic, or in justice, or from Christ's example, for rewarding or penalising a citizen for refusing to believe in one metaphysical tenet rather than another (*Greg* (E); *Soc F* (L)).

Education, life and times

Bayle was born in 1647, the second son of Jean Bayle, a Calvinist minister who, in the era of Toleration, served the rural community of Le

⁴ Pyrrho (c. 365–270 BC). The Pyrrhonian was one associated with the philosophic position that no indubitably true knowledge was possible. See 'Pyrrho' in Popkin (ed.) (1991), pp. 149–209. Cf. *Xen* (L).

⁵ See Karl R. Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations* (1963).