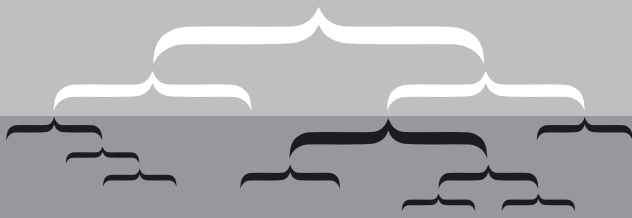


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Die kayserliche Bibliothec [in Wien], aus: Happel, Eberhard Werner, Grösseste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so genandte Relationes curiosae, in welchen eingeführt, erwogen und abgehandelt werden allerhand historische, physicalische, mathematische und andere merckwürdige Seltzamkeiten, II. Theil, Hamburg: Wiering, 1685; Kupferstich bei Seite 300.

Pierre Bayle: Several Lives but just one Death

Structures, Arrangements and Rhetorics in Lexicography

1 Bayle's *Dictionnaire*: Beloved by the Readers, Abhorred by the Censors

1.1 Probable Reasons for the Public Success of Banned Books

When in 1696 Leers had reached the letter »P« in printing the first edition of Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, it already became clear from the books ordered that the up to then produced 1 000 copies would never be enough to satisfy the demand. Consequently, the number had to be increased to 2 000.¹ Only six years later, in 1702, a second and revised Edition appeared. The *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* thus was a great success right from the beginning and that is what it stayed for a long time, as can be illustrated by the following passage, written about 100 years later by Daniel Jenisch in his work about the spirit and nature of the 18th century: *Das gehaltvollste, einflussreichste, und für den philosophischen Geistegang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts wichtigste aller Werke der französischen Flüchtlinge, ja der bisherigen französischen Litteratur überhaupt, war Bayle's kritisches Wörterbuch. [...] Kein unpartheyischer Leser konnte das Baylesche Werk aus der Hand legen, ohne Naturalist in der Theologie, und Zweifler in der Philosophie zu werden: kein andres fand daher auch so viele Gegner von der einen, so viele Vertheidiger von der andern Seite; kein andres regte den erwachenden Denkgeist kräftiger an, als dieses: es ward übersetzt, gelesen, angegriffen und vertheidigt, in allen Sprachen Europas.*²

This quotation mentions what I would like to discuss throughout the following pages: Although Bayle's work was strongly attacked and was in several places examined by the censors, it did not only manage to be spread all over Europe, but it was even translated, continued and compiled. Of course it is nothing new that the very scandalous or forbidden books met with a lively response from the readers and current scientific literature is treating the subject of preventive as well as repressive censorship mainly under the aspect of failure or insufficiency.³ Indeed almost everywhere in 18th century Europe a striking discrepancy can be stated between the theory of legislation and the reality of a flourishing literary underground. Until now studies in the field of censorship were focusing predominantly

1.1 Ausgehend von der bekannten These einer Erfolglosigkeit der meisten Zensurversuche im 18. Jahrhundert zeigt der einleitende Abschnitt, dass die bisherige Forschung primär organisatorische Mängel bei den Zensurinstanzen sowie die Mechanismen des Marktes zur Erklärung dieses Phänomens herangezogen hat. Eher vernachlässigt wurde demgegenüber die Phase der Entstehung eines Werks. Indem hier die Frage aufgeworfen wird, ob und wie ein Autor durch überlegten Aufbau seiner Werke sowie durch geschickte Verknüpfung der präsentierten Information gleichsam mit den Mechanismen der Zensur spielen und sie zum Vornherein aushebeln konnte, versucht der nachfolgende Text diese Lücke zu schliessen.

¹ Labrousse, Pierre Bayle 1: Du Pays de Foix, 244, rem. 43.

² Jenisch, Geist und Charakter des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Bd. I, Teil 2, 255f.

³ A current study of this type is for example: Fitos, Zensur als Misserfolg.

1.2 Wegen der ihnen immanenten Charakteristika stellten insbesondere Nachschlagewerke und Enzyklopädien ein probates Vehikel dar, um Ansichten mit gesellschaftspolitischem Sprengpotential in breitere Bevölkerungsschichten zu implementieren. Der folgende Abschnitt begründet die Wahl der Neuen Kulturgeschichte als Untersuchungsmethode und zeigt, dass insbesondere der *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* von Pierre Bayle ein geeignetes Werk darstellt, um die These von Enzyklopädiën als Mittel zur Umgehung der Zensur zu untermauern.

⁴ This is definitely one of the most crucial differences between book-examination in the 17th and 18th centuries – prior to any guarantee of freedom of press by civil rights – and the censoring-machinery of totalitarian systems in the 19th and 20th centuries, see Wüst, *Censur als Stütze von Staat und Kirche in der Frühmoderne*, 11. In the age of Enlightenment, the supposition that writings could be scrutinized and disapproved was as natural for an author as his knowing about the shortcomings of this control-system then and thus about a theoretical opportunity to elude censorship. In contrast, the powerful monitoring institutions and police forces of the ›Third Reich‹ for example had the power and resources to control almost the whole flow of information including all scientific activities. Therefore these two types of censorship are fundamentally different with regard to their organization and activity radius.

⁵ Porret, *Expertises typographique-légales et censure des imprimés au XVIIIe siècle*, 73.

⁶ Dinges, *Neue Kulturgeschichte*, 179.

on the exercise and mechanisms of control, and in most cases the reason given for the ban of a book was that it contained inappropriatenesses or indecencies. Now, I neither want to question these important conclusions nor do I dispute the usual explanation for the triumphs of illicit literature, namely an increased demand on the book-market, caused by the fascination and attraction of people to know about proscribed and clandestine information. But I think that this approach to the phenomenon of the failing censorship is a bit one-sided as long as we merely look at it from the point of view of the reading public and only pay attention to the phase after the publication of a book.

I think it would be very important to take as well into account the views of the authors and printers within the period of the creation and writing of a book during the creation and production of a book. This is the focal topic of the present article. The question to be discussed is whether an author could play with the censors and, thanks to his comprehension of the mechanisms and functioning of book-examination, outwit them by structuring and organizing his writings in a cunning way.⁴ In my eyes, research in the field of knowledge-control and information-transfer did not care enough about such possibilities of preceding strategies serving to take the wind out of the censor's sails. I am sure that studies about the surveillance of printing and book trade should comprise these likely tactics of the author because it would be ahistoric to conclude from the notorious failure of censoring in the age of Enlightenment a total unimportance of this practice. To be exact, in the Middle of the 18th century, many European cities even seriously tried to tighten up legislation about censorship.⁵ Moreover we should also consider the well-known scandals, as for example the one about the *Encyclopédie* or the one about Rousseau's writings. Although these troubles did not cause a prevention of the circulation of these books either, they had quite far-reaching effects on the persons concerned, as we know.

1.2 Encyclopaedias as Instruments to Elude Censorship

The divergence between the normative claim and the actual inefficiency of censorship can thus not be explained simply by obsolete or impractical laws; numerous stories and anecdotes are hidden behind this uniform phenomenon and their outcome largely depended on local peculiarities and personal constellations as well as on economic goals or constraints. If we want to get results in research about control and transfer of information, it will be necessary to investigate these minor and at first sight unimportant stories, then to compare them on the basis of their development, in order to discover things in common and to make generalized statements. To say it in a different way: In the field of censorship too, we should follow the maxim of the new cultural history and focus on the common, everyday life.⁶ Taking into consideration these microworlds, we will see quite plainly

that censorship was not at all irrelevant or inexistent; on the contrary, it was still a power that authors and publishers had to take care of and they did well by developing strategies about how they wanted to deal with the censors. In the case of the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* that I would like to analyze now under these aspects, the ecclesiastical instances that were responsive for the censoring of books did oppose not only in Rotterdam after the publication of the first edition (1696/7); the later pirate editions of Geneva (1715) and of Basle (1738) instigated similar troubles and conflicts as well.⁷

By presenting some examples out of the *Dictionnaire* I will try to establish the hypothesis that among the tactics mentioned to elude censorship, writing an encyclopaedia can be seen as one of these. I consider them as an adequate vehicle to implement subversive ideas, opinions and methods into the large community of the reading public.⁸ Further on I plead to see encyclopaedias and dictionaries as texts that are important not only for the history of science but also for the history of culture and ideas. In the case of Bayle's work I would even say that it contributed to the secularization of thought and argumentation and the distribution of knowledge as well. This seems convincing because Bayle's rational attitude and his method in dealing with knowledge and erudition – mentioned programmatically by the word ›*Critique*‹ in the title – forms a sort of vault over his dictionary that moulded the internal character and the public reception of this work more than the contents (the actual texts) did. In my opinion, this was the main problem of the censors: Disliked passages can easily be eliminated; the methodological fundament of a book stays removed from the censor's reach and from his possibilities to sanction.

2 In Pursuit of the Scandal

2.1 Scandals Determined by the Alphabetic (Dis)order

The first argument for the thesis of dictionaries being instruments to elude censorship is of course the trivial fact that they are not read from A to Z. If their structure follows the alphabetic order, this will cause the inconvenience that the information standing side by side, does not relate to one another thematically: *Enfin les Ouvrages Lexiques sont sujets à un [...] inconvénient, qui est seul capable de dégouter de ces sortes d'entreprises. L'ordre alphabétique, qu'on est obligé de suivre, coupe à tout moment le fil des matieres, & ne permet pas de lier entre-elles les différentes parties d'une composition. Ce mécanisme est bon dans les Dictionnaires des Langues, [...] mais c'est abuser de cette méthode que de l'appliquer indistinctement à toute sorte d'objets, surtout à des Ouvrages de raisonnement.*⁹ Unfortunately, it never occurred to the author of this quotation, Abbé de Marsy, that it could be somewhat more tricky to find indecent passages in a work with this structure than in thematically continuous writings, where

2.1 Das zweite Hauptkapitel veranschaulicht anhand konkreter Beispiele, weshalb sich die Zensoren des 18. Jahrhunderts mit dem Genre ›Lexika‹ schwer taten. Erstens einmal führt das alphabetische Ordnungsprinzip dazu, dass inhaltlich nicht miteinander verwandte Angaben unmittelbar nebeneinander stehen. Im Vergleich mit linearen Texten, wo sich die Kritik gleichsam im Laufe des Argumentationsflusses ankündigt, wird die Suche nach anstößigen Stellen natürlich erschwert.

⁷ Staatsarchiv des Kantons Basel-Stadt, JJJ 6, Gutachten des Conventus Theologici betreffend Baelii DHC; Archives d'état de Genève, R. C. 212, 172–174.

⁸ Bayle himself emphasized that access to relevant information was one of the principal aims of his dictionary, see Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, Cinquième Édition, Préface de la première édition, § III. Yet it is important to see that owing to the still substantial percentage of illiterate people on the one hand and to the sophisticated or even elitist style of the *Dictionnaire* on the other hand, we should not take Bayle as a man democratizing or popularizing knowledge, see Mori, *Interpréter la philosophie de Bayle*, 306f. Bayle wrote for the republic of letters and he made an effort to strengthen this imaginary community to make it a powerful, independent and wide-reaching network competing with the dogmatic information policy headed by the states or churches.

⁹ Marsy, *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle*, Avertissement, ix.

2.2 Da Enzyklopädien gemäss Selbstdeklaration vielfach normatives Wissen anbieten, erschweren sie eine obrigkeitliche Bücherkontrolle ebenfalls. Auch Beweise auf der sogenannten Faktenebene entfalten oft eine politische Relevanz, doch während man gegen Meinungen ungehindert polemisieren kann, ist dies bei Tatsachen weniger erfolgsversprechend. Der folgende Abschnitt demonstriert, wie Bayle mit seinen *choses de fait* eine Art Politisierung durch Entpolitisierung betrieb.

criticism announces itself in the developing text or where the chapter is even preceded by a suspicious title that lets the censor have a second look. The consequences of Marsy's flaw in his reasonings will be exposed at the end of this article.

Now, Bayles work is one of the very rare dictionaries not made for brief consultation, it is on the contrary one to be read even for several hours – of course not from the beginning to the end but rather unsystematically. It thus cannot be compared to a *Larousse* or a *Britannica*; striving for efficiency in acquiring knowledge, today an important factor, was certainly not a criterion for the philosopher of Rotterdam. The advertising slogan of the later conversation encyclopaedias in the style of *Brockhaus* or *Meyer*, that they were most favourable to find concise information very quickly, seemed to be absolutely foreign to Bayle's nature. That is why purposeful searching is not the strong point of his dictionary. Get to know about remarkable facts and opinions, then to reason about them and thereby to broaden one's horizon of wisdom and to expand one's mental capabilities, that is what the *Dictionnaire* wanted to offer its readers. It is a true labyrinth of knowledge and a censor with his limited time for examination could not discover its countless corridors according to a plan. All readers rather have to stumble across this maze and find information by chance, as Neumeister describes comprehensibly in the following words: »In der überwiegenden Mehrzahl verbinden sich kurze, grossgedruckte Sachartikel mit einer weitaus umfangreicheren Masse von durch Buchstaben, Ziffern und Zeichen untergliederten Fussnoten. [...] Diese Verteilung [sc. between main text and footnotes] hat auch zu einer Benutzungsweise geführt, die das übliche Verfahren bei der Konsultation eines Nachschlagewerkes auf den Kopf stellt: man findet das Gesuchte nicht wie in einem normalen Lexikon in den entsprechend bezeichneten Artikeln, sondern man stösst, [...] gerade auf solche Dinge, die man nicht suchen konnte, sondern höchstens erhoffen. [...] Die angemessene Form der Konsultation des DHC scheint demnach nicht zielstrebiges Suchen zu sein, sondern bildungshungriges Lesen und Blättern, dessen Lohn der überraschende Fund ist.«¹⁰

2.2 The Level of ›Facts‹: Denied Scandals

A second argument why censoring encyclopedias should be hampered, is their self-image of presenting normative, impartial knowledge and thus of being absolutely apolitic. At first sight, Bayle does not seem to be a suitable example to justify this assertion, particularly since it is notorious in current scholarly debate that it is the discourse, the presentation and weighing of opinions that make his foliants exciting. To reply to this objection, I will soon try to show that this discursive way of presenting information can as well be instrumentalized to trick the censor. Secondly, we should note that not only the layout but also the contents of the *Dictionnaire* are set up on different levels, and on one of these levels, for instance when he is

¹⁰ Neumeister, Pierre Bayle oder die Lust der Aufklärung, 72 and 75.

Je louë la simplicité d'un plan: j'admire que l'exécution en soit simple & degagée: je fais consister en cela l'idée de la perfection: mais si je veux passer de cette theorie à la pratique, j'avouë que j'ay de la peine à me regler sur cette idée de perfection. Le mélange de plusieurs formes, un peu de bigarrûre, pas tant d'uniformité sont assez mon fait.

Pierre Bayle, *Projet d'un Dictionnaire*, §V

rejecting Moréri, Bayle behaves – horrible dictu – like a veritable positivist. *Ce Dictionnaire ne regardant point les Erreurs de droit, la partialité y seroit incomparablement plus inexcusable que dans les Dictionnaires Historiques; car on est obligé dans ceux-ci de rapporter mille choses qui sont vraies au jugement de quelques-uns, & fausses au jugement de quelques autres: on doit donc supposer une grande différence de principes dans les Lecteurs, & se figurer qu'entre les mains des uns on sera en pais ennemi, & qu'entre les mains des autres on sera en pais ami, il est donc juste de proportionner à cela son style, & sa manière de décider. Mais quand on se propose que de recueillir les Erreurs de fait, on suppose avec raison les mêmes principes dans tous ses Lecteurs, & qu'il n'y aura point d'homme qui ne reçoive pour faux, ce qu'on lui débitera comme tel; car les preuves d'une Fausseté de fait ne sont pas les préjugés d'une Nation, ou d'une Religion particuliere, ce sont des Maximes communes à tous les hommes.*¹¹

This quotation introduces the mentioned significant differentiation of levels. On the one hand, we have opinions and attitudes; some consider them accurate, others erroneous. That is why they are called *erreurs de droit*. We will have to deal with them in the next paragraph. On the other hand, as the illustrious réfugié wants us make to believe, there is a level of facts. These can be proved and mistakes in this area can once and for all be rejected as errors or lies. Bayle is exposing such *erreurs de fait* by pointing out inconsistencies in the supposed chronology of other dictionaries or of certain historical works. But the established evidence that something did not happen in this or that chronological order can obviously have quite an explosive effect, for example when it causes a dominant tradition of christian historiography to fall. In times when politics were not at all free of religious antagonisms and jealousy but were instead dominated by them, Bayle's so-called clarifications of *erreurs de fait* followed a scheme that could be labeled politicising by denying to have any political ambition. The tactic was to mention noteworthy facts simply in passing but nonetheless in an apodictic tone.

2.3 Opinions and Beliefs: Scandals due to Somebody Else's Fault

Let us come to a third point, hence the distinguished feature of the *Dictionnaire*, the level of discourse. Bayle was familiar with the difficulty that in plenty of questions, primarily in those of faith and religion, there were fundamentally disputing opinions and irreconcilable factions. He met

2.3 Jedes Zensursystem fusst im Grunde genommen darauf, dass es missliebige Ansichten erst gar nicht zulässt. Im 17./18. Jahrhundert standen die internationalen Netzwerke der ›République des lettres‹ dieser Haltung diametral gegenüber. Die Gelehrten waren der Meinung, dass über die Gefahren religiöser Strömungen und Sekten nur jene urteilen konnten, die gut darüber Bescheid wussten. Indem Bayle nun die Lehren nahezu aller Häretiker minutiös nachzeichnete, machte er sie einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich, doch konnte er sich gegenüber den Zensurinstanzen dadurch entschuldigen, dass er diese Ansichten ja keineswegs billige, sondern lediglich wiedergegeben habe.

¹¹ Bayle, *Projet et Fragmens d'un Dictionnaire Critique*, §IX: *Les mêmes raisons, qui prouvent l'utilité des autres Sciences, prouvent l'utilité des Recherches Critiques.*

Cette communauté d'érudits, de lettrés et de savants constituent une troisième France à laquelle Bayle reste profondément attaché. L'une des caractéristiques de cette communauté c'est une certaine solidarité qui dépasse les frontières religieuses, une solidarité qui doit beaucoup à la civilité et à l'honnêteté.

Myriam Yardeni, *Critique, savoir et érudition à la veille des Lumières*, ed. Hans Bots, Amsterdam 1998, p. 186.

with this problem by writing down meticulously what was claimed by whom, when and why. Doing this, he didn't forget a single heretic and the creeds of the smallest sect were declared overtly. After this, he outlined just as precise and with no less digressions the arguments of the respective opponents.¹² The underlying assumption was that everything could and should be said, as long as it was written in the decent, respectable language of the intellectuals and therefore did not serve as religious polemic.

As can be seen, information was considered as something per se positive in the republic of letters; only those who were acquainted with lots of philosophical and religious movements were able to judge reasonably about their risks and dangers. That is why the intellectuals claimed freedom of opinion and speech among themselves;¹³ they were firmly convinced that improper opinions would fall into discredit automatically and that the guiding principles had to be based on a rational discourse but should not depend on the convictions of a single censor. Taking into account that in these days, the republic of letters was able already to influence public opinion to a noteworthy extent, it entered into a sort of competition with the church on the one hand – still aspiring to be an opinion-forming authority – as well as with the absolutist state on the other hand – then striving to acquire control over the flow of information.¹⁴ At the end of the 17th century for example, despite Louis' XIV. attempt to manipulate historiography, there was a countermovement which did not seldom use the popular historical dictionaries as instruments against the biased history of the court.¹⁵

These two, the absolutist state and the church, were thus systems in need of the assurance that undesirable opinions were eliminated by a censor before they could have any public echo. Therefore the decisive question is, whether or how they were able to take action against the hidden but extensive international networks of the republic of letters. When the *Consistoire de l'Église Wallone de Rotterdam* reproached Bayle for disseminating deviating principles and long forgotten heresies in his dictionary, he always replied with the same, predictable excuse, that he did not at all agree with these heterodox doctrines and did not request to approve them; but that he always did quite the opposite by pointing out their dangers. Because of that, he argued, one should not condemn his work but rather see it as a contribution against sectarian movements. *Pour cet effet je declare en premier lieu tres sincerement que mon intention n'a jamais été d'insérer dans mon dictionnaire aucune chose*

¹² See as well Basnage de Beauval, Henri (Ed.), *Histoire des ouvrages des savans* 22, *Eloge de Mr. Bayle*, 550–552.

¹³ Bots, *Le Dictionnaire historique et critique de Pierre Bayle: magasin et protocole de la République des Lettres*, 207–215. See also Bayle's famous characterization of the republic of letters: Bayle, *Dictionnaire* (1740), *Catius D.*

¹⁴ Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit*, 16–20 and 100–103. I however have to emphasize that the egalitarian principle was sustained only within the republic of letters. By determining which persons were tolerated within their circle and which not, they drew a rigid line that could hardly be exceeded from outside. Thus, they were far away from questioning the social order. Yet there are two important points: First, the scholars regarded themselves as being a class of their own, excepted sometimes from the ordinarily determinant categories and constraints. Secondly, a person like Bayle was accepted and prominent too, though not being well off and coming from an aristocrat family.

¹⁵ Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, tome 2, 847f.

qui donnat un juste suiet de scandale aux bonnes ames. J'ay tousjours esperé que la liberté que je prenois a certains egars seroit favorablement interpretée par les reflexions que l'on feroit que c'est un laïque, et un philosophe qui parle, et cela dans une histoire, une critique et un vaste commentaire, et que j'ai eu soin de mettre par tout ou ils estoient necessaires, des correctifs et des eclaircissements qui ramenant mon lecteur au principe le plus orthodoxe de nostre Communion [...]. J'ai esperé aussi que chacun se souviendroit que la qualité d'historien impose la necessité de rapporter bien des choses qu'un autre auteur ne diroit pas sur le fort et le foible de chaque parti, et que les peres de l'Eglise ont raporté des details d'impuretez et d'obscenitez qui font horreur. [...] Quand a ce qui se rapporte à l'heresie des Manichéens, j'ai déclaré assez nettement qu'elle est horrible, extravagante, contraire aux notions communes, et que par l'Escriture sainte on la ruine sans aucune peine. [...] Cependant je promets de mediter de nouveau sur cette matiere, et de chercher des raisons philosophiques contre ces objections, et si messieurs vos pasteurs veulent bien se donner la peine de m'en fournir, je les mettrai en œuvre le mieux qu'il me sera possible [...].¹⁶ This source illustrates the technique Bayle – and many other scholars at different times – dealt with accusations of the censors: He tried to perform the innocent but continued strictly in the same method, pretending not to realize, that the actual problem was lying exactly in these *raisons philosophiques* or in the *qualité d'historien*. He even made polite efforts to integrate his opponents: If you apparently do have such overwhelming arguments against Manichaeism, then please, let me know them; I'll incorporate them in the next edition of my dictionary.

2.4 Cross-references: Distant Scandals

Let us come to the fourth point. Encyclopaedias and lexicons can be seen as a sort of hypertext, because they are characterized by a network of hints and cross-references; Bayle's *Dictionnaire* has more than 3 000 of them. Starting his lecture with a fairly discreet article, a reader can be directed to an entry containing much more dynamite.¹⁷ In the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* for instance, footnote A of the record ›Adam‹ leads us to the Persian deity ›Arimanius‹ and the marginal note b of this article contains two further references, one to ›Zoroastre‹, another to ›Manichéens‹ and thus to one of the most controversial texts of the whole work. Coming from the biblical progenitor the trace unexpectedly guides us to foreign religions and eagerly combated heresies. After all, twenty-two references are leading to this text about the Manichaeans; another twenty-four are referring to the one about the Paulicians, another dualistic sect. These two items contain again totally thirty-five references to other articles.¹⁸

We can grasp quite clearly now that even if a censor had decreed to delete these two articles, it would have been of no advantage; he knew

2.4 Die ungeheure Menge dargebotener Informationen in Nachschlagewerken sowie deren Kombination mit der internen Verweisstruktur der Lexika erschwerte es den Zensoren zusätzlich, sich innert nützlicher Frist einen Überblick über das Werk zu verschaffen. Da die Zensoren unmöglich das ganze Lexikon lesen konnten oder dessen gesamtes Netz an Verweisen untersuchen konnten, waren sie nie sicher, ob die Leser nicht auch von einem an sich unspektakulären Artikel zu Einträgen geleitet werden konnten, welche einiges mehr Zündstoff enthielten.

¹⁶ Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, 143.2, Copie du memoire du Sr. Bayle, présenté a Messieurs du Consistoire de l'Eglise Walonne de Rotterdam, le dimanche 5 de janvier 1698, au sujet du Dictionnaire historique et critique, 123–125.

¹⁷ See de Negroni, *Lectures interdites*, 46; Bauer-Funke, *Die französische Aufklärung*, 11.

¹⁸ Evaluation by means of Lieshout, *The Making of Pierre Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, REFE-WRD.DOC, on the enclosed CD-ROM.

2.5 Möchte man die Schwierigkeiten einer Zensurierung des *Dictionnaire* genauer abschätzen, so sind zusätzlich zu den bisher erwähnten strukturbedingten Punkten bei diesem Werk auch rhetorische Mittel miteinzubeziehen. Obwohl rhetorische Figuren ansonsten in Nachschlagewerken ganz und gar unüblich sind, arbeitete Bayle in den ausufernden Fussnoten häufig mit Vergleichen, Metaphern oder Allegorien, und nicht selten qualifizieren diese als Skandale, die im Setting begründet sind, also in der Art und Weise, wie Informationen kontextualisiert und miteinander verbunden werden.

very well that the readers would come across the despised dualistic doctrine in passages where one would never expect it. A firm opponent of the reprint in Geneva – planned in 1713, realized in 1715 – argued just this way: *Il établit par tout le Manichéisme cette ancienne et impie hérésie qui pose deux premiers principes l'un du Bien et l'autre du Mal, et il apuye si fortement ce qui peut confirmer cette impiété qu'il insinue assez qu'on n'y peut pas répondre [...] Ce qui rend cette lecture encore plus dangereuse c'est que ce qui choque la piété et les bonnes moeurs ne se trouve pas seulement dans quelques peu d'endroits mais est répandu ça et là dans le corps de tout l'ouvrage et se void presque dans toutes les Pages.*¹⁹

The situation becomes even more tricky when we take into account the references to further literature. They are really numerous in Bayle's masterpiece: The marginal notes of the main text run up to a total of 10 350 bibliographical notes, while the extensive footnotes contain another 44 100 of them.²⁰ Even a well-informed censor, familiar with the names of a large majority of heterodox authors could not cope with this close-meshed net and remove all the undesirable knots, and by now, the public was informed about the existence of such works.

2.5 Metaphors and Analogies: Hidden Scandals

Rhetorics and stylistics can serve to disguise or excuse scandals too. Naturally they are not any more specific features of encyclopaedias, from our present day's point of view we would even last of all expect them in this genre. But in the case of the *Dictionnaire*, Bayle made use of them as habitually as diligently. He elegantly combined the structural and formal preconditions of dictionaries with the rhetoric and erudite scope of intellectual literature. Writing an encyclopaedia was unquestionably a perfect expedient for Bayle to disseminate his enormous wisdom and his enthusiasm for curiosity into the public, but it seems that he did not consider dictionaries as an incomparable, sovereign sort of book as most other lexicographers did and still do. His *Dictionnaire* was certainly planned to integrate into the domain of erudite literature, where teaching and learning always went hand in hand. Moreover it is to be supposed that he saw his dictionary as a sort of mixed genre being a piece of information and a pleasant lecture simultaneously.²¹

That's why metaphors, analogies and allegories can be found frequently in his critical lexicon and most of the time, they qualify as scandals founded in the setting – i. e. in the context information is given and in the way one item it is linked with another. To give an example: *Les protecteurs de la fausse dévotion ne voudront jamais reculer, ils trouvent trop bien leur compte à ne démorde de rien, & ils sont assez puissans pour se garantir de toute contrainte. La Cour de Rome les secondera, & les soutiendra. Il semble que l'Eglise Romaine ait adopté la Religion du Dieu Termus de la*

¹⁹ Archives d'état de Genève, Cp. Past. R 20, Discours contre l'impression du Dict. de Baile, prononcé le 4e Avril 1713.

²⁰ See Lieshout, *The Making of Pierre Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 177–180.

²¹ Bayle himself emphasized that his *Dictionnaire* should be able to serve as a pleasant lecture. At the same time, he was well aware of the fact, that one could only read parts of it and not the whole foliants. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire* (1740), Govea E.

2.6 Ironische Stellungnahmen sind im *Dictionaire* ziemlich häufig. Ähnlich wie bei den oben vorgestellten Vergleichen und Metaphern handelt es sich ebenfalls um ein Mittel, bei dem der Skandal schlecht im Text greifbar ist, sondern erst im Kopf des Lesers und durch die assoziativen Verbindungen, zu welchen er gedrängt wird, zustandekommt. Bayles Schriften waren gleichsam chiffriert, und nur wer den Code der ›République des Lettres‹ kannte, vermochte sie richtig zu lesen.

2.6 Ironical statements: Scandals Difficult to Sanction

Irony can evidently serve as a further rhetorical way to avoid open polemics. *Je ne parle point des infamies dont ce Moine fut convaincu en qualité de Quiétiste, ni des impuretez abominables qu'il reconnut avoir commises avec ses dévotes. Cela fait dresser les cheveux, & fait comprendre en même tems que puis que l'Inquisition s'est contentée de condamner à une prison perpétuelle cet Augustin dechauffé, l'on doit convenir qu'à certains égards ce Tribunal est d'une clémence & d'une douceur extraordinaire. Mais laissant là ces sortes de réflexions, je me contente de dire que par des faits avérez juridiquement, & incontestables, nous savons que le secret de faire paroître les morts & d'exciter des visions de la sainte Vierge, est connu & pratiqué dans les Monastères.*²³

Of course, no reader ever seriously thought that the real message of this passage was that the Inquisition acted exceptionally mildly and kindly. Everybody was quite aware of the fact that one should read this text quite reversely in the sense that the Inquisition was a vicious organization, which would apply a less strict standard if they had to sentence a Catholic monk as opposed to a person of different faith. Although the hidden message that the Inquisition behaved not only brutal but also partial was quite obvious for everyone, it is more arduous to argue and prove this than it could be done against outright criticism.

2.7 Allusions: Unspoken Scandals

I'd like to end the discussion about Bayle's rhetorical techniques with a third instance: allusions. In footnotes H and I of the entry ›Grotius‹, Bayle is always speaking in a very vague manner [*de*] *ceux qui disent qu'il [i. e. Grotius] est mort Socinien*. He harshly attacks these unnamed persons in the following paragraphs, calls them impudent *accusateurs* and even *calominateurs*. Though explicit names are never mentioned, all persons familiar with the intellectual life of these days and the personnel circumstances in Rotterdam knew perfectly well that Bayle was alluding first of all to his former mentor and his later enemy, Pierre Jurieu. We see once more that after all Bayle left no doubt about the actual message but that his accuse could barely be countered because of its stylistic vagueness.²⁴

I hope that I did not only expose a collection of persuasive reasons why encyclopaedias should impede an effective form of authoritarian control but that I furthermore could demonstrate the means how this was done in the case of the *Dictionaire Historique et Critique*. I think it makes sense to finish this chapter with Bayle's own testimony that he himself did not expect his masterpiece to be examined, until he was informed at the end of 1697 that the *Consistoire* had opened an inquiry against him. *Mr. le Page, l'un de nos pasteurs, a rapporté a la Compagnie que le Sr. Bayle estoit venu chez luy le 10.e de ce mois, luy dire qu'il avoit appris que le Consistoire*

²³ Bayle, *Dictionaire* (1740), Loudun C. Another terrific example: Priscillien, rem. α of rem. G: *Dans les païs d'Inquisition le supplice destiné aux Hérétiques est celui du feu. Or, comme dans un tel supplice il n'y a ni os brisez, ni sang répandu, il s'agit de savoir si la maxime ›Ecclesia non novit sanguinem‹, conçue ici en termes equivalens par S. Leon, est à cet égard observée, ou seulement éludée.*

²⁴ For further information about the design of Bayles attacks against Jurieu: Lieshout, *The Making of Pierre Bayle's Dictionaire Historique et Critique*, 141f.

Cette communauté d'érudits, de lettrés et de savants constituent une troisième France à laquelle Bayle reste profondément attaché. L'une des caractéristiques de cette communauté c'est une certaine solidarité qui dépasse les frontières religieuses, une solidarité qui doit beaucoup à la civilité et à l'honnêteté.

Myriam Yardeni, *Critique, savoir et érudition à la veille des Lumières*, ed. Hans Bots, Amsterdam 1998, p. 186.

*examinait son Dictionnaire critique: que cela l'avoit surpris, parceque il ne croyoit pas que les Dictionnaires fussent sujets a l'examen [...]*²⁵ Knowing perfectly well that the subject matters taken up in the *Dictionnaire* could be sociopolitically explosive, the only plausible reason that the philosopher of Rotterdam could have had for the above assumption can thus be that he thought that the form chosen for his work would prevent it from being checked up by the censors.

3 Bayle's Several Lives and his Only Death

3.1 Continuations, Translations, Reprints: The *Dictionnaire's* Own Way of Life

After Bayle's death in 1706, his work lived on; various new, extended editions, some translations and several pirate editions were printed. The ecclesiastical powers were repeatedly in complete upset because of that. On the other hand, a study which analysed the catalogues of about 500 private libraries of the second half of the 18th century, led to the result that Bayle's dictionary stood in 288 of them; no other work had a comparable degree of dissemination.²⁶ Voltaire, Hume, Goethe and Catharina of Russia; they all read in the dictionary; Bayle's masterpiece was undeniably one of the most widespread books during the whole »siècle des lumières«.²⁷

Even if the philosopher of Rotterdam was read in numerous, often incompatible ways; all these conflicting interpretations had a small amount of common views. First of all, they were consenting that one had always to read between the lines in Bayle's writings. Secondly, they agreed that this hidden sense was not seldom a subversive one.²⁸ A historical investigation under the aspect of the censoring of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* can only emphasize these conclusions. Not at last, this should be understood as a differentiation from the position of a complete »sincerity in faith and reason« in Bayle's texts – a point of view held by hermeneutically arguing academics from the sixties to the eighties of the 20th century.²⁹ Though I do not at all share the judgment of many enlightened authors that Bayle was actually a crypto-atheist, I can neither agree with to those scholars who demand today that one is only allowed to focus on the explicit messages in Bayle's œuvre because any other reading would result in a distortion of his real character and convictions.³⁰ I am persuaded that his work just lives by playing with associations and non-explicit communications, as I have shown in the first chapter of this article.

2.7 Die Vorstellung der Mittel, welche eine effiziente Form obrigkeitlicher Bücherkontrolle erschweren, schliesst in diesem Abschnitt mit einem letzten Beispiel: der Anspielung. Abschliessend liefert eine Quellenstelle aus Bayles Briefwechsel ein abschliessendes Indiz, dass er selbst davon ausging, sein Lexikon würde rein auf Grund der Form des Werkes nicht genauer examiniert werden.

²⁵ Gemeentearchief Rotterdam: 143.2, Actes dans l'affaire qui concerne le Sr. Bayle, le 15 decemb 1697, 119.

²⁶ Mornet, *Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées*, 463f.

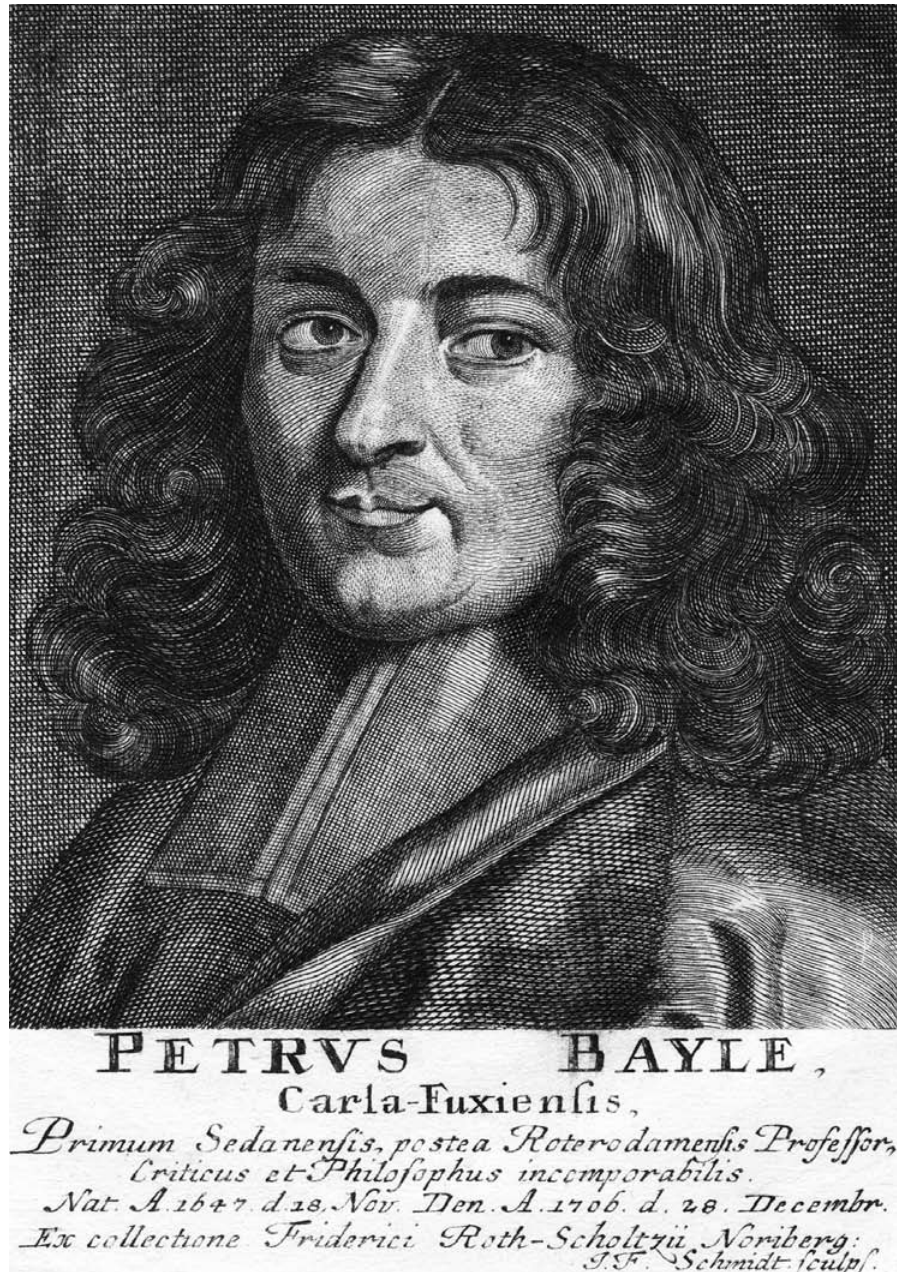
²⁷ Bucher, *Zwischen Atheismus und Toleranz*, 367f.

²⁸ Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition*, 11–14.

²⁹ The most radical article of this kind is certainly: Sandberg, *Pierre Bayles Sincerity in his Views on Faith and Reason*.

³⁰ Sandberg, *Pierre Bayles Sincerity in his Views on Faith and Reason*, 82 utters for example »that such a use of irony was entirely foreign both to Bayle's temperament and to his method of disputation.« At any rate, the above citation does not seem to make such an assumption plausible.

3.1 Dieses Kapitel skizziert das vielfältige Weiterlebens des »Dictionaire« nach Bayles Tod. Nebst Neuauflagen und Raubdrucken wurden auch Fortsetzungen, kommentierte Übersetzungen und Kompilationen auf den Markt gebracht; keine von konnte jedoch an den Erfolg des originalen »Dictionaire« anknüpfen. Dieses Kapitel versucht also zu veranschaulichen, dass nicht nur für die Zensoren die Crux des »Dictionaire« in seiner eigentümlichen Rhetorik, Ordnung und Struktur lag, sondern dass auch die Leserschaft den Reiz dieses Lexikons just darin sah.



The *Dictionaire Historique et Critique* took an unexpected life of its own after the death of his author. If we have a look at this development, we will see more clearly the importance of Bayle's narrative style, the concealed information and the exceptional way he presented knowledge. To be exact, besides the mentioned reprints and the translations there were also compilations and so-called continuations of the dictionary. In the years 1734 to 1741, Birch, Lockman and Bernard published in London a *new and accurate translation* of the *Dictionaire*, interspersed with several thousands lives never published before.³¹ A rather negative biography about Bayle can be found in this adaptation, whereas the one concerning Jurieu reports appreciatively about the deeds of Bayle's antipode. Jacques-George de Chauffepié thereafter re-translated these additional articles that did not achieve the celebrated

³¹ Birch, Thomas; Lockman, John; Bernard, John Peter (Eds.), *A General Dictionary Historical and Critical*, in which a new and accurate translation of that of the celebrated Mr Bayle is included and interspersed with several thousands lives never before published, 10 vols., London 1734–1741.

Le Dictionnaire par sa forme et sa diffusion est un outil traditionnel, mais par sa méthode nouvelle et ouverte d'élaboration et par la liberté du choix des sujets traités, il est bien le symbole de cette reconnaissance, de cette renommée intellectuelle recherchée et destinée à déborder largement les frontières des Provinces-Unies vers le Royaume de France et toute l'Europe.

Pierre Leroy, Critique, savoir et érudition à la veille des Lumières, ed. Hans Bots, Amsterdam 1998, p. 177.

abundance of ideas of the original *Dictionnaire*. Chauffepié once more added further material and printed his compilation, entitled *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique et critique pour servir de supplément au Dictionnaire de Monsieur Bayle*, in The Hague in the middle of the 18th century.³²

Whereas Birch and Chauffepié did not portray Pierre Bayle in a very gratifying manner, the later editions of Moréri's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique* did surprisingly quite the opposite, even though the first versions of this work were the main objective of vigorous attacks in Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, as we know.³³ The twentieth and final edition of the Moréri-Dictionary naturally still toed the official line of the French court and Sallier, the responsible censor, gave it the verdict *la Religion respectée comme elle doit l'être [et un œuvre] sans aigreur ni satire*.³⁴ But despite this fact, the work apostrophized Bayle as a *professeur [...] célèbre par les ouvrages qu'il a donnés à la fin du XVII siècle, pleins d'érudition & écrits avec beaucoup d'esprit & de politesse*, while Jurieu was described as a man having *des emportemens qui alloient jusqu'à la fureur, indignes non-seulement d'un pasteur de l'église mais encore d'un honnête homme*.³⁵ Even more astonishing and significant is that the same *Dictionnaire* that was only shortly before banned by Louis XIV., now served the editors of the new Moréri as a valuable source of information. Entries with the reference *Bayle, diction. crit.* at the end of the text are at any rate nothing uncommon.

The German edition by Gottsched is remarkable too in this context, for the reason that it is more than a simple translation. Because of the alleged *freyen und anstössigen Stellen, die in diesem baylischen Wörterbuche vorkommen*³⁶, the latter deemed necessary to expand the original formulations with own remarks. His wish was to make the translation more compatible with the German enlightened theology since it was notorious that German scholars were not really fond of passages where reason and revelation were in conflict.³⁷ Thus, the German poet was obviously anxious to dissolve these dilemmata and to reprimand Bayle in a pretty awkward manner for having written such indecent things.

Despite this manifold living on, the genuine Bayle had died irretrievably; the subtle rhetorics, the mysterious structures and the skilled arrangements of the *Dictionnaire* were not only the crux for the censors, they were as well responsible for the unique charm of this lexicon. By trying to adapt, enlarge or better, the portrayed lexicographers produced dictionaries that lagged far behind the intellectual keenness, the mental resources, the

³² Chauffepié, Jacques George, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, pour servir de supplément ou de continuation au Dictionnaire Historique et Critique de Monsieur Pierre Bayle*, 4 tomes, Amsterdam/La Haye/Leyde 1750–1756.

³³ In the whole *Dictionnaire*, only five respectful mentionings of Moréri are standing against 1612 proves of errors, spread over 565 articles. See Lieshout, *The Making of*, 126–129.

³⁴ Moréri, Louis et al., *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, 20ième édition, 10 tomes, Paris 1759, ›Approbation‹, vol. I, no pagination.

³⁵ Moréri, *Dictionnaire* (1759), vol. 2, 226f. and vol. 6, 502f.

³⁶ Bayle, Pierre, *Historisches und Critisches Wörterbuch, nach der neuesten Auflage von 1740 ins Deutsche übersetzt*, hrsg. v. Johann Christoph Gottscheden, 4 Theile, Leipzig 1741–44, ›Vorrede des Herausgebers‹, vol. 1, no pagination.

³⁷ Dingel, *La traduction du Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 116f.

3.2 Ein bekanntes Nachfolgeprojekt war die von Abbé de Marsy verfertigte *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle*, in welcher derselbe die Inhalte des *Dictionnaire* nach systematischen Gesichtspunkten neu zusammengestellt und auf die angeblich wesentlichen Aussagen gekürzt hatte. Während alle Zensurverfahren gegen den originalen, chaotisch aufgebauten *Dictionnaire* wirkungslos geblieben waren, liessen die Pariser Magistraten derweil den Abbé 1755 mit der Begründung ins Gefängnis werfen, dass in dieser Kompilation alle Skandale, welche Bayle wenigstens noch versteckt habe, nun offenkundig greifbar seien.

erudition and – that is the decisive point here – the public success of their imitated predecessor.

3.2 The Doubly Failed Try of a Restructuring of the *Dictionnaire*

All the successors introduced till now put the accent on the consequence of alterations in the content of the *Dictionnaire*. However, what happens if the content stays untouched and the structure and ordering principle is changed, can be shown with Marsy's *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle*. Even if François-Marie de Marsy, a well-known Parisian writer and compiler,³⁸ firmly took the view [*que*] *le Dictionnaire Historique & Critique de Bayle est l'Ouvrage le plus agréable, le plus savant, & sans contredit le plus célèbre de notre siècle*³⁹, he was not less certain about the fact that the chosen form was inadequate: *Quel désordre ne trouve t-on pas dans cette Collection? Tous les objets y sont confondus; l'Auteur ne distingue ni les tems, ni les lieux; il mêle indifféremment l'Histoire & la Fable, les Anecdotes sacrées & les événemens profanes. On rencontre dans la même page la vie d'un Guerrier & l'éloge d'un Savant, un système de Religion & une Historiette galante, l'article d'un Patriarche & celui d'une Courtisane. Quel mélange? Quel cahos?*⁴⁰ That was reason enough for Marsy's conviction that the order of this work should necessarily be restructured and its contents reduced to the most important statements. Therefore, the busy ex-Jesuit made the plan *de faire un choix, de [supprimer] les Notes de pure érudition [et de placer] chaque matiere dans une classe distincte*.⁴¹ Whereas Bayle had once emphasized that the lecture of his dictionary could be comparable to the onerous journey of a caravan, travelling many miles through the desert without stumbling upon a tree or a spring,⁴² Marsy promised pretentiously to his readers that because of his careful, systematic rearrangement and thanks to the concise presentation of knowledge, one would find merely fruits and flowers all over his anthology.⁴³

On looking through the *Analyse raisonnée* today's readers realize quite soon that Pierre Bayle's rare but cautiously placed and verbosely introduced flowers are definitely to be favoured compared with Marsy's vast sea of flowers that somehow got lost of his bewitching scent. It seems that the 18th century public did not judge the subject in a different way: All the time, the sales figures of the *Analyse* lay far behind the one of the real *Dictionnaire*.

But what about the reaction of the censors to Marsy's systematic revision of the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*? How did they handle a work that did not hide the explosive thoughts in the jungle of the alphabet, somewhere between the opulent vita of an ancient general and the doxography of a humanistic scholar? A work that instead of this contained *l'exposition d'un grand nombre de Systèmes, en matiere de Philosophie & de Religion; l'Atomisme, le Cynisme, le Pyrrhonisme, l'Epicurisme, & tant d'autres Dogmes moraux & Physiques*⁴⁴ orderly announced in the third and fourth

³⁸ Marsy was by the way a former Jesuit, but he was forced to leave the order already at the age of twenty. See Nappo (Ed.), *Archives biographiques françaises*, feuille 711, 132–134 (Microfiches).

³⁹ Marsy, *Analyse*, vjf.

⁴⁰ Marsy, *Analyse*, xf.

⁴¹ Marsy, *Analyse*, xiv–xvj.

⁴² See Bayle, *Lettres*, in: *Oeuvres Diverses*, tome 4, CCXVII: Bayle to Marais, le 2 d'Octobre 1698, 768f.

⁴³ See Marsy, *Analyse*, p. xv.

⁴⁴ Marsy, *Analyse*, p. xxiii.

volume under the title *Histoire des Dogmes & des Opinions*? Well, the official statement of the magistrates in Paris reads as follows: *L'Auteur ne fait que compiler ce fameux Pyrrhonien et le rend encore plus dangereux qu'il ne l'étoit déjà; puisqu'il rassemble sous un même point de vue tous les sophismes et ces traits qu'en les répandant avec un art perfide, Bayle avoit du moins cachés en quelque sorte dans divers Ecrits.*⁴⁵ Imagine that at a time where the normal *Dictionnaire* could unproblematically be consulted in public libraries, they even decided bestow a short stay in the Bastille upon the former Abbé. Remembering that the latter had written in his *avertissement*: *S'il n'y a aucun défaut dans la constitution de son Dictionnaire, j'ai eu tort d'en changer la forme [...]*⁴⁶, we can suppose that he had plenty of time in prison to reflect on probable reasons, why after all it had not been such a bright idea to alter the form.

⁴⁵ Discours du Magistrat qui a déferé aux chambres assemblées l'Analyse raisonné de Bayle, la Christiade, l'histoire du Peuple de Dieu, première et seconde parties, et les différentes défenses de ce dernier livre du 13 décembre 1755, p. 2. See also Arrêt de la cour de Parlement, qui condamne différents livres inutiles, le premier Analyse de Bayle... etc. Paris 1755.

⁴⁶ Marsy, Analyse, S. vij.

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Résumé

L'article tente à démontrer que la structure intrinsèque du genre «ouvrage de référence», combinée aux figures rhétoriques de la littérature savante, mettait les censeurs du XVIII^e siècle dans l'embarras et limitait ainsi leurs possibilités d'intervention.

À partir de cette hypothèse, l'article prend l'exemple du *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* de Pierre Bayle pour démontrer que tous les efforts de la censure à l'encontre de cette oeuvre n'ont eu que très peu d'insidences, que ce soit à Rotterdam en 1697/8, à Genève en 1713 ou à Bâle en 1736. Par contre, à Paris, son compilateur, l'abbé de Marsy, est emprisonné encore en 1755 pour avoir réorganisé le *Dictionnaire* d'après des points de vue systématiques.

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Allgemeinwissen und Gesellschaft. Akten des internationalen Kongresses über Wissenstransfer und enzyklopädische Ordnungssysteme, vom 18. bis 21. September 2003 in Prangins

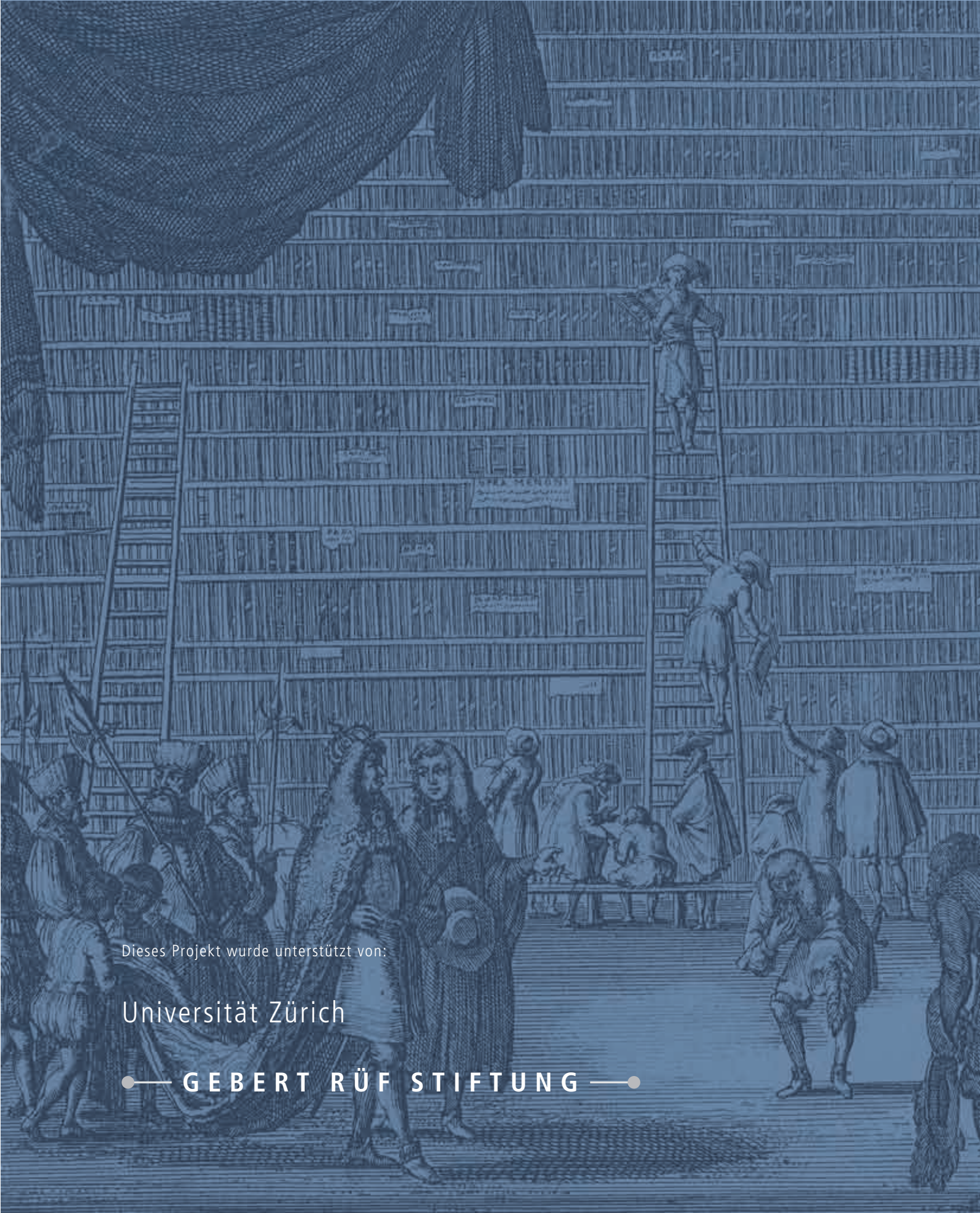
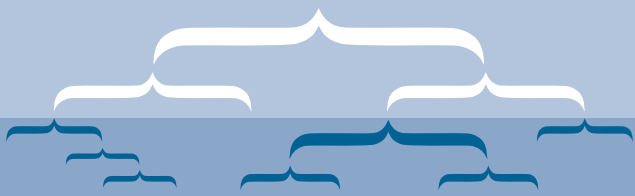
»Allgemeinwissen« ist ein gesellschaftliches Konstrukt, dessen Nachfrage ebenso erfunden ist wie seine Inhalte und die Formen seiner Anordnung – aber wer sind die Akteure im Prozess der Vermittlung von Wissen, Bildung und Information und in welchem Verhältnis stehen sie zur Gesellschaft? Der Band diskutiert die Problematik »Allgemeinwissen« am Beispiel einer scheinbar stabilen und angeblich einheitlichen Form des Wissens: den Enzyklopädien. Wie sich diese Medien des Kulturtransfers verändern, wie sie mit dem Dilemma umgehen, einerseits stabiles und andererseits aktuelles Wissen zu reproduzieren, ist Gegenstand einer Debatte, die sich weder auf die Enzyklopädien der Neuzeit noch auf ausschließlich europäische Beispiele beschränkt. Enzyklopädien tragen zur Popularisierung von Werten und Ideen im Alltäglichen bei, und ihre Erforschung erlaubt es, die Verbreitung von gesellschaftlichen und politischen Ordnungsvorstellungen nachzuvollziehen. Die Beiträge sind interdisziplinär und global vergleichend konzipiert, sie untersuchen Verlegerdynastien, fragen nach dem Einfluss von Zivilgesellschaften und thematisieren die Rolle politischer Machthaber bei der »Bildung« von Gesellschaften. Die nationalstaatlichen Interessen im Entstehungsprozess von Enzyklopädien in Indien und Australien stehen demnach ebenso zur Debatte wie die in die Antike zurückreichenden Vorstellungen, wie Wissen geordnet sein sollte. Die Mechanismen der Zensur in Frankreich des 18. Jahrhunderts wie auch Formen des Sammelns und Ordnen in demokratischen und totalitären Systemen der Neuzeit werden genauso berücksichtigt wie die Frage, durch welche deontologischen Grundprinzipien die Suche nach Wissen gelenkt wird.

All you need to know. Proceedings of the international congress on knowledge transfer and encyclopaedic ordering principles: Prangins, 18–21 September 2003

»General knowledge« is a social construction. All its aspects, ranging from the need for it, to its content and its forms of organisation, are invented. But who are the protagonists in the process of transferring knowledge, education and information and what is their role in society? This volume discusses the issue »general knowledge« using the example of an apparently stable and supposedly consistent form of knowledge: encyclopaedias. Questions like how these medias of cultural transfer change through time, how they deal with the dilemma of reproducing stable and at the same time current knowledge are treated through a wide range of examples, including non-European and non-modern texts. Encyclopaedias contribute to the popularisation of values and ideas in everyday life, and research on encyclopaedias can reveal notions about social and political order. The articles are designed to be interdisciplinary and comparative on a global scale. They examine publishing dynasties, enquire about the influence of civil societies and deal with the role of political rulers in efforts to »educate« societies. The interests of nation states in the production of encyclopedias in India and Australia are debated along with ideas dating back to the ancient world on how knowledge should be organised. Mechanisms of censorship in 18th century France and ways of collecting and organising knowledge in democratic and totalitarian systems of modern times are considered just like the question, through which deontological principles the search for knowledge is regulated.

Les labyrinthes du savoir. Actes du congrès international sur la transmission du savoir et les principes d'ordre encyclopédiques, 18–21 septembre 2003 à Prangins

Le concept de »culture générale« est une construction humaine. Ses exigences, ses contenus et la forme de sa présentation sont des produits artificiels – mais qui sont les acteurs dans cette transmission du savoir, de la culture et des informations et quel rôle jouent-ils dans une société? Le volume présente ces questions liées à la »culture générale« à partir d'un exemple du savoir accumulé que l'on croit acquis et uniforme: les encyclopédies. Quels transformations ont subi ces médias du transfert culturel? Comment ont-ils géré le dilemme d'être à la fois garant d'un savoir acquis sans pourtant négliger l'actualité? Ce débat ne se limite ni aux encyclopédies des temps modernes ni aux exemples européens. Les encyclopédies apportent dans la vie quotidienne des systèmes de valeurs et des concepts intellectuels; leur analyse permet de reconstituer la diffusion des systèmes de classification d'ordre social et politique. Les contributions reflètent une approche interdisciplinaire et comparative au niveau global. Ainsi elles analysent des dynasties d'éditeurs, l'influence de la société civile ou du pouvoir politique sur le concept de »culture générale« d'une société. Le débat s'ouvre sur des thèmes aussi variés que les intérêts nationaux dans la création d'encyclopédies en Inde ou en Australie, les concepts de classification remontant à l'antiquité, la censure dans la France du XVIIIe siècle et les différentes formes de donner un ordre aux collections dans des régimes démocratiques et totalitaires. Enfin, nous trouvons la question cruciale de savoir quels sont les principes déontologiques qui nous dirigent dans notre recherche du savoir.



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Universität Zürich

— GEBERT RÜF STIFTUNG —