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The Influence of Travel Literature on the works of Pierre Bayle with particular reference  
to the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique

by

Juliette Joy Charnley

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

1990

This thesis studies the way in which travel literature (récits de voyages) influenced the thought and writing of Pierre Bayle, in particular in his Dictionnaire Historique et Critique. We study this work in detail, showing the different uses he makes there of travel literature, and the way in which he very carefully selects the examples which best suit his arguments. Each area of the world is exploited in a specific way - for example the Far East is quoted almost exclusively in support of arguments on persecution and tolerance, whereas the Middle East provides material on a greater variety of topics. Bayle gives information about other nations, which he sometimes criticises and ridicules, but more often he uses récits to attack Europe and european prejudices.

We also analyse Bayle's other works, throughout which we note a certain evolution in both his awareness and exploitation of travel literature. In the early works of the 1680s he draws on récits in a fairly limited way - they provide him with a certain number of ideas and arguments, which, however, he does not develop to any great extent. As his writing progresses, though, we see him introducing travel literature more and more, and exploiting fully its considerable potential.

Finally, we place Bayle's use of travel literature in context by comparing him with other seventeenth-century writers, studying the frequency with which journals of the time reviewed récits and by looking at lists of récits published during this period. This enables us to show that not only is he quite different from other writers in the extent of his debt to travel literature, but also that his use of this literature reflects faithfully the number and type of récits available.

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**THE INFLUENCE OF TRAVEL LITERATURE  
ON THE WORKS OF PIERRE BAYLE  
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO  
THE DICTIONNAIRE HISTORIQUE ET CRITIQUE**

by

**Juliette Joy Charnley**

Thesis submitted  
to the University of Durham,  
Department of French,  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## List of the most frequently used abbreviations

### Bayle

CP - Commentaire Philosophique

CPD - Continuation des Pensées Diverses

CQC - Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique

DHC - Dictionnaire Historique et Critique

NRL - Nouvelles de la République des Lettres

PD - Pensées Diverses

ROP - Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial

Articles and footnotes from the Dictionnaire are underlined (e.g. Leon, Mahomet A, Rem C).

### Moréri

GDH - Grand Dictionnaire Historique

### Journals

BAM - Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne

BC - Bibliothèque Choisie

BUH - Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique

HOS - Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans

JdS - Journal des Sçavans

## Chapter I: Background to Travel and Travel Literature

Récits de voyages played a major role in the history of ideas throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, widening horizons, and providing material which enabled many in Europe to question Christianity and its universality, and criticise European customs. As other countries and continents became better known, it became clear that although different they were not necessarily inferior, and indeed often had positive features which compared favourably with Europe. Evidence provided by travellers thus enabled Libertins and Philosophes to base their doubts and criticisms on fact. Hence atheist societies were no longer merely suggested as possibilities, but shown to exist in parts of America, Asia and Africa, and, equally important, shown to work. The lack of any knowledge of Christianity in many countries also placed doubt on theories of Universal consent, and the certitude of Christianity was further shaken by discoveries which appeared to contradict the Bible (Chinese chronology, which did not accord with Christian accounts, the lack of any knowledge of the Flood in China, the naked yet unashamed Africans who did not seem to have suffered the fate of Adam and Eve). Thus Divine Right, Absolutism and even Christianity itself came under attack, for their claims to validity seemed increasingly unsure once it became so clear that they were not universally recognised. The world had become a bigger, more diverse place than had previously been realised. Although some Europeans were shocked by the discovery of societies which had existed perfectly well for centuries without any knowledge of Christianity, such ammunition was welcome to the Philosophes, who were also encouraged by scientific advances and an increasing desire to replace superstition and tradition with facts and reason. Such critical methods led naturally towards increasing relativism, a greater awareness and acceptance of the world's diversity, a highly sceptical attitude to both dogmatism and Christianity, and, ultimately, deism.

The influence of récits was thus vital in bringing about the changes in mentality which were such an important part of the preparation for the eighteenth century. The

récits which appeared from the Renaissance onwards, and which were to be used to such effect by later writers clearly contributed to the move towards the Enlightenment. Facts versus Religion, experience versus authority, the separation of faith and morality, belief in progress and comparative methods, the shaking of certainty in a no longer fixed world, all these were the messages conveyed by récits and promoted by philosophers.

Récits were written by different kinds of travellers - firstly traders who concentrated on details about prices and trading conditions, encouraging others to conquer new lands and increase the amount of commerce done there; secondly, missionaries, who were primarily concerned with converting other peoples to Christianity, and also had their own form of propaganda, stressing the importance of their task and asking for help or finances; thirdly soldiers, sailors and officials who gave precise, day-to-day experiences; fourthly 'savants' who travelled for their pleasure, as a form of education or means of collecting inscriptions or old books and manuscripts. All were travelling for different reasons, seeking something different, and their motivations, expectations and personal interests naturally affect the sort of récit which they produce, as do of course their education and writing ability. Each writer obviously goes into greater detail on the subjects which seem to him to be the most important, adopting a style which generally reflects his occupation (for instance a récit may be direct and to-the-point or interspersed with learned quotations and observations). It is important then to look at récits in the light of the author, and be aware that some were not always very objective or well informed, having very often prejudices and false ideas which clouded their judgement. Others were simply naive and failed to be sufficiently strict about the information and sources they employed, allowing distortions to creep in. Equally, the readers' expectations exercised an important influence in two ways: firstly by determining what was published (récits about Africa for instance were not very popular) and secondly by influencing the style of récits (some writers feeling compelled to incorporate all sorts of strange encounters and adventures in order to interest the reader, or adopt an adventure-story style). As well as true accounts of journeys to far-off lands, there was an increasing vogue throughout the seventeenth century for utopian travel stories in the tradition of writers such as Plato, More, Bacon, and Campanella. Such tales enabled

writers to subtly criticise Europe, describing ideal societies in which inequality, injustice and lack of freedom were unknown. Hence it was possible to attack established society without doing so too directly, and quite strong criticisms could sometimes be levelled at Europe, the writer taking refuge behind the defence that he was merely recounting the situation as he (or more often some other person whose manuscript he was simply editing, translating or publishing) had observed it in another country.

Apart from the popularity of utopian travel accounts, it is also interesting to note the 'fashions' for different parts of the world which manifested themselves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to Martino, Turkey and Persia were at the height of their popularity from about 1670-1685, publications on Persia having increased ten-fold from the 1660s onwards, and those on India having doubled.<sup>1</sup> Siam came to the fore during the 1680s, thanks to the exchange of ambassadors and the arrival of Jesuit missionaries. Its popularity was however short lived (lasting until about 1705), quickly taken over by China which, thanks again to the Jesuits, became massively popular at the end of the seventeenth century, on until at least the 1730s. Promoted by the Jesuits and taken up by the Philosophes as an important arm in their battle, China's popularity and influence were to be considerable and long-lived. Africa, we note, was never in any way fashionable during this period, it stood for all that was uncivilised, inhabited by 'sauvages', a wild continent whose population was rendered wild and uncivilised by the climate and arduous conditions. The 'New World', the Americas, on the other hand, represented for many Europeans virtue and purity. They saw this recently-discovered continent as possibly representative of a more natural, uncorrupted human being who had not been affected by the vices rampant in Europe ('le bon sauvage'). In contrast China was seen as a symbol of wisdom ('le sage Chinois'), an ancient civilisation which had existed and developed for many centuries away from Western influences and had much to teach Europe. The hierarchy of races was clear - whites at the top, followed by the Americans and Asians, with the Africans on the bottom rung. This order is confirmed by Bernier in his *Nouvelle division de la Terre, par les differentes Especies ou Races d'hommes qui l'habitent, envoyée par un fameux Voyageur*

à Monsieur \*\*\* à peu près en ces termes' (Journal des Sçavans, 24 avril 1684, pp.148-155) where he suggests four categories of human, divided by physical traits:

- (a) Europe, parts of N.Africa, parts of Asia
- (b) Africa
- (c) Far East
- (d) Lapps

The Lapps are described as 'de vilains animaux' (p.151) whereas Asiatics are 'véritablement blancs' despite having 'de petits yeux de porc' and 'trois poils de barbe'. As for Americans they are not even considered different enough from Europeans to constitute a fifth category. We note then on the one hand the lack of any distinction, or at least very little, between Europeans and certain other peoples (notably Asians and Americans) and on the other the insistence upon the 'otherness' of the African, who appeared to possess no qualities whatsoever. Such beliefs, built up into theories and published in learned journals, were clearly encouraged by prejudices already circulating in Europe. They in turn influenced the attitudes of potential travellers, fashioning their expectations and their written accounts.

We intend now to look in a little more detail at different areas of the world, giving some background to the beginning of travelling by Europeans, where they journeyed and how the meeting between two cultures turned out.

Japan was first discovered by European travellers in 1543, and the first Christians arrived there in 1549. François Xavier had great hopes for the Christianisation of this country, and by the middle of the seventeenth century it is estimated that there were about 300,000 Japanese converts.<sup>2</sup> However, a movement against Christianity coupled with xenophobic reactions to Portuguese and Spanish traders, regarded as threatening invaders, began in 1614, culminating in the banning of Christianity in 1640. From then on converts were persecuted and forced to renounce their adopted faith, and Japan closed up to Europe (until the nineteenth century), retaining only a tenuous contact through Dutch traders, accorded very limited access.

French missionaries were established in Siam by the seventeenth century but it was only in the 1670s that the French first began to see the possibilities for the establishment of trading links between the two countries. Correspondence was exchanged between Louis XIV and the Siamese Emperor Phra Narai who eventually in 1680 authorised an ill-fated first expedition which was shipwrecked. In 1684 however the Siamese sent two representatives to Paris, following which commercial accords were decided upon, enabling the French to purchase merchandise such as silk and porcelain. The following year a French expedition set out, led by the Chevalier de Chaumont and including six Jesuits (on their way to China), and in 1686 the Siamese again visited Paris. Contacts were well and truly established, a treaty was signed, and the French seemed fairly confident of their chances of converting the Emperor to Christianity (although as Tachard had to admit in his account of the journey, despite declaring his friendship for the Jesuits and their King, the Emperor had no intention of adopting their religion). Very soon afterwards, however, these hopes were reduced to nothing, for on the death of Phra Narai in 1688 a revolution in Siam altered the political situation dramatically, making all promises and treaties invalid and rendering impossible any continuation of the links established.

As for China, a Jesuit mission was established by Ricci and Ruggieri in Macao in 1583. After the death of Ricci in 1610 his work was continued by Schall and Verbiest. The Jesuit approach was one of subtle integration and harmonisation, seeking to underline the resemblances between Chinese beliefs and Christianity in order to facilitate conversions, and play down the aspects of Christianity with which the Chinese had the greatest difficulty. This was the motivation behind the abandonment in 1594 of the clothes worn by the Bonzes which the Jesuits had at first adopted, assuming that as in Europe this 'priestly' attire would gain them respect. Once they had understood that contrary to their belief the Bonzes attracted very little respect, they decided to opt for the clothes of the 'lettrés', thus assimilating themselves to this class of 'savants' who were held in higher esteem. Indeed, this fitted in extremely well with the policy adopted by the Jesuits who attempted first to gain the confidence of the Chinese by stressing their intellectual interests (especially mathematics and astronomy) rather than their religious

motives, which remained hidden. They proceeded carefully, taking account of the opinions of the Lettrés, and this approach at first met with some success, for they were greatly admired for their intelligence and wide knowledge. Aware of the strict hierarchy respected in Chinese society, the Jesuits set out to convert the Emperor, convinced that if they could manage this, then many other conversions would follow. As in Siam, however, where missionaries were led to believe (or wanted to believe) that the Emperor was close to conversion, this adoption of Christianity never came about. It was indeed true that 'l'astronomie et les mathématiques ont ouvert les portes du palais impérial'<sup>3</sup> but the Jesuits perhaps failed to realise that the Emperor and his savants were simply interested in learning from their European visitors, and not at all interested in adopting their religion. By 1601 Ricci's mission had managed to gain a foothold in Peking, and the Jesuits started to become extremely powerful at court. Their scientific knowledge and comprehension of the Chinese language gained them admiration and also enabled them to block the attempts of hostile nations (i.e. Protestants) to set up links with China. Acting as interpreters, they worked against the efforts of Dutch traders who would have liked to establish commercial links with the Chinese. They were also in a powerful position to counter their rivals, the Dominicans and Franciscans, with whom they were very soon in disagreement over the means to be used in the conversion of the Chinese.

In the early years of the seventeenth century the Jesuits managed to convert a certain number of officials, but in 1617 the first incidences of persecution of Christians occurred and after 1620 no more Lettrés were converted. Schall arrived in Peking in 1630, and continued the work of attempting to reconcile Christianity with Confucianism, the other two religions of China, Taoism and Buddhism, having been rejected as idolatrous. The Jesuits were naturally far from in agreement with certain fundamental Confucian concepts, such as the rites rendered to Confucius and the dead, and the family-system, whose corner-stone was filial piety, but they saw identifying with Confucianism as the best way of making progress with conversions. Hence the need to prove that such rites were civil and not religious and therefore not idolatrous, coupled with the necessity of finding links between Christianity and Confucianism. It was claimed, then, that biblical knowledge had been brought to China by Noah, but had since been forgotten and

corrupted by Taoism and Buddhism. The Jesuits claimed that signs of these Supreme Laws could still be found in symbolic form in many Chinese characters and in Confucianism, and that if one knew how to interpret them such signs could be discovered. Thus began the convoluted attempts by the Jesuits, culminating in the work of the Figurists later in the century (Bouvet, Foucquet, Prémare) to prove the respectability of Chinese beliefs and their common source with Christianity.

This approach, which insisted essentially upon reconciliation and harmonisation, was condemned by the other religious orders, who saw it as a compromise which failed to uphold the purity of Christianity. The Dominicans and Franciscans had adopted a policy of evangelisation of the 'peuple' and were opposed to the Jesuit practice of discussion with the Lettrés, gradual integration by passing themselves off as Western intellectuals, leading to the acceptance of idolatrous rites. The Jesuits' enemies were not prepared to compromise at all as far as the rites were concerned, and this was the important difference between them. In order to gain China the Jesuits considered that it was worth giving in on one or two points - Christianisation by whatever means - and if necessary they were willing to go against Rome in order to do so. Thus confusion was maintained over the translation of certain key terms, such as 'God', which in Chinese was rendered in the same character as for 'sky'. According to the Jesuits 'sky,' in Chinese had a spiritual as well as material meaning, but this was contested by their opponents. Similarly, the translation of 'soul' presented some problems, and the solutions adopted often resulted in the deformation of Christian concepts.

Bringing about the Christianisation of the Chinese, the merging of two ways of thinking, was however a difficult process, given that the Chinese operated according to a totally different system. They had no attachment to absolute truth, and believed that various religions had good points from which a synthesis could emerge. In this, as in their rejection of arguments based on universality and authority, they were diametrically opposed to the Jesuits:

*...du fait de l'absence de tout esprit de système, les cloisons entre différentes doctrines étaient beaucoup plus perméables en Chine qu'elles ne l'étaient en Occident .<sup>4</sup>*

The need for religion to serve the collective good, provide visible signs of its usefulness, was equally in contradiction with the Christian teaching of individual conscience and salvation, and the Chinese fear of disruption of social peace ultimately led to mistrust of the Jesuits. Once it became clear that Christianity threatened to cause internal conflicts and upset the social balance, the swing against the Jesuits began.

With the support of the Emperor and a certain number of Lettrés, however, the Jesuits managed to maintain their position, fighting on the one hand persecution within China and on the other opposition from Rome. A papal decree against the Chinese Rites in 1645 was succeeded by another approving them in 1656, and innumerable books and treatises were published either attacking or defending the Jesuit position. Although Chinese intellectuals were becoming increasingly impatient with the Christians and eager to promote 'Chinese ideas' Emperor Kangxi (1661-1722), who had no desire to be converted but was very interested in studying with the Jesuits, accorded the Christians the Edict of Tolerance (1692), hailed as a great victory. This did not however manage to calm the situation down, since the Jesuits continued to publish their controversial ideas, according to which the Chinese had had previous knowledge of Christ. Considerable scandal was caused by Le Comte's Nouveaux Mémoires de la Chine (1697) in which he attempted to prove these claims, and the work was eventually condemned by the Sorbonne in 1700.<sup>5</sup> A papal condemnation followed this further blow to the Jesuits' hopes for China, rendered definitive by the Ex quo singulari in 1742. Despite their continued presence at the court of Peking (from which all other missionaries were barred from 1724 onwards, expelled to Canton) it was clear that the Jesuits had lost their battle for China, their attempt at a spiritual conquest had completely failed, and this important episode in their history was to come to a close in 1773 with the suppression of the order.

It is true to say that to a certain extent the image of China created by the Jesuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was deformed and incomplete. As Martino says, missionaries in the East 'ont contribué à créer certains des aspects, faux ou vrais, sous lesquels le XVIIIe siècle a vu l'Orient'.<sup>6</sup> They were so eager to find correlations between

Christianity and Confucianism, that very often the originality of Chinese thought was ignored and differences glossed over. Certain elements were played down or omitted, enabling the Jesuits to create the image which suited them, but which was not necessarily a true reflection of China. However, we must admit that they were an important source of information on China for the eighteenth century, opening up this relatively little-known country and awakening interest in it. Ting Tchao-Ts'ing recognises that despite their errors 'les missionnaires ont rendu à la France dans le domaine des Etudes sinologiques des services appréciables...Grâce à eux, les Français sont parvenus à acquérir des connaissances diverses sur la Chine'.<sup>7</sup> Etienne too gives them credit for their important achievements in this area:

Qu'on aime ou non les Jesuites, qu'on souhaite ou non la diffusion du Christianisme, on doit reconnaître qu'en deux siècles ils nous ont initiés à l'une des plus belles civilisations...Enchinoisés qu'ils étaient, ils enchinoisèrent l'Europe, et fondèrent la sinologie. Condamné leur apostolat, supprimée leur Société, c'en est fait de la sinophilie.<sup>8</sup>

'Discovered' and made fashionable by the Jesuits, China was, ironically, to become important for the eighteenth century Philosophes who saw there much which backed up their attacks on Christianity.

If the Far East was dominated by Jesuit missionaries, who were the principal authors of récits which informed Europe about China and Siam, the Near and Middle East were much more accessible to travellers, and hence we find more traders and 'savants' publishing accounts of journeys there. Unlike the Far East, which for a long time remained relatively unknown to Europeans, there had always been considerable contact with the Middle East, especially through the trade in spices, cloth and silk, which arrived in Europe via the Red Sea, controlled by the Arabs since the seventh century.

From the earliest years of Islam, the Arabs had begun to conquer large tracts of land, and already by the eighth century controlled almost all of Spain. This moslem threat

began to be resisted in the late eleventh century, with the first of the Christian crusades, which were to last over a period of two centuries. The Crusades, motivated by a mixture of spiritual and expansionist reasons (the desire to defend Christianity coupled with an awareness of the gains to be made in invading Asia) met with variable results. Later, in 1453, the Christian loss of Constantinople was a particularly low point. In Spain, a Christian counter-attack also began during the eleventh century, meeting with some success from the thirteenth century onwards, culminating in the 'reconquista' of 1492 (the beginning of the expulsion of Moslems and Jews, completed in 1609). Meanwhile, the Turks were gradually taking over the rest of the Islamic world (1516 Syria, 1517 Yemen, 1555 Mesopotamia, 1574 East and Central Maghreb) and except for the centre and south-east of the Arabian Peninsula and Morocco, the Middle East was largely to remain under Ottoman rule until 1918.

During the fifteenth century, the Portuguese began their attempts to discover the 'route des Indes' in order to by-pass the monopoly on trade held by the Arabs and Venetians. Thus in the 1450s they explored the coasts of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1485 and in 1498 reached Calicut in India, where they set up trading posts. They gradually increased their holdings, taking Cochin (1502), Sri-Lanka (1505) and Goa (1510). There was of course considerable hostility from those who up until this time had enjoyed the profitable monopoly of this trade, and in subsequent years there was to be a tussle between several nations for control of the 'route des Indes', the Portuguese eventually giving way to the Dutch and English in the seventeenth century. Rather belatedly, the French arrived on the scene in 1664, after the creation of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, creating 'comptoirs' in Surat (1668) and Pondichéry (1673), but the spice-trade was already firmly in the hands of the Dutch, who also developed trade in indigo, silk and opium.

After the end of the Crusades, the Europeans continued to pursue a policy which was a combination of religious fervour and opportunism. Whilst remaining opposed to Islam and the Turks, the Europeans had no scruples about contracting alliances with the Turks when necessary (for example the French in 1535) and making the most of their position to establish 'comptoirs' and consulates in towns such as Aleppo, Cairo and

Damascus. Despite initial opposition to this kind of truce, European traders quickly realised the advantages to be gained, and moved into Syria, Egypt and Lebanon, requesting 'capitulations', which enabled them to be independent and carry on trade without being subject to Ottoman laws. The Venetians established themselves in Aleppo in 1548, followed by the French in 1562, the English in 1583 and the Dutch in 1613, and other 'comptoirs' were created in Lattaquié, Alexandrette, Tripoli, Saïda, Saint-Jean d'Acre and Ramlé. At the same time, religious orders (Franciscans, Cordeliers, Jesuits) began to arrive in the region, establishing missions in the major towns. Their action was relatively limited, though, given that they were forbidden to convert the Moslem population. Through their Lettres Edifiantes (from 1703 onwards) they did however convey to Europeans a certain amount of information about Islam and the Middle East. Further West, in the Maghreb, European ships maintained their opposition to Moslem pirates who not only disturbed trade but also made considerable sums of money by capturing Christians who were subsequently ransomed. In order to counter the actions of these Corsaires, the Portuguese, Spanish and French moved into North Africa, but contented themselves with holding well-defended ports, rather than extending their occupation to the interior.

The defeat of the Ottomans at Vienna in 1683 marked in some way the downturn of their fortunes, although this decline had been evident and inevitable for some time already. The Ottomans were unaware of the technical and military progress which had been made by the Europeans, and unable to undertake the fundamental reforms which would have been necessary. From the eighteenth century onwards, Europe's technical superiority became more marked, and it was increasingly clear that European nations were only interested in the Middle East for the purposes of trade and colonisation - the region became on the one hand a source of raw materials, and on the other an outlet for European exports.

As we have pointed out, the American Indians were generally held in higher esteem than the Africans, who consistently found themselves at the bottom of the racial 'hierarchy'. The shock of the discovery of the New World inevitably raised many

serious questions for the Europeans, who had previously been more confident about their knowledge of the world. The anxiety caused by such a major discovery led naturally to some negative reactions, resulting sometimes in a refusal to recognise the high level of civilisation of these newly-discovered peoples. Other travellers, though, sought to assimilate these societies, attempting in the process to remove their newness and render them more acceptable, thus fitting them into the Christian pattern. Some writers have described the discovery and colonisation of the Americas as a search for a lost innocence or Paradise,<sup>9</sup> it is sure though, that the Spaniards who came to the Spanish New World in the sixteenth century had more down-to-earth motives, such as the promise of wealth, the possibility of social improvement or simply the desire to leave Spain.

The history of European travels to South America begins in 1492, with the discovery of the West Indies. By 1519 Mexico had been brought under Spanish control, by 1532 the Aztecs had been defeated, and the end of the Incas came in 1555. The success of the Spanish was aided by the persistence amongst the Aztecs and Incas of beliefs concerning the return of one of their gods, and a curious concordance of dates between this god's predicted arrival and the actual arrival of the Spanish invaders:

De deux choses l'une, ou votre prince et vous tous êtes des tyrans qui allez semant la destruction par le monde, usurpant les trônes, tuant et volant ceux qui ne vous ont point fait injure et ne vous doivent rien, ou vous êtes ministre du Dieu que nous appelons, nous, Pacha Camac, qui vous a choisis pour nous châtier et nous détruire. S'il en est ainsi, mes vassaux et moi nous nous offrons à la mort et à tout ce que vous pourrez désirer de nous; non que nous ayons peur de vos armes et de vos menaces, mais pour accomplir ce que mon père Huaina Camac nous a enjoint à l'heure de sa mort: de servir et honorer une race barbue comme vous l'êtes qui devait venir après son trépas; il avait entendu dire, des années auparavant, qu'ils erraient sur les bords de son Empire. Il nous dit que ce devait être des hommes de meilleure loi et meilleures coutumes, plus sages, plus valeureux que nous. C'est pourquoi, en accomplissement du décret et testament de mon père, nous vous avons appelés 'viracoches' pour signifier que vous êtes messagers du grand Dieu Viracocha, dont la volonté et la juste indignation, les armes et la puissance sont irrésistibles. Mais ce Dieu connaît aussi la pitié et la miséricorde. Pour autant, vous devez agir en messagers et ministres divins, et ne point permettre que continuent meurtres, pillages et cruautés comme il s'en est produit dans Tumpiz et ailleurs.

Garcilaso de la Vega, Réponse de l'Inca Atahualpa aux ambassadeurs de Pizarro.<sup>10</sup>

This cruelty, mentioned by Atahualpa, was indeed one of the features which characterised the 'conquista' (later renamed 'descubrimiento'), in which the conquest of both land and souls were meant to go hand in hand.

The Indian population was decimated by wars, in which the superiority of European weapons weighed heavily against them, and by illnesses introduced by the invaders to a population which previously had had no contact with the outside world. The psychological shock of the encounter with Europeans, the introduction of slavery in order to work the land and exploit the rich gold and silver mines and the excessive workload imposed by the colonisers weakened still more the indigenous population, whose numbers fell dramatically (estimated at 70 million in South America, and 25 million in New Spain in 1518, down to only 2 million in New Spain by 1585). Rounded up into 'encomiendas' (meant to facilitate the process of evangelisation) the Indians found that their life and customs were not respected and their religious practices forbidden. A number of different orders were present in South America from the earliest years - the Franciscans arrived in 1524, the Dominicans in 1526, the Augustinians in 1533 and the Jesuits in 1572 - and they set about destroying pagan sites and idols, and attempting to convert the Indians, many of whom adopted Christianity through fear or practised it alongside their former beliefs. The geographical problems and lack of sufficient priests to cover the vast areas involved meant that Christianity had very often a superficial influence, and was unable to become well implanted and accepted amongst the Indians.

Despite their zeal and desire to convert as many Indians as possible, some missionaries were extremely sympathetic towards them and took their defence against the Spanish colonisers (for example Las Casas in numerous works). Once again we see the missionaries playing an ambiguous role of intermediaries between the indigenous population and the colonisers - attempting to convert the Indians to Christianity, but at the same time very often sympathetic to them; searching for an acceptable explanation for the New World and its ignorance of Christianity but also on occasions defending Indian culture and languages and denouncing attempts at destruction or assimilation. Thanks to the work of some of these missionaries, these civilisations unknown in Europe, became more familiar, with dictionaries and grammars being compiled for instance. However at

the same time the missionaries were part of the machine which sought to dominate and exploit this new world, destroying the existing social structure, imposing foreign laws and customs. They too sought to fit it into a European cadre, explaining it with references to Antiquity and the Bible, and looking for resemblances which might make it less confusing. Despite these weaknesses and criticisms however we can perhaps recognise that, like the Jesuits in the Far East, important attempts were made by the missionaries to learn the language and culture of the indigenous population and much knowledge was acquired by Europeans because of the work of preservation and transmission undertaken by them.

At the same time European travellers began to colonise North America, with the English and Dutch gradually taking over from the first explorers, the Spanish and Portuguese, who had opened up the south. At the end of the fifteenth century Cabot discovered Newfoundland, during the sixteenth century Hudson Bay was explored and in 1535 the Frenchman Jacques Cartier travelled along the Saint Lawrence and made a first attempt to establish a colony on the present site of Quebec. Whilst the Spanish continued to be present in Florida and Mexico, the English established a colony in Virginia (1605) and in 1606 Champlain gained Acadie (now Nova-Scotia) for the French and founded Quebec. The Dutch opened up a flourishing fur-trade during the early seventeenth century, and this trade became one of the major occupations of colonists in Canada. Further south, the colonists lived off crops which varied according to the land, and organised themselves in societies which again were different according to their religious beliefs and motivations for emigrating - many emigrants were fleeing poverty or persecution in Europe, and came to America hoping for a better life. The beginnings of the colonies were difficult, but in New England they expanded and flourished as more people arrived. The result was that the Indians found it increasingly difficult to oppose the whites, who already numbered 200,000 by the end of the seventeenth century, rising to one and a half million in the English colonies and 65,000 in the French territories by 1750. This numerical imbalance, and the inability of the French to establish a viable colony in Canada, meant that the English were ultimately the victors in North America -

having ousted the Dutch from New York in 1664, they gained Quebec in 1759, and by 1763 French ambitions on the continent were over, with England gaining Canada, Florida and all territory east of the Mississippi, and consolidating her power in the thirteen Atlantic provinces.

As for Africa, for many years Europeans failed to show any real interest in the continent, and knowledge of African customs and geography remained scanty:

Les cultures de l'Afrique noire seules restent totalement inconnues...Aussi bien des cultures non-écrites, enfermées dans un continent inexploré mais ravagé sur son pourtour par la traite, étaient-elles de toutes les moins accessibles.<sup>11</sup>

...encore, n'est-ce guères que des côtes; presque tout l'intérieur n'est pas aujourd'hui trop connu, et encore moins fréquenté.<sup>12</sup>

During the fifteenth century, as we have said, the Portuguese began to explore the West African coasts, in their search for the 'route des Indes', but as was the case in the Maghreb, the Europeans were very little interested in colonisation, and were content to remain on the coast rather than venturing further inland. The increasing importance of the spice trade with the East Indies, and the interest raised in the gold, ivory and pepper to be found in Africa led to the establishment of more bases by the Europeans. The slave trade, created by the insatiable demand for labour from the Spanish colonies in South America, also brought to West Africa European traders who were soon established all along the coast, from Mauretania to the Congo. This trade, which was to continue until the nineteenth century, was dominated by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, followed by the Dutch in the seventeenth and the English in the eighteenth, and proved to be most lucrative - conditions in the sugar-cane plantations of the West Indies were so severe, that the supply could hardly meet the demand, and by the end of the eighteenth century, about 100,000 Africans were being sold into slavery every year. The effects of this trade were absolutely devastating, but there were no protests from Christian churches in Europe, who

on the contrary quoted passages from the Old Testament in justification and placed special emphasis on the need to convert these pagans by any means.

The French were based mostly in Senegal, the Dutch on the Ivory Coast, and the English on the Gold Coast, and further south the Portuguese held Angola and Mozambique. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch also began to see the strategic importance of the Cape, which had been overlooked by both the English and Portuguese. They established a base there in 1651, and although once again were not interested in colonisation, they did introduce some immigrants to service passing ships. Despite the lack of a deliberate policy of colonisation, the white population, made up of French Protestants and Dutch expatriates, had reached 22,000 by the end of the eighteenth century, and there were also 25,000 slaves. Considerable problems with the Africans had already emerged, leading to frequent skirmishes with the Bushmen and Hottentots. For the time being, though, southern Africa remained very largely for the Europeans a staging-post on the way to the East Indies, and there was almost complete ignorance of and indifference to Central Africa.

European behaviour with regard to the continent betrayed the persistence of many prejudices which had been encouraged by the Classics and not dispelled by later writings such as Leo Africanus' Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde, an extremely influential work translated into French in 1556. European travellers started out with a whole series of prejudices which were reinforced by their lack of knowledge, failure to understand the Africans and frustrations encountered in trade and missionary work (for example attempts at conversion by Portuguese Jesuits in Abyssinia were largely unsuccessful). Given that they already had a very negative image of Africa at the outset, any problems were naturally blamed on the 'wicked' Africans, who were uncivilised. Whereas the American Indians were an unknown quantity, and therefore could be accorded the benefit of the doubt, no such attitude prevailed as far as the Africans were concerned. In this climate of ignorance and half-truths, all sorts of theories and explanations flourished, especially concerning the blackness of Africans, seen as a sign of evil and depravity. The Comte de Gabalis in his Entretiens sur les Sciences Secretes declares the Africans to be the descendants of Noah's cursed son Ham, punished for his

disobedience by the birth of black children (see the article Cham in Bayle's Dictionnaire), and although in 1738 a writer in the Mémoires de Trévoux declares that 'nous autres Européans nous trouvons un teint noir effroyable; préjugé tout pur, effet de l'habitude' (p.1157)<sup>13</sup> he seriously considers the suggestion that the Africans may be descended from Ham. The thesis of 'châtiment divin' is rejected, to be replaced by more scientific theories, according to which through the combined effects of sun, air and food the descendants of Ham gradually turned black. He also suggests that if a slow transformation from white to black is possible, the opposite may also be true, and could happen if a black family was brought to Europe:

N'y a-t-il aucune apparence que le teint de leurs Descendans ne se débroüillât, et ne s'éclaircît peu-à-peu... Y a-t-il un Physicien, un Naturaliste, un Médecin qui osât assurer que ce progrès du noir au brun par degrés successifs fût absolument impossible?

p.1180

Maurile de Saint-Michel also writes that 'cette nation porte sur le visage une malédiction temporelle, et est héritière de Cham... Ne vous étonnez donc plus, pauvres Nègres, si vous êtes nés à la servitude, et si votre ligne sera esclave jusqu'au jour du Jugement; c'est pour punir l'ingratitude de votre père, c'est pour apprendre la piété à toutes les Nations.'<sup>14</sup>

Over several centuries, then, the view of Africans which prevailed in Europe remained somewhat negative, and a greater interest was shown in other parts of the world. Europeans continued to have only the vaguest notions about African geography, fewer accounts of journeys to the continent were published, and those that appeared generally made little impression. Amongst récits published the work of Dapper stands out as having been exceptional in the picture it attempted to draw of the continent and is recognised now as 'le plus important des ouvrages de synthèse consacrés à l'Afrique dans la seconde moitié du [17ème] siècle'.<sup>15</sup> Numerically, though, Africa was clearly under-represented as far as publications were concerned, for all the reasons outlined above.

Having given these brief outlines of the historical background to travel by Europeans in different parts of the world during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we intend to go on to look in more detail at the ways in which travel literature affected readers and writers in Europe. Récits were very popular during this period, and played an important role in influencing the way people wrote and thought by stimulating criticism of Europe and encouraging a more relativistic approach. The example of Bayle, central to this study, will enable us to look in detail at one particular writer's use of the material made available by récits. His use of this literature will also be compared with other writers who had access to récits and may have been influenced by them. With these specific examples we hope to come to some conclusions about the role of récits in French seventeenth century literature and their importance in preparing the eighteenth.

(1) Pierre Martino, L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, Hachette, 1906), p.173, p.43.

(2) Edward Hagemann, 'The Persecution of the Christians in Japan in the middle of the Seventeenth Century', The Pacific Historical Review, 11(1942), 151-160 (p.151).

(3) Souéou Gotô, 'Les premiers échanges de civilisation entre l'Extrême-Orient et l'Occident dans les temps modernes', Revue de littérature comparée (1928), 401-409 and 601-618 (p.402).

(4) Jacques Gernet, Chine et Christianisme. Action et réaction (Paris, Gallimard, 1982), p.299.

(5) Journal Historique des assemblées tenues en Sorbonne pour condamner les Mémoires de la Chine (Paris, 1700).

(6) Martino, p.45

(7) Ting Tchao-Ts'ing, Les Descriptions de la Chine par les Français(1650-1750) (Paris, Geuthner, 1928), pp.34-35.

(8) Etiemble, Les Jésuites en Chine. La querelle des rites (1552-1773) (Paris, Julliard, 1966), p.291.

- (9) Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth. Some thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man, translated by Elizabeth Wentholt (NewHaven, Yale U.P., 1965).
- (10) Quoted in La tolérance. Essai d'anthologie. Textes choisis et présentés par Zaghoul Morsy, second edition (Paris, UNESCO, 1988), pp.108-109.
- (11) René Pomeau, 'Voyages et lumières dans la littérature française du XVIIIe siècle', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 57 (1967), 1269-1289 (p.1287).
- (12) 'Explication Physique de la noirceur des Negres. Par le P.M.\*\*J à S.Domingue,' Mémoires de Trévoux (juin 1738), 1153-1205 (pp.1176-1177).
- (13) 'Explication Physique de la noirceur des Negres...'
- (14) Quoted in La tolérance, pp.110-111.
- (15) Roger Mercier, L'Afrique Noire dans la littérature française. Les premières images (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles) (Dakar, 1962), p.45.

## Chapter II: A Survey of Bayle Criticism

Mais quoiqu'on n'approuve pas ses sentimens sur la Religion, on ne peut que l'on n'avoue que la République des Lettres lui est bien redevable... Peut-être qu'en pesant sans prévention le bien et le mal que ses livres ont produit, on pourroit avancer qu'il seroit à souhaiter qu'il n'eût jamais écrit.

Moréri, 1740.

Before turning to look in greater detail at the links between Pierre Bayle and travel literature, it may be useful to give a brief 'aperçu' of existing criticism, attempting to trace the evolution of thinking about him, and show current trends. We include major studies of Bayle and others which provide useful and interesting insights, and divide the literature thematically: general studies, biography, studies of specific works, tolerance, scepticism/rationalism/religion, history and critical methods, Bayle's reaction to travel literature and his influence on the eighteenth century.

Brief studies of the contribution of Bayle in specific areas, such as tolerance or scepticism, are encountered in general works which aim to look broadly at different aspects of the history of ideas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such works can provide useful introductions to Bayle, indicate his major preoccupations and place him in the wider context of both the seventeenth century (relations with other French and European intellectuals, political standpoints) and the eighteenth (his legacy to future generations). Other authors have made general studies focused more directly on Bayle himself, mixing biography, brief analysis of the major works and comments on Bayle's beliefs and attitudes. Lenient's *Etude sur Bayle* (1855) depicts a very different Bayle from the one which emerges in some later works of criticism. Lenient sees him as indifferent to religion, making excessive use of reason, weakening Christian faith and giving an apology of atheism. For Lenient Bayle was most definitely a sceptic, a precursor of the eighteenth century whose support for tolerance was simply an indication

of his indifference to religion. He expresses doubt at the suggestion that religious zeal may lead to intolerance, and gives a damning description of Bayle's character (insincere, disrespectful, anarchic). In his Portraits littéraires (1854) Sainte Beuve is somewhat more sympathetic, as is Faguet who in his Dix-huitième siècle (1890) gives a fairly detailed study of Bayle. He discusses the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique and Bayle's contribution to the debate on tolerance, and importantly stresses that one should not forget that whilst Bayle is often seen as a precursor of the Philosophes, he is also very different from them. In 1912 Cornelia Serrurier published Pierre Bayle en Hollande in which she gives biographical details, describes the political situation in the Netherlands, Bayle's standpoint on political issues and his religious views. After looking carefully at the evidence provided by his works, she concludes that 'Bayle n'a jamais désavoué le calvinisme, ni par ses écrits ni par ses actions' (p.142) and that if we want to find any sense or logic at all in his writings we must assume him to have been 'un Calviniste froid, mais sincère' (p.207). In contrast to this point of view, in 'Les tendances générales de Bayle et de Fontenelle' (1927) Lévy-Bruhl stresses the profoundly subversive, threatening nature of Bayle's opinions, arguing away all reasons for believing in religion, and functioning as 'une machine de guerre contre presque tout ce que le XVIIe siècle tenait pour certain et sacré' (p.52). The collection of essays published in 1959 under the direction of Paul Dibon, Pierre Bayle - le Philosophe de Rotterdam follows more closely the direction taken by Serrurier. Different writers contribute essays on a range of subjects, from Popkin on Bayle and scepticism, to Labrousse on the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres and Thijssen-Schoute on the diffusion of his ideas in Europe. This is an important contribution to the overall appreciation of Bayle, throwing light on various aspects of his life and work. Labrousse's seminal work Pierre Bayle - Hétérodoxie et Rigorisme (1964) follows a first biographical tome and deals in considerable detail with Bayle's views on a whole range of topics - religion, scepticism, history, conscience, tolerance. Labrousse convincingly defends a Christian reading of Bayle, in which she sees him first and foremost as a Calvinist, living in a Huguenot milieu and influenced by a Protestant education. These views are at odds with those of

certain other writers, as we will see in due course, for many class Bayle as a sceptic very largely free from any Christian convictions.<sup>1</sup>

The biographical work by Labrousse mentioned above, Pierre Bayle - Du Pays de Foix à la Cité d'Erasmus (1963) has become the reference for any study of Bayle's life. Interest in this subject goes back to Desmaizeaux, whose eulogistic Vie de M. Bayle appeared in the 1730 edition of the Dictionnaire. Being a devoted and loyal friend of Bayle, Desmaizeaux is not entirely objective, but his account is nonetheless an interesting contemporary view of Bayle. Most recent studies include at least a sketch of Bayle's life in order to put his works into context but amongst more detailed and specifically biographical publications, we can indicate for example Cazes' Pierre Bayle - sa vie, ses idées, son influence, son oeuvre (1905) and André's La jeunesse de Bayle, tribun de la tolérance (1953). Cazes produced his study to coincide with the erection of a statue of Bayle in Pamiers, and perhaps in answer to some excessively violent reactions to this statue (from Rougerie for example) his account is defensive and supportive. Bayle is described as having an extremely critical mind, enjoying arguments and the exchange of ideas without, Cazes stresses, ever falling into the trap of negative scepticism. His works are seen as having been an attempt to discover some sort of truth, achieve positive results rather than simply destroy. André adopts a different approach, limiting himself to the early years of Bayle's life (up to 1675) and looking at the way in which his reading during this time influenced his views on tolerance later. A similar method is used by Ruth Cowdrick in The early reading of Pierre Bayle where she looks at the books read by Bayle up to 1684 and divides them according to subject, thus showing the areas in which he showed a greater or lesser interest.<sup>2</sup>

Analyses of all of Bayle's works can of course be found throughout the publications referred to here, in more or less detailed forms. However some works of criticism focus more precisely upon specific works rather than covering general themes. In his thesis, 'The preoccupations of Pierre Bayle in the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique' (1966) de Rycke argues that from the evidence available in the Dictionnaire 'we

must conclude that we shall never know whether Bayle was a believer or not, but all exterior indications point to agnosticism' (p.20). He considers Bayle to have been insincere in his claims of Calvinist belief, undermining and rejecting Christianity - 'far from being in the mainstream of Calvinism, he was not even alongside it' (p.53). Along the way he expresses some surprising views on Bayle's beliefs and some doubtful interpretations of the Dictionnaire. Another study of the DHC appears in Notable Encyclopedias of the 17th and 18th centuries (1981), a collection of essays on dictionaries and encyclopedias in various European countries which were the predecessors of the Encyclopédie. In 'Pierre Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique et Critique' Paul Burrell discusses the form and content of the Dictionnaire where, he concludes, there is 'nothing to relieve the flow of words, the accumulation of argument upon argument in the search for fact and rational proof' (p.91).<sup>3</sup>

Tolerance is a major topic which recurs again and again in any reading of Bayle, and numerous authors in more general works on tolerance have referred to his important contribution in this field. In an article published in 1889, 'La tolérance selon Bayle', Van Goens points out that Bayle extended the debate on tolerance to China and Siam, declaring that the Chinese would never tolerate the Jesuits if they knew that the Christians were guilty of such dreadful persecution. Dubois, in 'Bayle et la tolérance' (1902) studies the place accorded to tolerance in the DHC where, he concludes, Bayle gives no clear declaration of his views on the matter. He suggests that the impossibility of believing that one religion or one system is necessarily more 'true' than another led Bayle towards his firm attachment to the ideal of tolerance. Constantinescu-Bagdat (Etudes d'Histoire Pacifiste, 1928) stresses more the separation between religion and morality, considered central by Bayle, the importance of conscience, even in error, and the necessity of tolerance simply in order to keep the peace. A slightly different point of view is proposed by Huse, who sees behind Bayle's attacks on intolerance, systems, certitudes and absolute truth a 'grand sceptique' ('Pierre Bayle et l'idée de tolérance religieuse', 1952, p.24), whose philosophical beliefs were essentially negative:

...la tendance de la philosophie baylienne est essentiellement négative... la philosophie négative de Pierre Bayle est le fondement de son attitude positive envers la tolérance religieuse.

p.30

However, Labrousse's assessment of Bayle's defence of tolerance is much more positive, for instance in 'Note à propos de la conception de la tolérance' (1967). She begins with some general comments on tolerance, then goes on to more specific remarks concerning Bayle, pointing out the influence of the DHC in forwarding and popularising the concept. Bayle's 'tolérance outrée' is contrasted with the 'semi-tolérance' displayed by other writers in the seventeenth century and by the Philosophes. This line of argument has been followed by other critics, for instance Berkvens-Stevelinck who in 'La tolérance et l'héritage de Bayle en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle' (1978) shows how there was a shift from the total tolerance of Bayle towards a more restrictive understanding of the term in the eighteenth century. Her study centres upon Prosper Marchand, who reedited a number of Bayle's works in the early 1700s. Through studying his attitudes to tolerance as expressed in letters and his own additions to Bayle, she is able to show how a considerably less tolerant attitude can be discerned.<sup>4</sup>

If more recent writers tend to agree on the subject of Bayle's attitudes to tolerance, on the complex subject of scepticism and religious belief no such consensus can be observed. Indeed, interpretations of Bayle's beliefs vary wildly, from sincere Calvinism to scepticism and even atheism. If Jeanmaire (Essai sur la critique religieuse de Pierre Bayle, 1862) declares Bayle simply to be pursuing one of many different forms of truth, keeping religion 'dans le coeur, dans la conscience' (p.99) and Pillon ('Le scepticisme de Bayle', 1895) felt that 'jamais il n'y eut intelligence plus ouverte, plus libre, plus active, plus éveillée, plus ennemie, peut-on dire, de tout repos et de tout sommeil dogmatique' (p.147), others have been severely critical of Bayle's tendency to scepticism. In La Genèse du Scepticisme érudit chez Bayle (1878) Deschamps criticises the use of doubt when it 'goes too far' and Mgr. Rougerie's Bayle le sceptique et la tolérance à Pamiers en 1898 is one long tirade against the philosopher. For Rougerie tolerance implies simply

'une indulgente condescendance pour ce qu'on ne peut empêcher' (p.6) and Bayle, atheist in his eyes, was utterly opposed to religion, intolerant of those who wished to believe and guilty of such unacceptable suggestions as the separation of religion and morality. Such then was the passion still aroused by the memory of Bayle almost two centuries after his death, passion which led some writers to the wildest and most unfounded of criticisms and accusations. Although in this century evaluations of Bayle's degree of scepticism have generally been considerably more measured and substantiated, it remains true that working from the same texts and evidence, critics continue to come to diametrically opposed conclusions. A certain number fall into one or another of the two extremist camps, others opt for a middle way. For Delvolvé in Religion, Critique et philosophie positive chez Pierre Bayle (1905) Bayle should be described as a critic rather than a sceptic. He is sceptical in that he is seeking truth, but not in a negative, destructive way. Brunetière ('La Critique de Bayle', 1911) chooses the term doubter rather than sceptic, but nonetheless concludes that Bayle gradually radicalised his views, moving 'au socinianisme, au déisme, à l'athéisme, libre et hardi penseur si jamais il en fut' (p.111). Hazard ('Les Rationaux (1670-1700)', 1932) stops short of this, for him 'il en vint tout au bord du scepticisme' (p.701) but the very title of Howard Robinson's Bayle the sceptic (1931) leaves us in no doubt as to his conclusions. In these pages Bayle is a 'decided sceptic', feeling 'disgust with Christianity' (p.243). Mason, for whom Bayle was not a sincere Calvinist ('Pierre Bayle's religious views', 1963) has followed this line of argument, whereas James ('Scepticism and fideism in Bayle's Dictionnaire', 1962), Brush (Montaigne and Bayle: variations on the theme of scepticism, 1966) and Bracken ('Bayle not a sceptic?' 1964) have posed the question of Bayle's possible fideist beliefs. Although in recent studies these two interpretations have been pursued, there has perhaps been a tendency to lean more towards the picture of a Calvinist Bayle. Barber adopted this line in 'Pierre Bayle: faith and reason' (1952) and Labrousse, in her two-tome study and numerous articles, has strongly defended the view of Bayle as a writer firmly fixed in a Huguenot context. Rex ('Pierre Bayle: the Theology and politics of the Article on David', 1962 + 1963) defends his view of Bayle's Calvinist orthodoxy and suggests that in his political activity Jurieu was quite possibly the least orthodox of the two, altering

fundamental Calvinist positions in order to fit in better with his political aims. Sandberg (At the Crossroads of faith and reason, 1966) considers that Bayle probably remained Christian, even if in a somewhat resigned fashion, as does Gergeay ('Fidéisme et tolérance chez Pierre Bayle', 1974). Rétat ('Libertinage et hétérodoxie - Pierre Bayle', 1980) describes Bayle as 'peut-être la figure parfaite de l'hétérodoxe' (p.211) but points out that attachment to philosophical investigation is not incompatible with belief in Christianity, and suggests that for Bayle fideism may have been a way of avoiding sectarianism and intolerance.<sup>5</sup>

The theme of Bayle's scepticism and use of doubt is closely linked to that of historical criticism, since he believed that when studying history it was above all necessary to keep an open mind and doubt all assertions until adequate proof has been found. Kenshur ('Pierre Bayle and the structures of doubt', 1988) looks at Bayle's use of doubt in the DHC and sees his scepticism as a kind of journey, 'a search for truth...although his encyclopedia, like all books, must ultimately stop, its form is emblematic of an inclusive procedure that cannot be enclosed in any book, a procedure that never stops' (p.315). Labrousse too has written on this use of critical historical methods in the DHC ('La méthode critique chez Pierre Bayle et l'Histoire', 1957 and Pierre Bayle et l'instrument critique, 1965), showing how rigorous Bayle attempted to be, examining all facts and judging them critically. His desire to leave no part of human knowledge outside his sphere of investigation led naturally to clashes with more orthodox writers, both Catholic and Protestant, who felt that in subjecting religion to rational examination he was endangering Christianity. His application of scepticism to history led him then into much controversy, discussed by Rex (Essays on Pierre Bayle and religious controversy, 1965) who opposes the vision of Bayle as an atheist or sceptic. He gives arguments for Bayle's orthodoxy, using the article David as the centrepiece, and showing that it was in fact Jurieu who was moving away from traditional Protestant positions, and Bayle who sought to defend them. He sees in David an attack on Jurieu, who for political motives was bringing about changes in long-held Calvinist standpoints. A similar view of an orthodox Bayle as opposed to an innovative Jurieu has been put

forward by Labrousse in 'Le Refuge Hollandais, Bayle et Jurieu' (1967) where she shows their disagreements on tolerance and absolutism, and discusses Jurieu's innovative moves in theology. In more general terms, Bayle's position within the Refuge has been covered in a thesis by Schlossberg, whose 'Pierre Bayle and the politics of the Huguenot diaspora' (1965) deals with the varying political views of the Protestant exiles.<sup>6</sup>

Many critics have warned against the danger of seeing Bayle only in terms of his eighteenth century successors, forgetting the very important Calvinist context of the Refuge. However, despite major differences between them, his influence upon the Philosophes is undeniable, and has given rise to a number of studies which look at Bayle's role in relation to the eighteenth century. Some writers have chosen to draw direct comparisons between Bayle and certain Philosophes, for instance Haxo in 'Pierre Bayle et Voltaire avant les Lettres philosophiques' (1931), Madison in 'Bayle and Montesquieu. Toward the age of revolution' (1971), Cook in 'The problem of certitude in the historiography of Pierre Bayle and Voltaire' (1976) and Mason, Pierre Bayle and Voltaire (1963). Mason looks at the influence of Bayle upon Voltaire, using evidence from his writing to show which works of Bayle he had read and how they influenced him. Fairbairn in his thesis 'Bayle in France and in French émigré circles abroad 1696-1740' (1966/7) has looked more generally at the influence of Bayle in the eighteenth century. Both Labrousse ('Obscurantisme et Lumières chez Pierre Bayle', 1963) and Rétat (Le Dictionnaire de Bayle et la lutte philosophique au XVIIIe siècle, 1971) stress the importance of seeing Bayle in his seventeenth century context, and not regarding him solely in terms of his successors. Labrousse underlines the differences which separate these generations, differences which were often covered up by the Philosophes when not convenient, and concludes that 'ce serait mutiler l'oeuvre du philosophe de Rotterdam que de la ramener entièrement à ce qui, en elle, ouvrait les voies à l'esprit des Lumières' (p.1048). Rétat similarly makes a point of setting Bayle in context and indicating the differences between him and later writers. But he shows too what a major influence the DHC had upon the Philosophes, its critical methods setting the pattern for the eighteenth century, its many paradoxes and contradictions providing a rich source of information.<sup>7</sup>

As far as Bayle's use of travel literature is concerned, the existing literature consists mostly of scattered remarks in different books and articles. Labrousse gives in a footnote a list of the récits chiefly used by Bayle, and in an article Akagi discusses Bayle's use of Far Eastern récits.<sup>8</sup> She begins her article by declaring that there were many more travellers to the Far East in the seventeenth century than is commonly thought, and goes on to say that generally these travellers found in the East solutions to problems faced by Western societies. Their travels enabled them to criticise their own countries and establish a model to be followed. Akagi considers that despite the exchanges of ambassadors between France and Siam (in 1684 and 1686) and the beginning of a fashion for Far Eastern art, western knowledge of the Orient remained superficial, and readers of récits found different things in China and Siam depending upon their sensibility and what they were looking for. She divides the evolution of Bayle's knowledge of China into three stages - before 1682, the years during which he published the NRL and the CP, the later years when the DHC, RQP and CPD appeared. Akagi remarks (p.19) on Bayle's interest in the ridiculous customs of other peoples, and his denunciation of superstition, but warns nonetheless that some récits were a little exaggerated and not necessarily to be believed. The NRL are marked out as being important for having considerably increased Bayle's knowledge of récits (p.21) since in order to satisfy the curiosity of his readers he was obliged to be up-to-date with the latest literature on the subject. Bayle found much in these other nations which enabled him to be very critical of Europeans (p.22) and he admired the pacifism of the Chinese, their respect for history, their tolerance and the attitudes of the *Philosophes Chinois*. Akagi notes too that the Chinese, believed to be atheist, provided an excellent example of the virtue of non-believers (p.25). The religion of the Siamese too, of which Bayle is very critical, nonetheless enables him to develop his thoughts on providence (pp.26-7).

Other writers cover the topics which are most often evoked in connection with Bayle and travel literature. The use of the example of China as a supremely tolerant country is remarked on by Van Goens, who says that Bayle extended the debate on tolerance to Eastern countries and showed that religions other than Christianity were

capable of morality and virtue (pp.127-8). He also mentions that Islam was often more consistent than Christianity and less guilty of persecution. Labrousse (T.II, p.522) makes a similar point, as do Pinot and Lanson, who continues his argument by reminding us that Bayle declared the Chinese to be tolerant, moral and virtuous despite being atheist. The lack of any connection between religion and morality and the undermining of the theory of universal consent by the atheism of the Chinese are central themes in the work of Bayle, as numerous writers have remarked. Delvolvé says that the example provided by récits enabled Bayle to show that religion does not make people more moral (pp.379-81) and that universal consent cannot be proved (p.269). A similar point is made by Atkinson with regard to the Pensées Diverses, strongly influenced by travel literature. He lists the separation of morality and faith, the rejection of miracles and relativism as examples of the way in which Bayle was influenced by récits (p.193).<sup>9</sup> Guy remarks that the Rites Controversy was useful to the Libertins, enabling them to show that atheism was not incompatible with morality, ruining in the process theories of universal consent (p.123). The Chinese provided an example of positive atheism, and as Pinot comments (p.327, p.427) this argument was so useful and effective against universal consent that it was widely used by Libertins. Rowbotham (p.281) echoes these remarks and both Hazard (T.I pp.13-14, p.210, T.II pp.71-75) and Serrurier (p.191) have referred to Bayle's use of récits in showing that atheist societies exist and are not necessarily vice-ridden. Etiemble (p.32), Maverick (p.21) and Labrousse (II pp.105-8) have mentioned Bayle's belief in the atheism of the Chinese:

Pierre Bayle ne s'y trompa point, qui tira de ces révélations l'assurance que les philosophes Chinois ignorent le Dieu personnel et transcendant.

Etiemble, p.32

He accepted the decision of that court, [la Sorbonne] and rated the Confucians as atheists. Indeed, that was the prevailing opinion among non-Jesuits, for the ensuing generation.

Maverick, p.21

The influence of travel literature upon Bayle and his exploitation of its potential are also emphasised by Maverick:

Bayle was an important figure in the history of European writing on China, though he had little to say about that country in the fields of economics or government. He was clearly influenced by the condemnation of the books of Le Comte and Le Gobien at the hands of the Sorbonne.

p.21

Martino notes that 'à mesure que l'information se fit plus scientifique, à mesure aussi les livres de vulgarisation perdirent un peu de leur imprécision primitive. Le Dictionnaire Critique de Bayle a sur l'Orient des articles qui certes ne sont point méprisables' (p.135). Serrurier refers to the article Golius (p.178) and Atkinson mentions Bayle's references to utopian voyages in Sadeur (p.37). Wade refers to Bernier, Chardin, Thévenot and Tavernier, declaring that only the latter is mentioned in the DHC (although this is in fact incorrect, all are referred to by Bayle) and Guy cites the NRL and PDC to illustrate his point about the influence of travel literature on Bayle's writing:<sup>10</sup>

In this way does Bayle represent the ultimate achievement of a long line of free-thinkers who used the Chinese example in attempting to liberate themselves from preconceived modes of thought...Few of his contemporaries had the knowledge, the logic, the experience and even the stamina which he had brought to bear on the materials of his timely miscellanies... the one attitude which might best characterize Bayle and his work and which most distinguishes him from the great mass of authors writing on travel and voyages of discovery, accounting at least in part for his high repute among both contemporary and later readers: his persistent belief in and championing of tolerance. Here the importance of China is paramount...

pp.127-8

Pinot and Guy give opposing analyses of Bayle's interest in travel literature. Pinot remarks that knowledge of Siam is already evident in Bayle's works in 1697, in the first edition of the DHC (Sommona-Codom, Spinoza) but he argues that before 1700 Bayle displays little interest in China (p.318). For Guy on the other hand the early works

are the most important, and he considers there to be little evidence of a continuing interest in China by the time of the DHC:

...his first attacks were the most striking - and the most successful, serving him well as a springboard to further criticism.

p.130

According to Guy the basis for the development of Bayle's thought is situated in the earlier works, a certain interest also being shown for the Orient in the RQP and CPD. At variance with these writers, who acknowledge the importance of travel literature in Bayle's work, is Stegmann, who writes that Bayle was not interested in 'ceux qui attaquent les institutions par la fantaisie ou le paradoxe, notamment par les voyages, réels ou imaginaires' (p.353). In his opinion, 'Bayle ne témoigne qu'indifférence, hostilité ou mépris' towards such writers (p.354).<sup>11</sup> This is, however, not the opinion of the majority of critics.

Although not being himself a great traveller, Bayle enjoyed corresponding with travellers such as Bernier<sup>12</sup> and exploited the potential of travel literature whilst at the same time remaining critical and questioning:

Tout le monde sçait qu'il n'y a rien de plus incertain que les Relations des Voyageurs, car les derniers réfutent toujourns les premiers, et quand on a voulu verifiser sur les lieux avec quelque exactitude, ce que l'on avoit appris dans les livres, on a toujourns trouvé un grand méconte.

NRL octobre 1684

This sceptical attitude to récits has been remarked on by Jossua, who shows that doubt becomes very important when considering travel accounts, since it is difficult to be sure of their veracity. Bayle's 'méfiance' towards travellers' stories, too open to distortion and imprecision, should perhaps be borne in mind throughout the study which we intend to conduct here - he was aware of the potential of travel literature, and used it extensively, but this did not prevent him from being very wary of inexactitude. Chupeau notes that in

the seventeenth century travellers had become more aware of the need to be precise and stick to the facts, even if the most scrupulous of writers also resorted to adventure in order to keep the reader interested. At the same time authors insisted on the veracity of their accounts, which were seen as a means of combining 'l'utile et l'agréable'. Those who wanted a good story were satisfied, and so were those interested in learning something (p.541). Chupeau suggests (p.553) that the importance accorded to the exact recounting of history may have been encouraged by the popularity of récits.<sup>13</sup>

Labrousse has remarked on the way in which Bayle's use of travel literature continued to influence later writers, the PDC or the article Japon perhaps having been sources for the Lettres Persanes. Pomeau also notes 'un rapport entre ce goût des voyages...et la formation de l'esprit philosophique' (p.1271), but suggests that writers read travel accounts because they were 'philosophes' rather than becoming philosophers through their reading. They 'pouvaient à ces sources parce que leur esprit de philosophes les conduisait vers elles, sachant que s'y trouvait l'aliment que demandait leur pensée' and ultimately 'les relations de voyageurs pourraient être considérées comme des effets plutôt que comme les causes du mouvement philosophique. Leur vogue manifeste les progrès de celui-ci, qu'elle amplifie si elle n'en est pas la "raison suffisante"' (p.1279).<sup>14</sup>

We plan then to contribute to the study of Bayle's links with travel literature by looking in greater detail at his reading and use of récits in his various works. In this study we will concentrate primarily upon the DHC, Bayle's major work, thus giving a sharper focus to the points which will be made. The Dictionnaire, containing all the important themes of Bayle's works, will function as a work of reference, in relation to which the other works, whilst being studied in their own right, will be situated. Through them we will be able to trace the evolution of certain ideas in Bayle, showing how they emerge in earlier works and are continued or developed later on. In this way we hope to show how the Dictionnaire is an important indication of the evolution of Bayle's thinking, an accumulation of thoughts developed over several decades.

The 1720 DHC will be used throughout, since it incorporates the notes left by Bayle and added by Prosper Marchand and is more complete than previous editions. Marchand's edition was criticised when it appeared but as Berkvens-Stevelinck has pointed out, the arguments were largely unfounded.<sup>15</sup> Opponents had various reasons for their criticisms, ranging from booksellers in Geneva worried that their 1715 pirated edition would not sell, to Desmaizeaux's personal dislike of Prosper Marchand and anger at his exclusion from the preparation of future editions.

The 1720 edition, unlike later ones, has the advantage of providing clear indications of the date of each article (a hand marks passages dating from 1702, an acorn indicates those added in 1720). It is thus possible to know in which edition an article, footnote or paragraph initially appeared, and this is invaluable when attempting to trace the development of a writer's thought and its gradual evolution. In later editions the different 'couches' are not so evident, hence this work of tracing the different 'étapes' in the growth of the Dictionnaire becomes difficult if not impossible.

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Rotterdam' (pp.536-576). Marchand defended his plans for a new edition of the DHC in the Journal littéraire of 1716 ('Défense de la Nouvelle Edition du Dictionnaire de M. Bayle').

Berkvens-Stevelinck, op.cit.

### Chapter III: The Importance of the Dictionnaire, Bayle's Interests and Reading

In his study of the contents of mid-eighteenth century libraries, Daniel Mornet comes up with some interesting statistics regarding the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique.<sup>1</sup> It dominated the libraries covered (p.455), coming top of the list as the work most often encountered, 299 copies occurring in 288 libraries (out of a total of 500 catalogues). We learn that half of the Churchmen in Mornet's study owned it, and three fifths of the others, and the conclusion is that it is 'le grand livre du siècle, pour un certain public tout au moins' (p.463). The large numbers of historical works and récits de voyages enumerated by Mornet (p.456) also point to a strong interest in these areas of study during the eighteenth century, areas with which Bayle himself was closely concerned. Mornet's findings thus show that readers appreciated literature such as récits and that Bayle's interests were a reflection of the interests of a wider reading public.

As well as having had a profound influence on all sorts of people during his lifetime, Bayle's work continued to influence readers well into the eighteenth century. Lenient sees Bayle as a precursor of the Philosophes, as does Cazes, and Cassirer declares that the work begun by Bayle was developed and brought to fruition in the following century. Hazard shows the momentous influence of the DHC, whose readers, Rétat reminds us, were from all camps.<sup>2</sup> Others have underlined the important part played by Bayle in establishing tolerance as a theme which was to be taken up in the eighteenth century. This ideal was to be his legacy to the following generations, a theme established in part through constant reiteration in the DHC. Bonet-Maury shows how the progress made by the concept of tolerance, eventually culminating in the Edict of Tolerance of 1787, is an indication of the success of Bayle's work, and for Gay too it is clear that the critical methods of the Philosophes and their attachment to the ideal of tolerance were adopted from Bayle. Labrousse too, in numerous works, has demonstrated the importance of this theme in Bayle.<sup>3</sup>

The Philosophes did of course themselves recognise the importance of their predecessor and the enormous debt they owed him. Voltaire, a perhaps not entirely representative Philosophe, nonetheless gives an interesting judgement of Bayle in his Siècle de Louis XIV:<sup>4</sup>

C'est par son excellente manière de raisonner qu'il est surtout recommandable, non par sa manière d'écrire trop souvent diffuse, lâche, incorrecte, et d'une familiarité qui tombe quelquefois dans la bassesse; Dialecticien admirable, plus que profond philosophe, il ne savait presque rien en physique... Ses autres propriétés reconnues ou soupçonnées ont fait naître enfin la vraie philosophie. On a eu des démonstrations nouvelles, et des doutes nouveaux: de sorte qu'en plus d'un endroit, le sceptique Bayle n'est pas encore assez sceptique. Il a vécu et il est mort en sage.

T.1 p.78

He calls the DHC 'le premier ouvrage de ce genre où l'on puisse apprendre à penser' (T.3 p.251) and reminds us of the persecution Bayle suffered in Rotterdam because of the intolerance of Jurieu and other Protestants (T.1 pp.79-80). This long passage, not present in the 1751 edition, has been added by 1773, and in it Voltaire says of Bayle that some Protestants 'lui enjoignent de ne jamais justifier aucun Pape, parce que, disent-ils expressement, ils ne sont pas de leur Eglise. Ce trait est un de ceux qui caractérisent le mieux l'esprit de parti' (p.79). Voltaire also comments on those writers who attempted to continue the work of Bayle - he remarks that, inevitably, they failed to write as well as him:

Les continuateurs ont cru qu'il ne s'agissait que de compiler. Il fallait avoir le génie et la dialectique de Bayle pour oser travailler dans le même genre.

p.80

When Voltaire claims that Bayle was 'retiré en Hollande plutôt comme philosophe que comme Calviniste' (p.77) we realise that to a certain extent the Philosophes saw in Bayle what they wanted, sometimes distorting his views in their desire to emphasise certain

points and play down others. Labrousse comments that in order to have an accurate vision of Bayle, he should be considered in his religious and historical context:

...situer Bayle, non pas dans un éventail théologique intemporel, mais précisément au sein de la culture et de la problématique de son époque.<sup>5</sup>

She stresses that Bayle was often writing for Protestants in a Protestant milieu, and his apparent attacks on Christianity were very often misinterpreted by later writers (pp.598-9). His thought, she concludes, should be firmly placed 'dans le contexte huguenot qui a présidé à sa formation et dans celui du Refuge au sein duquel s'est épanouie sa maturité' (p.609). It is only in this way that it will be possible to 'réconcilier les aspects contradictoires que, sous toute autre perspective, revêt une oeuvre qui semble anachronique - tantôt en avance et tantôt en retard sur son époque - aussi longtemps qu'elle n'est pas située dans son milieu historique véritable' (p.609). Dibon and Sandberg also stress the need to put Bayle in context if we want to avoid misleading interpretations, and for Pomeau Bayle was not a philosophe in the eighteenth century sense of the word, but first and foremost a Protestant. Rétat, whilst warning against the danger of seeing Bayle only in terms of the eighteenth century, remarks that he has nonetheless been seen as a link between the Reformation and the Enlightenment. For him Bayle was part of the 'crise de la conscience européenne', helping to concentrate rationalist and sceptical tendencies, expressing 'libertine' ideas which were to become profoundly important. Solé on the other hand suggests that Bayle could be seen more as a final manifestation of seventeenth century Protestantism than a first sign of the Enlightenment, and Labrousse thinks that in some respects he is closer to the sixteenth than the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

All of this forces us to temper somewhat the traditional view of Bayle as a precursor of the Philosophes. He did indeed prepare the way for them, provide them with vital material and popularise ideas, such as tolerance, which were to come more to the fore and be generally accepted after his death. We should, however, always bear in

mind that his Calvinist context was essential to his writing and the development of his ideas, and that major differences separate him from his successors. We cannot agree with Mason that Bayle could reasonably have been expected to anticipate the uses posterity found for his work, uses which, as Walter Rex points out, Bayle would not always have approved.<sup>7</sup> For by 1750 the dominant ideas were totally opposed to Bayle's beliefs, and the preoccupations and characteristics of the Philosophes were quite different from his. Bayle was fundamentally pessimistic about humans and human nature, not believing humanity to be basically good, and convinced that the history of the world was a constant repetition of the same mistakes, in which no progress was ever made. His Dictionnaire was thus a catalogue of human errors, quite unlike the record of human achievements in the Encyclopédie. Bayle remained attached to theology and was interested in Church history, sometimes criticising various aspects of Christianity, but never openly rejecting it. He was conservative, unrevolutionary, remaining throughout his life convinced of the necessity of Absolutism (although this did not prevent him from criticising Louis XIV for abusing his absolute power), and for the sake of peace he argued in defence of the status quo, having no reforming zeal and preferring stability to the disorder of change. His aims and assumptions were not those of the Philosophes, he preoccupied himself with the search for truth rather than attempting to reform anything.<sup>8</sup>

Bayle's works show him to be still firmly attached to the study of humanity, and he displayed little interest in science, which was to be of such importance to the Philosophes. They were also rationalist, optimistic, believing in progress and the perfectibility of humans, confident that we can actually know things (in contrast to Bayle's doubts) and eager to change society.<sup>9</sup> Even on tolerance, a theme which is common to them, we can note divergences, Bayle perhaps having been more radical than the Philosophes, who advocated more a form of semi-tolerance rather than full liberty of conscience. They had an empirical, utilitarian approach, and argued on the grounds of social utility rather than on religious grounds, as had been the case in the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> As both Wade and Rex have said, following Sainte Beuve, Bayle's refusal to establish a system means that his DHC is full of paradoxes and contradictions, and consequently it is possible to find there whatever the reader wishes.<sup>11</sup> The Philosophes

used the aspects of Bayle which suited them (attacks on Christianity and superstition) but ignored others (Calvinism, pessimism, Absolutism), building up his thought into a system which he had never planned. It was simply the acquisition of facts which interested Bayle, he never attempted to systematise his thought, preferring to leave it open and flexible, remaining throughout his life 'un Philosophe sans entêtement'.<sup>12</sup> Although according to Voltaire Bayle was 'pas encore assez sceptique', Annie Barnes gives another analysis of the differences between Bayle and his successors, finding curious similarities between Le Clerc and the Philosophes:<sup>13</sup>

...Le Clerc critiquait et raisonnait pour conclure, Bayle pour douter. Le Clerc représente le rationalisme dogmatique de l'époque, Bayle le rationalisme sceptique...Malgré leur incrédulité, les encyclopédistes ne sont pas des sceptiques. Ils sont toujours pressés de conclure. Et tandis qu'en Angleterre, Hume était de la lignée de Bayle, le XVIIIe siècle français, tout en se réclamant hautement de celui-ci, était à son insu de la lignée de Le Clerc.

Despite these differences, Bayle's legacy to the eighteenth century was important, he who had written in 1684, 'nous voilà dans un Siecle qui va devenir de jour en jour plus éclairé, en sorte que tous les Siecles précédens ne seront que tenebres en comparaison.'<sup>14</sup> He developed philosophical reflection on the problem of tolerance, the importance of conscience and the necessity for historical objectivity. He contributed to the growth of scepticism, the rejection of dogmatism and an increasingly doubtful, critical approach aiming to destroy certainties. All of this was to be developed in the eighteenth century, much inspiration being drawn from the works of Bayle.<sup>15</sup> Increasing interest in foreign lands played a major part in the gradual acceptance of tolerance as 'normal', and contributed to a growing awareness of other forms of 'truth'. Given the vital role played by Bayle in preparing the ground for the likes of Voltaire and Diderot, and given also the importance which récits de voyages, true or invented, were to continue to have in the eighteenth century, it seems essential to draw a link between Bayle himself and these récits. Many of his ideas, especially tolerance and the rights of the erring conscience, were provided with powerful arguments by the evidence drawn from travel literature, and

these same ideas were developed by later writers with the aid of the increasing mass of information provided by travellers.

Récits constitute a relatively small but important body of works in the DHC, having often the specific task of backing up arguments on tolerance and relativity, enabling Bayle to compare and contrast different societies and criticise Europe. Dubois lists Bayle's interests as mythology, history, geography, philosophy and theology and his dislikes as literature, poetry and the sciences.<sup>16</sup> The Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans similarly notes a selective use of available material which once again betrays Bayle's own interests:

...on passe fort legerement sur ce qui concerne la situation, les confins, le climat etc. On s'arrête principalement à rapporter les proprietés du païs, ses revolutions, le genie et les moeurs des habitans, et semblables choses.

Novembre 1701, p.466

Cowdrick records similar findings in her study of Bayle's reading between 1670 and 1684, from which it appears that he had a certain interest in literature, little or none for science, and read considerable quantities of philosophy, theology and history books.<sup>17</sup> This is reflected in the varying lengths of Cowdrick's chapters - literature pp.25-41, science pp. 48-53, a series of chapters on various aspects of history, philosophy and theology pp.54-148 - as well as in the complete list of works read or referred to by Bayle which is given at the end of the study. We learn that Bayle had little interest in nature (p.49) but followed current affairs closely (p.52) and Cowdrick suggests (p.152) that there is a discernable move away from the purely literary works read early on by Bayle towards more philosophical or religious ones. It is interesting to see this pattern being repeated in the DHC, similarly heavily dominated by these subjects. Approximately 3% of the articles in the DHC contain references to récits or travel in general, a total of forty works being referred to there. Although this figure sounds rather low, the articles and use made of récits there have an importance quite out of proportion to their percentage in

the Dictionnaire. Cowdrick lists 436 books and 7 journals read by Bayle during the period 1670-1684. Five of the titles concern travel (ie 1.14% of the whole).<sup>18</sup> Two works by Bernier are also listed, but they are scientific, philosophical works rather than travel accounts. This could indicate that it is only from about 1684 that Bayle did much of the reading of travel literature which was to enable him to refer so frequently and so precisely to récits, for by the time of the DHC he clearly had much more extensive knowledge of the field. Our research has shown however, that already in the Pensées Diverses (1683) there are references to récits not picked up by Cowdrick, which would indicate that his knowledge of the field was already more extensive at this time than her survey suggests.<sup>19</sup> Cowdrick does however stop just before the NRL, which most certainly gave Bayle the opportunity to become acquainted with a wide range of books, and works such as the Commentaire Philosophique demonstrate how much reading he had done in this domain by the mid-1680s. By the time of the writing of the DHC, then, récits de voyages had come to have a central position in Bayle's work, as he became increasingly aware of how useful they could be, and how much profit he could draw from them.

We have then certain indications of the evolution of Bayle's reading and interests over the years. His youthful liking for literature waned a little, giving way to more philosophy and history books, to which he had always been attracted. A lack of interest in science continued right through his life, but récits de voyages on the other hand gained increased importance as time passed. Here there is clearly a progression in Bayle's reading from the 1670s to the works of the 1680s, and on to the DHC, where Bayle made the greatest use of this most interesting travel literature. Given this progression and given the developments which were to follow in the eighteenth century, we feel that a closer examination of the links between Bayle and récits de voyages may yield much essential information about the philosopher and his time.

(1) Daniel Mornet, 'Les Enseignements des Bibliothèques privées 1750-1780', Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France (1910), 449-496.

(2) Lenient, p.5.

Cazes, p.69.

Ernst Cassirer, La philosophie des lumières, translated by Pierre Quillet (Paris, Fayard, 1966), p.224.

Paul Hazard, La Pensée Européenne au XVIIIe siècle de Montesquieu à Lessing, 2 vols (Paris, 1946), I, pp.44-45.

Rétat, Le Dictionnaire de Bayle..., p.61, pp.74-102.

(3) Gaston Bonet-Maury, Histoire de la liberté de conscience depuis l'Edit de Nantes jusqu'à juillet 1870 (Paris, Alcan, 1900), p.55.

Peter Gay, The Enlightenment: an interpretation. The rise of modern Paganism (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), pp.290-295.

Labrousse, 'Note à propos de la conception de la tolérance au XVIIIe siècle', p.801.

Elisabeth Labrousse et Jacques Solé, Religion, Erudition et Critique à la fin du XVIIe siècle et au début du XVIIIe (Paris, P.U.F., 1968).

(4) Voltaire, Le Siècle de Louis XIV, 4 vols (Neuchâtel, 1773), I, pp.77-80.

(5) Labrousse, Pierre Bayle - t.II Hétérodoxie et Rigorisme, p.596.

(6) Paul Dibon, 'Redécouverte de Bayle', in Pierre Bayle, le Philosophe de Rotterdam, pp.vii-xvii (p.xiv).

Sandberg, At the crossroads of faith and reason, p.viii.

René Pomeau, L'Age Classique - III 1680-1720 (Paris, Arthaud, 1971), pp.192- 193.

Rétat, op.cit., pp.7-12, p.465.

Solé, op.cit.

Labrousse, 'Les Coulisses du Journal de Bayle', p.112.

(7) Mason, 'Pierre Bayle's religious views', p.210.

Rex, 'Pierre Bayle: the Theology and Politics of the Article on David', p.172.

(8) Jeanmaire, p.97.

Faguet, p.9.

Brunetière, p.180.

Serrurier, p.120, p.212.

Victor Delbos, La Philosophie Française (Paris, Plon, 1919), pp.145-152 (p.147).

Hazard, *op.cit.*, I, p.45.

Barber, p.124

Labrousse, Pierre Bayle - t.1 Du Pays de Foix à la Cité d'Erasmus, p.89.

Brush, p.331.

De Rycke, p.24.

Nannerl O. Keohane, Philosophy and the State in France. The Renaissance to the Enlightenment (Princeton U.P., 1980), p.315.

(9) Faguet, pp.12-13.

G.Gusdorf, Les Principes de la Pensée au Siècle des Lumières (Paris, Payot, 1971), pp.310-311, p.325.

(10) Labrousse, 'Note à propos de la conception de la tolérance', pp.809-810.

(11) Sainte-Beuve, p.373 note 1.

Rappelons encore ce mot sur Bayle, qui a son application en divers sens: 'Tout est dans Bayle, mais il faut l'en tirer.'

Wade, The intellectual Origins of the French Enlightenment, p.556.

Rex, Essays on Pierre Bayle and religious controversy, pp.x-xi.

(12) Lettre à Jacob, 29 May 1681, in Nouvelles Lettres de Mr.P. Bayle (La Haye, Van Duren, 1739)

(13) Annie Barnes, Jean Le Clerc (1657-1736) et la République des Lettres (Paris, Droz, 1938), pp.236-237.

(14) Nouvelles de la République des lettres, avril 1684 (p.211).

(15) Martino, pp.53, 54, 140, 181.

(16) Dubois, pp.48-49.

See also Faguet p.22 and Labrousse Hétérodoxie et Rigorisme p.230.

(17) *Op.cit.* For a review of this work see Romanic Review (1943), 79-80. The reviewer estimates that in Cowdrick's lists two thirds of the books are French, just under one third Latin, six Italian and one Spanish.

(18) These are works by Vairasse, Tavernier, Spon and two by Guillet de Saint-Georges.

(19) In the Pensées Diverses Bayle also refers to Ricaut, Bernier and della Valle.

#### Chapter IV: Récits de voyages in the Dictionnaire: the Americas

In the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique five récits on the Americas are either quoted from or referred to, in six articles, and in a certain number of articles it is also possible to discern the influence of such accounts.<sup>1</sup> Thus there are relatively few references to the Americas compared with the Middle and Far East, which are more present in the Dictionnaire. We also remark that it is especially South America which is referred to, Lescarbot being a minor reference, with no quotations. In addition, the works were already fairly old when read and quoted by Bayle in the late seventeenth century - the dates of publication stretch from 1554 to 1682 (although in fact the first edition of Cieza de Leon appeared in 1553 and the 1682 edition of Acuña was simply a translation of the original Spanish work of 1641). Bayle's sources on the Americas in the DHC were thus concentrated mostly in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (1550s-1640s). This is in contrast with both the Middle East, where the dates of publication of the récits are spread right across the seventeenth century, and more markedly with the Far East, where he depends upon very recent works, quoting for instance from récits which appeared only in the late 1690s. This may be due to his greater interest in these areas of the world, the publication of a larger number of récits on the East or simply easier access to them. Appendix B shows that these récits are clustered around a small number of articles (Léon, Léri, Richer, Villegaignon), three of which deal with the same topic; in another two articles (Acuña, Lescarbot) the works of these writers are simply mentioned and not quoted. The areas of interest are also relatively concentrated, centring mostly around the providing of information and the discussion of religion and moeurs (Appendix B). Other topics, such as government, do not seem to Bayle to be well illustrated by the example of the Americas. This again contrasts with the Middle East, where different topics are covered fairly evenly by Bayle's references and quotations.

Let us turn to look in more detail at the récits de voyages on the Americas which occur in the DHC, dividing them into four categories - those which are important sources for Bayle, those from which he quotes briefly, those whose title is simply mentioned, and finally the articles which may have been influenced by Bayle's reading of récits.

The work of Jean de Léry occurs in three articles - Léri, Richer and Villegaignon - all of which concern the ill-fated expedition of a group of Protestants to South America. The fact that Bayle devotes three articles to the same topic is an indication of the importance which he accorded the subject (as part of Protestant history) and also possibly an indication of his desire to give various points of view, sometimes divergent. Jean de Léry was a French Protestant who studied in Geneva and was sent to Brazil by Calvin in 1556 along with two ministers, Richer and Chartier, when Nicolas Villegaignon, said to be in the process of establishing a Protestant colony there (with the blessing of the Amiral de Coligny), requested pastors:

Il résolut d'aller établir une Colonie dans le Bresil...son but étoit d'avancer le Regne de Dieu en ce païs-là, et d'y procurer un asyle aux fideles qu'on persécutoit en France.

Villegaignon

However, very soon after the arrival of the Genevese, disputes arose between them and Villegaignon, whose initial Protestant ardour seemed to be waning. He had doubts about transubstantiation and it was not long before the quarrel came to a head and the Genevese decided to leave the colony. In his chapters 21 and 22 Léry recounts the dramatic journey back to Europe in an unseaworthy ship, the sailors reduced to eating exotic birds and animals in order to survive. He accuses Villegaignon of having plotted the death of the Genevese by writing a letter denouncing them as heretics and declaring that on their arrival in France they should be arrested and put to death. This story provides Léry with yet another example of the duplicity of Villegaignon, whom he constantly attacks throughout his book, and in a final flourish he declares that 'Villegaignon ayant esté le

premier qui a respandu le sang des enfans de Dieu en ce pays nouvellement cogneu...quelqu'un l'a nommé le Cain de l'Amerique' (p.380). Such a colourful story could not fail to arouse the interest of Bayle, and neither is it surprising that these events led to a series of wildly divergent accounts, each of which apportions blame according to the beliefs and sympathies of the writer.<sup>2</sup> Léry gives of course the Protestant point of view in the affair, as opposed to Thevet (see below) whom Léry set out to contradict and criticise in his work. In order to explain why he has waited so long before publishing his version of events, Léry says in his Préface that after his return to Europe in 1559 he wrote several accounts of his journey which for various reasons were subsequently lost. In the meantime Thevet published a certain number of lies about the Protestants (for instance that the pastors had instigated an insurrection in the colony) in his Singularitez and in 1577 again attacked them in his Cosmographie, a work which Léry claims to be 'farcé de mensonges' (Préface). Léry having recovered his original manuscript, he decided it was important to reply to Thevet's defamation, and so published the first edition of his work. This version of events has been doubted by Jean Baudry, who accuses Léry of plagiarism, questions the motivation of the Calvinists in publishing the account and takes the defence of Thevet.<sup>3</sup>

This aspect of the affair seems possibly to be one of the reasons why Bayle was so interested in it, for it was a perfect example of how the same events, the same facts, could be interpreted and recorded entirely differently by two writers. Once again he is able to point out to us how important it is to be wary of what writers say, and not take their assertions at face value, for subjectivity is always an important element:

Qu'on n'aille pas dire que je me rens le défenseur de Villegaignon; n'en raporte-je pas tout le mal qu'en dit Jean de Léri? Mais les Loix de l'Histoire ne souffrent pas que je garde le silence sur les faussetez qui ont été publiées contre qui que ce puisse-êre.

Villegaignon B

Historical objectivity must then be the guiding rule for a writer, says Bayle, who attempts to show in these articles that neither side is entirely right or wrong, and that we should try

to be fair rather than give in to prejudice and partisan feelings. The abortive attempt to establish a Protestant colony in the New World (the failure of which was blamed by L ry on Villegaignon, p.341) is yet another example of the impossibility of peaceful coexistence between Catholics and Protestants. Even in America differences cannot be reconciled and the Protestants who were so hopeful of the chance to establish a haven for those persecuted in Europe, realise that the colony has simply transferred to a new country all the old hatred and misunderstanding. Moving to another continent changes little if humans remain the same! As an interesting piece of Protestant history, Bayle therefore probably felt that it was important to develop at some length this story and its implications. The novelty of the idea of establishing such a colony (reminiscent of utopian travel accounts), its notorious failure and the bitter controversy which ensued provide the opportunity for interesting comments from Bayle on objectivity and tolerance.

The parts of L ry's work which are quoted by Bayle seem very often to have been deliberately chosen to make certain points, and his omissions are equally revealing. In the article L ri his only references are to the Pr face in which L ry outlines his reasons for publishing the book and clearly expresses his hostility towards Thevet. In Richer Bayle develops his use of this r cit, referring the reader to chapters 1 (one reference), 2 (one reference) - chapters 1 to 4 deal with the preparations for the voyage and the voyage itself; chapter 6 (nine references), which recounts the arrival and welcome at Fort de Coligny, Villegaignon's doubts about transubstantiation, his cruelty and rejection of Protestantism and the exclusion of the Genevese from the colony; chapter 21 (one reference), the perilous return to a Europe where life is more difficult for Protestants than it could have been in Brazil; chapter 22 (two references), the epic account of the starving travellers forced to live off rats and exotic animals being brought back to Europe. This article sets a pattern which will be followed in Villegaignon (references to the Pr face, then to chapters 1 - six references - 8 - sixteen references - 21 - three references - 22 - three references). It is the chapters which relate to the attempt to establish a Protestant community in Brazil which really interest Bayle, and chapters 7-20 which deal with sociology, geography, botany, zoology, language and so on, find no echo in the DHC. We might have expected him to be more interested in the way of life of the Indians but

here his attention seems to be firmly fixed upon the Protestant/Catholic clash, it is this that he wants to investigate and other information is left out. Other texts, as we will see elsewhere, will provide Bayle with a wealth of details about the 'moeurs' of other peoples, but in this instance he wants primarily to 'mettre en avant' the information which is more unusual, that is concerning a clash of beliefs not in Europe but in the New World. This is a wonderful opportunity for Bayle to comment on human perfidy, partiality and injustice, and in order to make the most of this material he decides to ignore a certain type of information which in other articles he will use to good effect. He thus avoids encumbering these articles with a lot of geographical and botanical details which have nothing to do with the central issue and fit in better in other contexts. This type of information seems in any case to have always taken second place for Bayle, who in his use of récits very often picks out comments on religion rather than on plants or landscapes.

If Léry's récit was of particular interest to Bayle because of the exceptional circumstances which inspired it, Cieza de Leon's Crónica del Peru (read by Bayle in the Italian translation of 1557) provided him with arguments of quite another kind (although similar subjects were covered by Léry but not chosen for references or quotations by Bayle). The references, seventeen in all, are to be found in the article Leon and concern religion, social customs and organisation (chapters 12, 20, 49, 52, 64) and rites, sacrifices and burial ceremonies (chapters 19, 41, 43, 48, 51). Once again none of the chapters on geography and the foundation of towns (13, 14, 42, 45, 46, 53-58, 67-99, 107-111), on trees, plants and animals (112, 113) or on the climate (59) have been cited. Léry paints a rather sympathetic picture of the American Indians ('c'est une chose presque incroyable, comme estans seulement conduicts par leur naturel, quelque corrompu qu'il soit, s'entretiennent et vivent si bien en paix', p.272) but on the whole Leon is more critical.

Pedro de Cieza de Leon, born around 1518, travelled to the Americas at the age of thirteen and earned a living there as a soldier for seventeen years. He planned to write four volumes in all, but only the 'primera parte' ever appeared. Following the original

edition of 1553 it went through several more, appearing in Spanish again in 1554 and Italian in 1555, 1557 and 1560. Bayle declares that he wants to quote this work 'pour faire voir l'injustice de ceux qui prétendent que les Chrétiens ont appris aux peuples de l'Amérique à être méchants...généralement parlant la corruption des Américains étoit si brutale, et si excessive, qu'on n'en peut avoir assez d'horreur' (Leon). Although elsewhere in the DHC and in his other works Bayle makes a point of stressing the cruelty of the Spanish colonisers in the New World,<sup>4</sup> he wishes here to put the other side of the picture to us - once again we see him keen to maintain a certain objectivity, aware of the faults on both sides and wanting to be as fair as possible. Bayle wants to combat simplistic beliefs and generalisations which would have us believe that all truth is in one camp, and all evil in the other, and he seeks to demonstrate that possession or lack of faith in God have no effect on the behaviour of human beings. Humans are inconsistent, often failing to live by the beliefs they profess, and if the Americans have faults and vices the Europeans are not necessarily much better, despite their Christianity. Thus Bayle declares that each society has its own norms and values and it is impossible to impose universal laws or a universal code of behaviour applicable everywhere.

In Leon Bayle evokes subjects such as cannibalism (chapter 12), virginity and pre-marital sex (chapters 19 and 49) and sodomy (chapters 49, 52 and 64) and observes:

Voilà ce qu'il faut bien faire sentir à ceux qui viennent nous tant parler des bonnes moeurs des Américains, et qui prétendent que nous avons appris à ces nations-là à être méchantes depuis que nous leur avons aporté la lumière Evangélique. Les Espagnols les plus débauchez n'avoient jamais vu en leur païs ce qu'ils virent dans le nouveau monde...

Leon A

Apart from attempting to introduce a note of historical objectivity, without at all seeking to excuse the Europeans, Bayle seems to be speaking here slightly tongue-in-cheek, informing us that incredible as it may seem, even the most debauched Spaniards had never seen anything quite like it! He also seems, as so often, to be playing the devil's advocate, provoking the reader and arguing for the sake of it, playing around with ideas,

many of which he does not agree with, but which he nonetheless finds interesting. He does not want to judge one side or the other, he simply aims to bring to the fore additional material which will throw light on the subject.

The body of the article contains details about Cieza de Leon's life, but in Rem A we find a long list of the vices of the Americans, sometimes with a quotation in Italian, sometimes accompanied simply by a page-reference. It is evident, though, that Bayle has carefully selected the chapters which serve the particular purpose he has in mind, since if we turn to Cieza we find a number of 'toning-down' passages, excusing the natives or apologising for having too heavily emphasised their 'vicious' nature. None of these passages are cited by Bayle because they do not help the specific argument he is making. Is he here choosing to ignore material which does not aid his case? Towards the end of the Crónica del Peru (chapter 117) for instance, Cieza insists that one must on no account generalise, that some Americans are highly virtuous and conversions have been known to occur. Indeed, if progress has not been more rapid the blame can probably be imputed to the missionaries:

...quiero que se sepa, que no es mi intincion dezir que esto se entienda por todos: antes es de saber, que si en una provincia comen carne humana y sacrifican sangre de hombres: en otras muchas aborrescen este pecado... Por manera que sera cosa injusta condenarlos en general.

Chapter 117, p.274

On one notable conversion he states:

Muchos Indios se bolvieron Christianos por las persuasiones de este nuevo convertido...los Indios convierten, y van poco a poco olvidando sus ritos y malas costumbres, y si se han tardado, ha sido por nuestro descuydo mas que por la malicia de ellos. Porque es verdadero convertir los Indios, ha de ser amonestando y obrando bien: para que los nuevamente Convertidos tomen exemplo.

Chapter 117, p.277

And again:

...los mocos oyen a los sacerdotes nuestros, y escuchan sus amonestaciones....

Chapter 49, p.135

Another argument which Bayle appears to want to demonstrate here, is the falsity of theories of universality, proved wrong by the diversity of social organisation and human behaviour attested to in récits. This he does in Leon A not by quoting Cieza de Leon himself, but by introducing examples from other parts of the world which can show that elsewhere things may be very similar or alternatively quite different. As opposed to the Americans' desire to make sure that a woman is no longer a virgin when she marries, Bayle refers to Pidou de Saint Olon, who observes the opposite in Morocco. He also mentions 'des peuples proche la Mer Rouge' who 'ne seroient point sûrs de leur fait, si l'on n'eût pris dès le berceau certaines mesures qui engagent le nouveau marié à commencer par une espèce d'opération de Chirurgie' (Leon A). This is a technique used frequently throughout the DHC - the paraphrasing or quoting of authors who, expressing different points of view on the same question in order to create a doubt in the reader's mind, convey the idea that nature is multi-faceted and impossible to categorise. Bayle lets his quotations stand for themselves, considering them to be sufficiently eloquent comments upon the many variations of human behaviour. His exclamation, 'faut-il que l'homme soit sujet à des folies si diamétralement opposées!' sums up his point of view: humans are changing and inconstant, so full of foolish notions that it is madness ever to think that humanity could be categorised or reduced to simple concepts.

The end of Leon A finds Bayle once again posing a question which fascinates him: to what extent do religion and morality go together? Despite his copious use of references to the Americans' vices, he does not believe that they are wicked because they have no religion or because they have the 'wrong' religion. There is ample evidence to prove that vice and religion coexist - the DHC abounds in examples of the way in which Christians fail to live by Christian principles, so one should not be surprised to find the same phenomenon occurring in the New World. If Christian nations are cruel and

barbaric, why should others necessarily be any better? The Americans do have a form of religion, but it does not prevent the type of behaviour observed by Cieza:

Notez que cette depravation effroiable, qui avoit éteint les Loix de l'humanité, et de la pudeur...n'avoit point éteint ou sufoqué les idées de la Religion. Ils croioient l'immortalité de l'âme...L'Auteur remarque cent et cent fois qu'ils servent le Diable, mais c'est sur le pied d'un être qui a un très grand pouvoir, et qui nonobstant sa mechanceté a quelque chose de la nature divine.

Leon A

Leon frequently mentions that the Americans believe in the immortality of the soul (chapters 41, 48, 62) and that they worship the devil (chapters 8, 19, 43):

Creen la immortalidad del anima a lo que entendemos dellos: y conocen que ay hazedor do todas las cosas del mundo...aunque ciegos y engañados del demonio, creen que el mismo demonio en todo tiene poder...

Chapter 41, p.112

No ignoravan la immortalidad del anima: mas tanpoco podemos afirmar que lo sabian enteramente.

Chapter 48, p.133

This theme is one which runs through the DHC and which we will meet constantly - the morality or virtue of a nation can never be decided on the basis of religion, since religious beliefs cannot be proved to have any real influence upon people, few of whom actually live according to their professed beliefs. If then a Christian does not appear to be any the better for his religion, perhaps we should not assume either that a 'sauvage' will be any the worse for his.

Let us look now at the works which have less importance in the DHC, first the Singularitez de la France antarctique autrement nommée Amérique (1558) of André Thevet, referred to by Bayle in Villegaignon H. Thevet, a cordelier who had already

travelled to the Orient in 1549, joined Villegaignon's expedition to Brazil in 1555 and after his return to Europe gave his account of the events described by L ry. Like L ry, Bayle does not seem to set much store by Thevet's account, and he is highly critical of him, even going so far as to accuse him of 'mensonges'. He lacks objectivity and in his account makes unpardonable mistakes:

C'est d j  une grande faute que de confondre les tems, mais on peche infiniment davantage quand on se fonde sur ces confusions pour calomnier des innocens. Thevet est coupable de ces deux enormitez.

Villegaignon H

It would seem, indeed, that Thevet was over-eager to blame the Protestants for everything that went wrong in the new colony, exonerating Villegaignon, and was on occasions 'economical with the truth'. He lacked much learning and was extremely credulous, often relying upon the sailors for much of his information and failing to check the authenticity of their (often deliberately) exaggerated accounts. In addition he was ill during most of his two and a half month sojourn in the colony and hence saw and experienced very little for himself and was dependent upon the information provided by others. In mentioning his r cit Bayle once again takes the opportunity to criticise writers who fail to check information and rely too heavily on second-hand sources.

This journey to Brazil emerges again in a second r cit mentioned in passing in the DHC, Lescarbot's Histoire de la Nouvelle France, a collection of accounts of French exploration in America from 1524 to 1609 which contains a pr cis of L ry's voyage (Livre II, chapters 1-7, 9, 10). Lescarbot spent some time in Nouvelle France, helping to establish early settlements, and Bayle calls his work 'assez curieux', but does not seem to have found it sufficiently interesting to be used to any great extent, since the only page-reference is a confirmation of Lescarbot's place of birth (Livre II, chapter 5, p.179). Perhaps, however, this ostensibly uninteresting and inoffensive reference is a 'fa on d tourn e' of drawing subtle parallels between Europe and the Americas. Indeed, Bayle

draws our attention to the remarks at the end of the passage, indicating Lescarbot's place of birth as Vervin, but just before comes a comparison between the behaviour of American Indians and the behaviour of the French during the Guerres de Religion. Is Bayle perhaps deliberately directing us to a passage of little interest, aware that the reader will necessarily read what comes before?

...chacun ayant son change, si tôt que chacun est retourné en ses limites d'où il avoit parlementé, les treves rompües, c'est à qui pourra attrapper son compagnon: ainsi que noz soldats ès dernieres guerres sortans de quelque ville neutre telle qu'étoit la petite ville de Vervin en Tierache lieu de ma naissance.

Once again then, Americans and Europeans are often not as far apart as the latter would like to believe!

Finally, Bayle devotes an article to Christoval de Acuña, a Spanish Jesuit who spent many years in Peru, and in 1639 undertook a journey up the River Amazon, having been requested by the King of Spain to discover and record everything which could be of use to the Spanish colonisers. His Nuevo descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas (1641) is thus highly detailed - full of geographical indications (width, length, depth of rivers, position of mountains); comments on the climate, natural resources, the places where the Spanish should think about establishing towns and the commercial ventures which would thrive. He also provides a wealth of information on the peoples of this newly discovered continent, their way of life, their customs, religion and so on. This very richness of detail was however to be the downfall of the work, for the Spaniards came to fear that all this information could be much too useful to their great rivals in South America, the Portuguese, and it was ordered that all copies should be destroyed.

...le Roy d'Espagne craignoit avec beaucoup de raison depuis qu'ils étoient devenus ses ennemis, qu'ils ne lui tombassent sur les bras dans le plus riche de ses Royaumes...

In the Dissertation pour servir de Preface of about 200 pages added to the 1682 translation, Gomberville claims that the only existing copies are now the one he worked from and the one in the Vatican. Bayle admits that he does not have the récit (Acuña A), but bases his comments upon accounts in the Journal de Paris and Journal de Leipsic, judging that the Dissertation 'mérite d'être lue, la Relation le merite aussi beaucoup'. The quality and thoroughness of this work, its rarity and the fact that a French translation has become available (with additional historical material in chapters 1-18) all appear to have been factors in deciding Bayle to include an article on Acuña in the DHC. However, he possesses neither the original nor the translation, and his reluctance to rely entirely upon secondary sources (note his comment in Acuña A on inaccuracies in the Journal de Leipsic and Chevreau) perhaps mean that his article is shorter than it might otherwise have been. He confines himself to narration, giving details about Acuña's life and work and references for those who may wish to 'prendre quelque teinture' of the récit. In addition, Chevreau, whose Histoire du Monde provided Bayle with a certain number of details on this occasion, concentrates in his compte rendu upon aspects (geography, climate, natural resources) which we have seen elsewhere to have little interested Bayle. Chevreau mentions 'cent cinquante Nations différentes' but gives no details and this lack of material (for example on religion) appears to have made it difficult for Bayle to develop to any great extent his comments on a work which otherwise could have been of great use to him.

Throughout the DHC the reader comes across comments or whole articles which whilst indicating no récit as a direct source, seem nevertheless to have been influenced by Bayle's reading of travel literature. On the Americas a certain number of themes recur, for instance arguments against universal laws and Universal Consent and arguments suggesting the relative unimportance of religion in determining human behaviour. In Gymnosophistes Bayle compares these ancient philosophers with other peoples, reputed to live very 'naturally' and without clothes - this reminds us of accounts by travellers to

America. The description 'nu', as Bayle points out, is not always used very precisely, but if such descriptions are true they would seem to suggest that the statement 'la honte depuis le péché est naturelle à tous les hommes' is incorrect. Universal laws are thus placed in doubt - why have certain peoples escaped the 'universal' shame of all Adam and Eve's descendants?

...une semblable ceinture n'a pas dû empêcher qu'on imputât la nudité à ces Philosophes: elle n'empêche aujourd'hui personne de dire et d'écrire que certains peuples de la terre vont nus.

Gymnosophistes A

Bayle makes the same point about 'l'acte de la génération' in Hipparchia, where he discusses Diogenes and his belief that any act which is legitimate can be performed in public. He refers to 'plusieurs peuples dans les Indes' who 'travaillent à l'acte de la génération sous les yeux de tout venant' for 'la pratique ordinaire n'a point pour son fondement une loi immuable et éternelle de la Nature, mais un simple droit coutumier et une impression de l'Education' (Rem D). Quoting La Mothe le Vayer, he says that 'une Secte Mahométane le pratique encores à present...le nouveau monde nous a paru en cette innocence.' Bayle could well have in mind here the attitudes to sex which were reported by writers such as Léry and Cieza de Leon. He makes the point that there is no such thing as a natural form of behaviour, since everything is the result of education and habit, hence travellers should not be shocked by moeurs which differ from their own. This is stressed again by Bayle elsewhere in the DHC, often with supporting evidence from récits which show the extent to which behaviour and morality are decided by education rather than being innate:

N'est-ce pas une marque que les idées de la vertu dépendent de l'éducation et de la coutume, et non pas d'une impression naturelle.

Jonas (Arngrimus) C

...s'il y a quelque différence entre leurs mauvaises moeurs, c'est plutôt la diversité de climat qui en est la cause, que la diversité de Religion.

Mahomet P

...les vices dont il s'agit, sont des vices de climat, et non pas des vices de Religion...si l'Italie étoit Protestante elle seroit sujette aux mêmes défauts que l'on y voit aujourd'hui.

Ermite I

Morality is again at issue in Patin where Bayle's suggestion that greater tolerance of illegitimate births could reduce the incidence of abortion and infanticide may have been inspired by his reading of récits. Indeed, various writers record the acceptance in the Americas for example of children born to unmarried parents, and Bayle wonders whether such tolerance might have beneficial effects in Europe:

...dans les païs moins délicats sur cette affaire, et où de telles personnes trouvent aisément à se marier...les avortemens sont beaucoup plus rares...

Patin C

Finally, in Rimini Bayle uses the example of the non-Christian 'sauvage de l'Amérique' to denounce theologians who claim that ignorance is no excuse for not being Christian :

Ils veulent que si un Sauvage de l'Amérique ignore les faits contenus dans le Nouveau Testament, ce soit sa faute, attendu qu'il ne s'est point mis dans une disposition qui conviât Dieu à lui révéler les mysteres du salut, et qu'il s'est rendu indigne de cette faveur céleste.

Rimini A

Bayle uses here then the example of the Americans to show the absurdity of universal laws and the impossibility of condemning people in spite of their ignorance. As elsewhere, we feel that here his reading of récits and awareness of other societies enables him to combat the narrow views of many other writers, defending a set of values which they consider to be superior. Bayle on the other hand strives to draw on experiences and accounts of the new world in order to enrich and enlighten life in the old.

(1) Bayle also refers to Urbain Chevreau's Histoire du Monde (La Haye, de Houdt and van Eilinkhuysen, 1687), IV, p.171; the Journal de Paris (19 avril 1683); the Journal de Leipsic (1683) and Diodorus Siculus' Histoire Universelle .

(2) Richer also wrote an account which was severely critical of Villegaignon, and in which, says Bayle, 'Villegaignon ne peut paroître que sous la forme d'un scélérat' (Richer B).

(3) See the Introduction to the 1982 facsimile of the Singularitez (Paris, Le Temps).

See also the Introduction by Paul Gaffarel in the 1878 edition (Paris, Maison-Neuve).

(4) For example in Mahomet AA

## Chapter V: Récits de voyages in the Dictionnaire: the Near and Middle East

A wide variety of objectives and points of view are represented in the récits on the Near and Middle East quoted in the DHC. Some of these récits were written by traders (Chardin, Tavernier), some by ambassadors (Pidou de St Olon), some by 'savants', travelling for pleasure (Spon, Wheler), other writers had lived for several years in a country (Bobovius) whereas others again collected and published information about other countries rather than actually travelling (Baudier, Guillet, Herbelot). Each of these different kinds of récit gives of course a particular point of view, the comments and information provided reflecting the occupation and preoccupations of the writer. Thus Chardin is in a position to give detailed accounts of trade-routes, prices, articles bought and sold, customs problems and so on, whereas Spon and Wheler, primarily interested in Antiquity, concentrate on giving the exact wording of inscriptions, illustrations of medals and ancient buildings, and the comparison of towns and landscapes with the descriptions which appear in Classical texts. Pidou de St Olon, French ambassador to Morocco in 1693, was again in a different situation, able to describe the court and its rules, his contact with rulers and the problems encountered. We divide the works discussed into important sources (referred to or quoted extensively), those from which quotations are taken (some of which are more important than others - we outline the subdivisions below) and those whose title is simply mentioned. There are also a certain number of articles in which Bayle's ideas and remarks suggest the influence of récits de voyages without mentioning any specifically (see Appendix B).

Let us look first at two important sources in the DHC: Busbecq and Rycaut. Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522-92) was born illegitimate in Flanders and in 1555 became Ferdinand's ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained for seven years (Busbec B. In Busbec C Bayle points out that only one trip was made, but taking in two different places). It was during this period that he gathered together the information and

experiences which were to form his récit. Bayle gives the references (although he does not quote) in Busbec G declaring that 'la Relation de ses Voiages a mérité l'aprobation de ceux qui savent juger de cette sorte d'Ecrits.' Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum ab Augerio Gislenio Busbequio ad Solimannum Turcarum Imperatorem C.M. Oratore confecta was published by Plantin in Antwerp in 1582; further editions appeared in 1605, 1620, 1629, 1688 and 1740 and a French translation, Ambassades et Voyages en Turquie et Amasie de M.Busbequius in 1646. The work was also translated into German as early as 1596. These translations and the number of editions which appeared attest to the interest shown towards this work. In other articles Bayle uses it to either back up remarks he has already made or else to contradict other accounts. In Job B he draws on Bespier (who published an annotated translation of Rycaut's Etat Présent) to show how Busbecq has been misunderstood and misquoted by Rycaut. Bayle is keen to set the record straight, and we see him defending historical accuracy and making a point of recording the mistakes made by others. He quotes Bespier:

...Busbeque ne dit pas que les Turcs croyent que Job étoit le premier Juge de la Cour de Salomon...Il dit seulement, que les Turcs sçavent si peu la Chronologie et l'Histoire, que s'il leur venoit dans la pensée, ils ne feroient nulle difficulté d'assûrer que Job estoit le premier Juge de la Cour de Salomon...Il y a bien de la différence entre ces deux choses.

Job B (Bespier referring to Busbec, pp.134-5, 1646 edition).

Here then we have the Turks' apparent lack of concern for the correct recording of history:

...il y a dequoy s'estonner de l'ignorance des Turcs, qui ne gardans aucun ordre dans la suite des temps et Histoires, confondent toutes choses.

Busbec, p.134

Bayle, of course, is keen to prevent the further spread of mistakes, for 'l'erreur de Mr Ricaut a déjà passé dans quelques Livres'(Job B). In Combabus B it is via La Mothe le Vayer that Bayle again quotes Busbec. Having embarked upon the subject of castration and its consequences, Bayle looks to the récits or other works for opinions on the matter:

...les Relations du Levant nous aprenent le contraire. La jalousie des hommes quelque excessive qu'elle soit n'est pas d'une aussi grande étendue dans ses inventions, que l'amour des femmes. Ils crurent qu'en mettant leurs femmes sous la garde des Eunuques, je veux dire de certains hommes à qui l'on avoit coupé les génitoires, ils n'avoient qu'à dormir en repos; mais ils trouvèrent qu'ils s'étoient trompez. Ces Eunuques, non seulement furent bons a quelque chose, mais aussi ils se rendirent préférables en bien des lieux. Il a donc falu recourir à d'autres remedes, et mutiler les Eunuques rasibus de la peau: on ne s'assûreroit pas d'eux en Turquie, s'il leur restoit la moindre portion des parties génitales.

Combabus B

This is based on La Mothe's Des Eunuques, which in turn draws on Busbec:

...aux païs où l'on commet la garde des femmes aux Eunuques, l'usage est de leur couper tout ce qui sort du corps, et non pas simplement les testicules, ou leurs cremasteres et suspensoires...Busbec dit dans sa troisième Epistre, que les Turcs ne s'assûreroient pas d'eux, s'il leur restoit la moindre portion du membre qui porte le nom du Dieu des Jardins.

Des Eunuques pp.526-7

Les personnes de grande qualité, et qui nourrissent plusieurs concubines ont des Eunuches ras pour la garde de leurs femmes, n'osans pas se fier aux simples chastrez, parce qu'ils ont encore assez dequoy faire plaisir à celles qu'ils caresseroient quoy qu'ils ne soient pas capables de leur faire des enfans.

Busbec, pp.292-3

This is an example once again of Bayle's wide reading providing him with information about other countries - his prodigious memory, like a complicated filing-system, retrieves

relevant references from his reading of secondary sources and incorporates them into the DHC.

The récit of the English writer, Paul Rycaut, The Present State of the Ottoman Empire appeared in 1668 and was first translated into French by Briot in 1670 as the Etat Présent de l'Empire Ottoman. We refer to Besprier's critical translation of 1677. Rycaut's work is abundantly quoted, criticised and commented upon throughout the DHC and a less important work, the Histoire de Sultan Mahomet IV (translated by de Rozemont and published in 1682) also appears. The article Mahomet draws considerably upon the Etat Présent, quotations appear in Apafi A, Apafi D, Job A, Job B, Hali-Beigh C, and these works are referred to in Hali-Beigh A and Osman B. So, although not free of errors (as Bayle often points out) Rycaut's récit was nonetheless an important source in the Dictionnaire. As Appendix B indicates, Rycaut is referred to or quoted on a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the providing of information to religion and 'moeurs'.

The article Mahomet contains nine references or quotations from the Etat Présent on various subjects concerning the Prophet and Islam - Mahomet Q (polygamy), Mahomet S (Mohammed's nine wives), Mahomet II (the pleasure to be enjoyed in Paradise). Some deal with more political aspects of Islam, such as a treaty said to have been signed between Mohammed and the Christians (Rem AA) and the Turks' dislike of Jews (Rem CC). Rycaut's work is divided into three parts, 'Les Maximes de la Politique des Turcs', 'De la Religion des Turcs' and 'Où il est traité de la Milice des Turcs'. In Mahomet all the references are to Part Two, which deals with religion, and are taken from six of the twenty-six chapters. It would seem that Bayle quotes specifically from chapters which reflect his own interests or provide the opportunity to comment on controversial topics or throw light on the practices of Islam. We list below the chapter-headings of Part Two, indicating with an asterisk those which are quoted by Bayle:

(1) De la Religion des Turcs en general.

\* (2) De la promesse que faisoient les Mahometans, au commencement de leur Empire, de tolerer les autres Religions...

\* (3) De quels artifices les Turcs se servent, pour l'accroissement de leur Religion.

(4)...les Muftis.

(5)...les Muftis.

(6) Les Emirs.

(7) Les Mosquées Royales.

(8) La Predestination.

(9) Differentes Sectes.

(10) Deux Principales Sectes.

(11) Sectes et hérésies anciennes des Turcs.

\* (12) Des Sectes Modernes des Turcs.

(13) Des Dervis.

(14-20) Des Ordres différents.

\* (21) Des mariages et des divorces des Turcs.

(22) Des autres parties de la religion des Turcs.

\* (23) Des cinq articles.

(24) Du Bairam...

(25) De la defence de manger de la chair de pourceau, et de boire du vin.

\* (26) Des vertus morales des Turcs.

There would seem to be some sort of pattern here, for not only has he concentrated specifically on Part Two, but he has also chosen references from chapters dealing with subjects which we know to have been of great interest to him. Hence he is able to draw up a picture of the history and present situation of Islam - its beginnings (chs.2 and 3), its early tolerance (ch.2), the present-day (ch.12), marriage (ch.21), the basic tenets of Islam (ch.23) and the morality of the Turks (ch.26). Unnecessary detail, or what he may have judged to be less interesting material about the hierarchy and specific 'interdits' (ch.25 for example) are omitted, in favour of chapters which fit more closely with Bayle's preoccupations and, perhaps, what he thought would interest his readers. This method recurs throughout the DHC, quotations are carefully selected from a récit, reflecting Bayle's interests.

We learn then that polygamy is permitted, but, Bayle hastens to point out, it is incorrect to say that Mohammed authorised men to have as many wives as they liked, for 'il a seulement voulu permettre qu'ils en epousassent jusqu'à quatre, s'ils se sentoient capables de les contenir en paix' (Mahomet Q). He admits, though, giving references to the Koran, that 'la permission qu'il accorde aux hommes d'avoir plusieurs femmes, et de les fouetter quand elles ne voudront pas obéir, et de les répudier si elles viennent à deplaire, est une Loi très incommode au beau sexe'. Even if wives are allowed to ask for justice if the 'devoir conjugal' is not performed Bayle admits that 'ce droit-là n'empêche point que la Loi ne soit très dure':

De sorte que s'il s'en trouve quelqu'une qui ait passé une semaine entiere sans jouir de ce privilege, elle est en droit de demander la nuit du Jeudy de la semaine suivante, et peut poursuivre son mari en Justice, en cas de refus.

Rycaut p.457, quoted in Mahomet Q

Bayle comments that 'quand on ne fait cela que par maniere d'acquit...ce ne doit pas être un grand ragoût!' Having looked at the evidence he concludes that Mohammed 'ne ménageoit guere le sexe' (Rem Q). Alongside this description of certain aspects of Islam, Bayle emphasises the morality and high standards of many Moslems and the seriousness with which they still carry out obligations such as the pilgrimage to Mecca. This is described in Rem DD, where Bayle also quotes Rycaut concerning their veneration of camels:

...ils mettent au nombre des plus grands pechez de luy donner trop de charge, et de le faire travailler plus qu'un cheval. La raison de cela est que cette beste est fort commune dans les lieux saints de l'Arabie, et qu'elle a l'honneur de porter l'Alcoran, lors qu'on fait le pelerinage de la Meque.

Rycaut, p.498.

The frequently-used Baylian method of establishing comparisons between two very different countries or religions is employed in Mahomet P where Bayle discusses moral standards and tolerance. If the extent of a religion's influence is a sign of its truth (as some theologians claimed) then Islam easily beats Christianity, says Bayle, and even if we take moral criteria the Christians are not certain to emerge superior:

...je ne prétens pas que les Chrétiens soient plus déréglez quant aux moeurs que les Infideles; mais je n'oserois affirmer qu'ils le soient moins. Les Relations des Voïageurs ne s'accordent pas.

Mahomet P

As he so often likes to do, Bayle leaves a doubt in the reader's mind, refusing to decide one way or the other, but suggesting what his view may have been with the tongue-in-cheek 'je n'oserois pas'.

...en général...les Chrétiens et les Infidelles n'ont rien à se reprocher...S'il y a quelque différence entre leurs mauvaises moeurs, c'est plutôt la diversité de climat qui en est la cause, que la diversité de Religion.

Mahomet P

In Mahomet AA Bayle develops the argument on persecution and tolerance, using references from Rycout and declaring that despite everything which is said about the Moslems and the violence of Islam, they perhaps have a better record than the Christians in this domain. Although Mohammed told his followers that it was legitimate to use force in order to impose their religion, in the event their behaviour compares very favourably with the Christians':<sup>1</sup>

...les Sarazins cessèrent d'assez bonne heure les voies de la violence, et...les Eglises Greques, tant la principale que les Schismatiques, se sont conservées jusqu'à présent

sous le joug de Mahomet...On peut être très assuré que si les Chrétiens d'Occident avoient dominé dans l'Asie, à la place des Sarrazins et des Turcs, il n'y resteroit aujourd'hui aucune trace de l'Eglise Greque, et qu'ils n'y eussent pas toléré le Mahométisme, comme ces Infideles y ont toléré le Christianisme.

Mahomet AA

Jurieu had compared Islam and Catholicism, to the detriment of the latter, but Bayle goes further, indicting the whole of Christianity for its lamentable behaviour, including the tragic episode of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (Mahomet N where a comparison is suggested between the force used by Mohammed and the Revocation). According to Bayle the Christians definitely have little to be proud of:

...ce seroit une folie que de reprocher aux Mahométans la violence qu'ils ont employée pour la propagation de l'Alcoran: ils nous feroient bientôt taire, ils n'auroient qu'à nous citer ces paroles de Mr.Jurieu.

Mahomet O

...les Sarrazins et les Turcs ont traité l'Eglise Chrétienne avec plus de modération, que les Chrétiens n'en ont eu ou pour les Paiens, ou les uns envers les autres...les Souverains, qui interdisent tout d'un coup une Religion, usent de plus de violence, que les Souverains qui lui laissent son exercice public et qui se contentent de la tenir bas, selon les manieres des Turcs envers les Chrétiens...les hommes se conduisent peu selon leurs principes. Voilà les Turcs, qui tolèrent toutes sortes de Religions, quoi que l'Alcoran leur ordonne de persécuter les Infideles: et voilà les Chrétiens, qui ne font que persécuter, quoi que l'Evangile le leur défende.

Mahomet AA

Elsewhere in the DHC Bayle again quotes from Part Two of Rycaut's work (Hali Beigh A + C.) and in two other articles (Job A + B and Osman B) he refers to Part One, which deals with government, the 'serrail', treaties and ambassadors. There are no references to Part Three (military affairs, the size of forces, battles). Osman B notes the extraordinary loyalty of the Turks towards their leader. The passage in Rycaut to which Bayle gives a reference reads:

C'est un degré pour monter aux meilleures places au Paradis, que de mourir en obéissant au Sultan.

Ch.3, pp.13-14 in 1670 edition.

In Hali-Beigh and Job on the other hand Bayle criticises the 'peu de soin que les Auteurs prenent de vérifier ce qu'ils puisent loin de la source' (Busbec H). Rycaut's various mistakes were picked up by Bospier in his translation, and he is referred to here as a source. Thus it seems that Rycaut was wrong to declare that the Turks venerate Job's sepulchre (Job A), wrong in the spelling of Hali-Beigh's Western name, Bobovius, and wrong again in certain beliefs which he attributed to the Moslems:

Mr Ricaut avoue qu'il tenoit de lui [Bobovius] beaucoup de choses...S'il l'avoit consulté sur tout ce qu'il dit, il n'auroit pas avancé que les femmes Mahométones n'espèrent pas l'entrée du Paradis.

Hali-Beigh C

This is a good example of Bayle's critical attitude and attention to detail - whilst aware that Rycaut's work was an important source he cannot but point out his errors. Bayle's original aim when he set out to write a dictionary was to list all the mistakes existing in other works and although he eventually changed his mind this desire to correct and criticise is still strongly present in the DHC. This is again the case in Apafi A + D where he mentions Rycaut's Histoire de Sultan Mahomet IV but only to severely criticise its accuracy.

Let us look now at the group of récits from which Bayle takes quotations, dividing them first of all into major and minor sources. Pierre Belon, a botanist and doctor, travelled in the Near and Middle East from 1546 to 1549, publishing in 1553 an

accurate account of his travels, Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables, trouvées en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays estranges... His récit is divided into three books: Livre 1 contains Belon's observations in Crete, descriptions of birds, fish, animals, his journey from Constantinople to Lemnos, and from there to Tassos, Mount Athos, Salonica, Macedonia and Thrace. Livre 2 continues the journey, with descriptions of Troy, Samos, Patmos, Alexandria, the Nile, Cairo, Alep, Antioche, Heraklion and Achara. Livre 3 abandons straight description of towns and countries for a more thematic approach, with the religious beliefs of the Turks, their practices and customs, as the central subject. Throughout the three books there are many geographical and historical descriptions of towns, and illustrations of various plants and animals. Both Belon's scientific approach and his interest in botany and zoology are clearly evident.

In the article Lemnos (added to the DHC in 1702) Bayle draws on numerous occasions upon Belon's Observations (his references are to the 1588 edition, we have used the 1553 edition. There are sometimes divergences between the two in spelling etc and when quotations are given we indicate which text has been followed). We find here a number of subjects which were of particular interest to Bayle and recur throughout the DHC - the problem of historical accuracy, the persistence of myths and fables and the prevalence of superstition. All the quotations here are from Livre 1, Livre 3 is only quoted on one occasion, in Mahomet Q, and there it is in relation to the Moslem Paradise rather than concerning the plants and animals which Belon describes.<sup>2</sup>

In Lemnos A we see Bayle comparing two different accounts and coming to the conclusion that we should accept as more accurate the writer who had actually witnessed what he described. This indicates his desire for precision, and his concern that events should be reported as accurately as possible. Hence the authority of Pliny is rejected in favour of Belon's more scientific, authenticated account:

Cela ne s'accorde point avec les Observations de Belon témoin oculaire, et par conséquent plus digne de foi que Pline. Raportons ses paroles: L'isle est estendue plus en longueur qu'en largeur, d'Orient en Occident, de sorte que quand le Soleil se va coucher, l'ombre du Mont Athos, qui est à plus de huit lieues de là, [Pliny had said 35] vient répondre sur

le port, et dessus le bout de l'isle, qui est au costé senestre de Lemnos: chose que observasmes le deuxiesme jour de Juin. Car le mont Athos est si haut, qu'encores que le Soleil ne fust bien bas, neantmoins l'ombre touchoit la senestre corne de l'isle.' Voilà un témoignage qui nous doit persuader que les Anciens ont eu raison d'étendre l'ombre de cette montagne jusques à l'Île de Lemnos; mais qu'ils n'ont pas bien conu la mesure de cette étendue.

Lemnos A, Belon L.1, ch.XXV (not XXVI), pp.58-59.

Page 26 in 1553 edition.

This 'témoin oculaire' who can give precise indications as to when and how he observed what he is describing (with dates for instance) is thus more reliable than the account of a supposedly authoritative author. Bayle as always seeks to establish as clear and accurate a picture as possible, not retaining any version simply because it has been accepted for centuries but seeking to compare different sources in order to get closer to the truth. In Mahomet Q it is Belon himself who is criticised for inaccuracy - again an illustration of Bayle's desire to weigh up each account and judge it on its merits rather than accept it uncritically. Regarding inaccuracies told about Paradise Bayle comments that much of what is recounted should not be believed:

On ne doit point l'imputer à Mahomet, comme fait Pierre Belon: ce sont des Contes, ou de fausses Gloses de quelques Docteurs visionaires ou burlesques.

Mahomet Q (Belon L.3, ch.IX, p.392).

Lemnos C tackles a similar theme, a quotation from Belon this time serving to illustrate the fact that however much effort may be made by some, myths and superstitions are very hardy and have a tendency to survive a long time:

Disons une chose qui nous fera voir la longue durée des traditions les plus fabuleuses. Belon, qui voyageoit en Turquie l'an 1548, nous apprend qu'il n'y a celuy des habitans de l'isle de Lemnos qui ne sache quelque chose de Vulcain. Et tout ainsi que les petits enfans de l'isle de Corsula sçavent raconter l'Histoire du Daulphin, comme si elle avoit esté faite de n'aguères: tout ainsi est en Lemnos raconté de Vulcan, mais diversement; car

les uns disent qu'en tombant luy et son cheval se rompirent les cuisses, et qu'au lieu mesme par la vertu de la terre il fut prestement guery.'

Lemnos C, Belon L.I, ch.XXIX, p.68 (p.30 in 1553 edition).

These two quotations illustrate well the sides of the debate which interest Bayle: on the one hand his personal concern for accuracy and on the other the awareness that whatever he or others may say, myths and long-held traditions are certain to be maintained. The theme of superstition and its prevalence is continued in Lemnos D where, having informed us of the 'terre seellée' which is dug up on Lemnos (ch.XXII, p.51 or p.23 in 1553 edition and ch.XXIII, p.54 or p.25 in 1553 edition) Bayle's argument develops with the help of four long quotations from Belon into a reflection on the power of superstition (we give the text from the 1553 edition):

Les anciens ont eu une maniere de terre en moult grande recommandation en plusieurs medicines, et encor pour le iourd'hui est en aussi grand usage qu'elle fut onc. Les Latins la nomment Terra Lemnia, ou terre sigillata, et les François terre seellée.

Ch.XXII, p.23 (p.51 in 1588 ed., quoted in Lemnos D ).

In chapter XXIII, again quoted by Bayle in Lemnos D, Belon touches on the mystique, power and laws which have been built up around this special kind of earth:

Or avant que partir de Constantinoble, ie m'enquis de tous les mariniers d'une barque qui estoit arrivée de Lemnos, s'ilz avoient apporté de la terre: tous me respondirent qu'il estoit impossible en recouvrer, sinon par les mains de celuy qui est Soubachi en l'isle: et que ie [si] je la vouloye veoir naturelle, il me convenoit y aller en personne: car il est defendu aux habitans sur peine de perdre la teste, d'en transporter.

Ch.XXIII, p.25 (p.54 in 1588 ed., quoted in Lemnos D ).

In chapter XXIX, from which Bayle quotes at length, Belon goes on to explain that in his opinion it is only because so much fuss is made and so much ceremony has been created

that this earth is so highly prized. This fits in with Bayle's comments in Lemnos C and his views in general on the way in which humans have all sorts of strange beliefs, often according power and influence to objects which appear quite ordinary. There is also here the suggestion, present elsewhere in the DHC, that those in a position of power often maintain their position by declaring certain objects or places special or holy and gaining the monopoly of them:

Je prouveray par ceste terre combien les ceremonies donent autorité aux choses viles qui de soy sont de petite valeur: car comme ainsi soit que la terre dont ie parle est de moult grande vertu, toutesfois si elle estoit si comune qu'il ne faillist que d'en aller prendre à qui en voudroit avoir, le Douaire, que les hommes luy attribuent pour sa vertu, seroit vilipendé, si on ne l'avoit rendue precieuse par grandes ceremonies, tellement que si on avoit trouvé une veine en quelque autre contrée de l'isle de mesme terre, que celle de Cochino, ie ne fay doubte que les Grecs ne feissent difficulté d'en user, si les Calbieres n'avoient assisté quand on la tireroit: et qu'on y eust celebré les ceremonies accoustumées, et encore qu'ilz en eussent du mesme lieu de Cochino, ilz feroient scrupule d'en user, ou d'en bailler à autruy, si elle n'avoit esté tirée du sixiesme jour de Aoust: estimants que quelque partie de sa vertu doibve proceder des choses faictes par l'artifice des hommes qui assistent et aident à ce sacrifice: et estimeroient sa vertu nulle si ilz ne la veoient tirer.

Ch.XXIX, pp.29-31 (p.65 in 1588 ed., quoted in Lemnos D).

Bayle gives three more passages from Belon which continue this theme of ceremony and ritual, demonstrating how very simple things can be made important and even magical:

...ie prendray la racine de l'Iris, pour exemple: laquelle combien qu'on la trouve croissant abondamment par les montaignes de Macedoine, et qu'elle ne fust de hault pris en vente ches les marchands: toutefois lon ha estimé qu'il n'estoit loisible a un chacun de la pouvoir cueillir, ains failloit que ce fust un homme chaste, et failloit abreuer la terre trois mois devant, avec de l'eau sucrée. Voulants par telles ceremonies appaiser la terre, et la pacifier. Et aussi failloit faire plusieurs autres superstitions que Theophraste a descriptes.

Ch.XXIX, pp.29-30 (pp.65-6 in 1588 ed., quoted in Lemnos D).

Belon describes the extraction of the earth on August 6, making it clear that he was not himself an eyewitness, but is reporting from other sources - this type of precision is important to Bayle, who seems to appreciate Belon as a reliable writer.

Etienne Albacarius, que Busbeque envoia exprès en l'Ile de Lemnos pour s'instruire de toutes ces choses, fut plus heureux que Belon; car il assista aux cérémonies. Voiez la Relation qu'il en écrivit à cet illustre Ambassadeur.

Lemnos D

The many quotations used by Bayle here as well as his conclusion, 'on ne sçauroit rien dire de plus sensé' (Lemnos D) indicate that he considered this to be a good source of information. Some of Bayle's favourite topics recur here - the necessity for accuracy when recording history, the prevalence of superstition, human failings. On the other hand we note the absence of any comments on plants and animals, subjects which are well-represented in Belon's account. Once again Bayle has selected subjects which are of interest to him and can most usefully add to his arguments.

With his quotations from Jean Chardin (1643-1713) Bayle uses the récits to indicate to his readers points of detail which are unclear or have been incorrectly reported (Fatime D), to draw comparisons between Islam and Christianity (Fatime D) and to show how difficult it is to be conclusive or dogmatic about other countries since accounts often diverge (Mahomet P). Chardin's work contributes largely to Fatime and in the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres (to which Bayle refers in Mahomet P) the long articles devoted to his récit (Sep.1686 pp.1061-80 and Oct.1686 pp.1124-43) indicate its value:

...l'Auteur a l'esprit fort net et fort judicieux...il s'est appliqué avec une exactitude incroyable à s'éclaircir de toutes choses.

NRL Sep.1686, p.1063

This is indeed an accurate account, produced by a writer who had begun to travel in the Near and Middle East in his early twenties, learning Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He

himself said, 'je connois mieux Ispahan que je ne connois Paris, quoi que j'y sois né et que j'y aye été élevé.' As a Protestant he subsequently encountered difficulties in France (he comments that 'on n'est pas libre de croire ce qu'on veut' pp.1-2) and so decided to make a living through trade in foreign lands, where one's religion was less of a handicap (cf. other French Protestants who did the same) :

Quoi que nous fussions de Religion différente, nous ne laissons pas de vivre fort bien ensemble. Les Chrétiens apprennent dans l'Orient à conserver la paix entr'eux, et à demeurer en bonne intelligence, malgré la diversité de leurs sentimens.

p.2

Chardin was thus in a good position to gather all sorts of information for his account, which was to appear first in London in 1686, Chardin having settled in England after returning from his travels in 1681 (it was there that he was made Chevalier by Charles II). His work is divided into four parts: the first, which Bayle uses, recounts his journey from Paris to Ispahan (1671-77), the second describes Persia and Ispahan, the third the ruins of Persepolis and the fourth gives a history of Persia, based on Persian writers.

We have already seen that in Mahomet Bayle makes the point that Christians are not necessarily more virtuous than non-Christians, and that in fact on many occasions the latter may seem superior. His ponderings begin with the question of how to know which is the 'vraie église' - against the Protestants the Catholics use arguments such as the influence of their church and the number of faithful, all of which could equally well be argued by followers of Islam, Bayle points out (as we saw above). From there he enlarges the debate from a Catholic/Protestant one into a more wide-ranging debate about Christianity and Islam. Is it possible to decide which is superior? Even morality cannot be a deciding factor, since 'les Relations des Voyageurs ne s'accordent pas' and it is easy to find arguments to support both sides of the question. His quotations from Chardin illustrate his point that morality is not the monopoly of one particular religion. Chardin shows that there may be virtuous Moslems and immoral Christians:<sup>3</sup>

M.Chardin nous apprend qu'en Perse on se marie sans se voir, et 'qu'un homme ne voit sa femme que quand il a consommé le mariage, et souvent il ne le consomme que plusieurs jours' après qu'on l'a conduite chez lui, 'la belle fuyant et se cachant parmi les femmes, ou ne voulant pas laisser faire le mari. Ces façons arrivent souvent entre les personnes de qualité, parce qu'à leur avis cela sent la débauchée de donner si-tôt la dernière faveur. Les filles du sang royal en usant particulièrement de la façon, il faut des mois pour les réduire.' Il parle tout autrement des Georgiennes, qui font profession du Christianisme; car après avoir donné aux Georgiens tous les défauts imaginables, il ajoûte, 'les femmes ne sont ni moins vicieuses ni moins mechantes, elles ont un grand foible pour les hommes, et elles ont assurément plus de part qu'eux en ce torrent d'impureté qui inonde tout leur païs.

Mahomet P, Chardin pp.368-9 and p.268.

This is the kind of method which Bayle likes to employ in the DHC, often when quoting from or referring to récits - with well-chosen examples he throws an element of doubt into the argument, showing the impossibility of concluding any universal truths since human behaviour is so varied and unpredictable. The use of parallels and comparisons here, where Bayle shifts from the Protestant/Catholic argument to a broader one, is consistently very effective in throwing up contradictions, forcing us to think again. He does the same in Fatime D which is based largely upon information from Chardin. Bayle quotes the prayers addressed to Fatima which provide 'une preuve authentique' that the saint worshipped here is the daughter of Mousa and not the daughter of Mohammed (wife of Ali) or the daughter of Ali and Fatima (mentioned in Fatime E, Chardin p.464). This is a way of criticising those who wrongly reported the identity of this Fatima, and at the same time Bayle cannot resist the opportunity to point out that there are similarities between prayers said to Fatima and those addressed to the Virgin Mary (we give here Chardin's text, there are slight differences of spelling with the one quoted in the DHC):

Je te souhaite le salut éternel, ô Fathmé, fille de MÔUSA, Vierge Sainte, vertueuse, juste, directrice de vérité, pieuse, sanctifiée, digne de toutes nos loüanges, qui aime souverainement les fidèles et qui en est souverainement aimée: Fille sans tache et exempte de toute impureté. Dieu veuille prendre son plus grand plaisir en toi, t'avoir pour agréable et t'affermir dans le Paradis, qui est ta demeure et ton refuge éternel.

Chardin, p.465. Quoted in Fatime D

Just like the Virgin Mary, Fatima is believed to have power to intercede for the faithful:

Il y a une chose considérable dans ces Prières, c'est qu'on s'y recommande à l'intercession de cette Sainte, et que l'on y fait des vœux pour elle.

p.464

This intercession is illustrated by another prayer (p.465) which Bayle again quotes as more proof of the similarities between the two religions. In part two of it we read:

Daigne m'accorder ton intercession, ô sainte Vierge, au jour que les bons seront séparés d'avec les méchants. Sois moi propice alors, car tu es d'une race et sortie de parens qui ne laissent tomber dans le malheur nul de ceux qui les aiment...

p.465

As so often, information gleaned from récits enables Bayle to come to surprising conclusions, attacking prejudices and false beliefs, destroying previously-held views about the special nature or uniqueness of a given religion. Much as humans would like to believe that each of them has found the truth, experience constantly shows that there are links and similarities everywhere, even between apparent opposites. For instance, Chardin says of Fatima that 'Dieu l'enleva au Ciel', upon which Bayle comments:

L'Eglise Romaine n'est donc pas la seule qui honore l'assomption des Vierges. Nous allons voir que la Conception immaculée, et la Virginité d'une mere, semblent être deux dogmes du Mahométisme.

Fatime D

The pleasure which Bayle takes in paradoxes and curiosities is apparent in his choice of quotations here. These passages provide information about Islam but at the same time give Bayle the opportunity to use his much-favoured comparative approach. We thus find no trace in the DHC of the abundant geographic details and advice on trade and trade-routes which figure so largely in Chardin, but which definitely interested Bayle less and were less conducive to discussion. Chardin's trips to the East from 1665-9 and 1671-7 had enabled him to gather information invaluable to any traveller or trader, as indicated by the fourteen detailed maps and drawings (by Grelot), including a map of the area covered and town-plans (Com, Teflis, Tauris). But for the purposes of the DHC such information does not seem relevant to Bayle, and he chooses to overlook it. As we have so often seen, Bayle is not equally interested in all the material provided by the récits, but picks and chooses according to his own interests, the interests of his readers and the requirements of an historical dictionary.

The trader Tavernier, although reputed to be less accurate than Chardin, also produced important accounts of his travels. He was also a Protestant who made a living through travel and trade, buying and selling jewels and cloth, and he was to die in the course of his final journey, this time to Russia. The accuracy of his works has been questioned, the suggestion being made that he was on occasions too naive and too quick to accept as true everything he was told - in Tavernier Bayle says that some of the stories he told were 'des fables qu'on lui faisoit accroire pour se moquer de sa simplicité' and he also gives a reference to the Giro del Mondo where we read the following:

E quì non è da tralasciare la solenne burla, che mi narravano alcuni Francesi dimoranti in Zulfa, essere stata fatta al Tavernier, al proposito di questi granchi. Mangiando egli (sono ormai presso a quarant'anni) con Mr l'Etoile, ne commendava molto il sapore: e come che quegli di buono umore, e faceto si era, gli disse: ora e il tempo che sono migliori, perche mangiano gelsi bianchi. E vedendo tuttavia curioso il semplice Tavernier di sapere, come mangiassero gelsi, e in qual maniera gli prendessero, per poterlo poi scivere; soggiunse, che quei granchi al tramontar del Sole uscivano da'loro buchi presso a gli alberi; e montativi su mangiavano gelsi tutta la notte, e poi al far del giorno ritornavano nell'acque: onde i giardinieri adavano a scuotere gli alberi la notte, e fattane buona raccolte, gli portavano a vendere in piazza. Questa novella detta per ischerzo fu tragugiata dal Tavernier, e scritta come vera, a gran pregiudicio degli altri semplici, come lui. Mi fu tutto ciò confermato dal figliuolo del medesimo M.l'Etoile, da un vecchio Armeno, e da

altri Francesi, che aver o conosciuto in Zulfa. Quindi può farsi argomento della verità degli altri suoi detti; se in cosa tanto inverisimile, così credulo dimostrossi. I Persiani non solo non mangiano di tai granchi, ma gli aborriscono grandemente.

Giro del Mondo T.II, cap.VIII, pp.138-9 (1699)

Despite having been 'l'un des plus grans Voiageurs du XVII Siecle' (Tavernier) Tavernier provides an example of the pitfalls facing all travellers and travel-writers who must constantly use their judgement carefully when faced with information of which they were not 'témoin oculaire'.

...un faiseur de Relation qui a de la vanité, et qui veut bien vendre sa copie, y fourre tous les mensonges qui peuvent donner une idée favorable de l'Ecrivain, et divertir les Lecteurs.

Remond D

Whilst not guilty of deliberate dishonesty, then, Tavernier reminds us of Bayle's constant concern for accuracy, and he possibly approached this récit with this lack of critical judgement in mind.

In Fatime C Tavernier is quoted regarding the mosque at Com. The aim here seems to be to build up as accurate and conclusive a picture as possible by quoting the observations of various different authors, for Bayle is always loath to rely on just one writer whose account may be biased or misinformed. By comparing and contrasting he hopes to be able to get closer to the truth, informing us that 'les Relations de Tavernier s'accordent ici avec celles de Pietro della Valle'. In the article Tavernier we find details about the traveller's life and a list of his principal publications (Rem C). A large part of the footnotes is dedicated to the controversy surrounding Tavernier's criticism of the behaviour of the Dutch in Asia (in T.III, L.V, 'Recueil de plusieurs Relations et Traitez singuliers et curieux. Qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers Voyages', 1679) which Bayle seems to have preferred to highlight rather than the details of trade-routes

and geography, sometimes accompanied by few critical remarks, which dominate volumes one and two.<sup>4</sup> Having listed Tavernier's works, Bayle says:

C'est dans ce dernier Traité qu'il médit violemment de ceux qui gouvernent les affaires de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales; il est juste de remarquer qu'il déclare dès l'entrée, qu'il 'ne blâme pas la conduite des Hollandois en general...Je ne touche point ici' ajoûte-t-il; 'le corps des Etats Generaux que je respecte; je ne parle que des particuliers avec lesquels j'ai peu de mesures à garder, après les injustices qu'ils m'ont faites en plusieurs occasions.'

Tavernier C

His plan to expose the Dutch led to a rupture with Chappuzeau who until then had acted as secretary to Tavernier (who 'n'avoit guere appris ni à parler ni à ecrire en François', for although established in Paris his family originated from Antwerp). Chappuzeau subsequently felt it necessary to strongly deny any connection with volume 3 of Tavernier's account, which led to Tavernier being criticised and attacked in various quarters (for example by Jurieu and Arnaud). Bayle expresses surprise at the fact that Tavernier did not attempt to reply to his critics by employing someone who could compose an answer in French (we are reminded here of Bayle's own exchanges of pamphlets with his critics and enemies) but is eager to be fair to him. He takes Tavernier's defence, declaring that he did not criticise all the Dutch, simply 'la conduite d'une poignée de Hollandois négocians dans un autre monde, à 2000 lieues de leurs maîtres' (Rem E). Bayle's comments stop there, whereas we may have expected him to develop his remarks on the behaviour of the Dutch in the colonies, with quotations from Tavernier, given his interest, expressed elsewhere, for details concerning Europeans in other countries (Spanish cruelty in the Americas, the presence of missionaries in Japan and China). He finishes with the comment that 'faute de place' it is not possible to include everything he would like to say, but this seems a curious omission to say the least, given that the subject is so promising.<sup>5</sup> It could have enabled him to say something specifically about the Protestants, since elsewhere his comments very often concern Catholic nations. Whilst he refuses generalisations and over-simplifications, we

constantly find Bayle expanding his arguments in a multitude of directions, covering all sorts of questions inspired by a single idea whose limits he recognises but which he nonetheless considers valid. Here he does not follow this method, perhaps in order to save himself further problems and personal attacks in the country where he lived and published (although he did not often shy away from controversy) or perhaps simply because he felt that Tavernier's attacks were indeed unfair and unfounded.

The interests of the savant Jacob Spon, who travelled more for his pleasure and edification than through any real necessity to do so, are quite different from those of Chardin and Tavernier, and the nature of the passages quoted by Bayle is also different. We notice however that the quotations selected (and those which are not) fit into what we know about Bayle's interests. Spon's Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant, first published in Lyon in 1678 and based on a journey made with the Englishman Wheler in 1675-6, is a very scholarly work, full of details about historical monuments, ancient buildings and inscriptions. Spon, a French Protestant, had studied medicine before setting out on his travels, and this interest for scientific and medical matters is clear throughout his work, along with his enthusiasm for archaeology and antiquity. In his Epître he dedicates his book to Père la Chaise because of his great interest in antiquity (another example of the République des Lettres at work) and in the Préface Spon explains that like any traveller he decided his itinerary according to his own interests, which equally cannot but affect his descriptions:

...mes plus grandes recherches ont eu pour but la connoissance des Monumens antiques...

We have then a very different kind of work from the ones produced by travellers who were essentially interested in trade and who consequently had a different view of the countries they visited and other experiences. Like his companion Wheler, Spon concentrates on giving details of inscriptions, statues, libraries and 'médailles', on

occasions comparing descriptions found in Classical texts with his own observations. He is precise with names and with information about agriculture and the climate, and describes how and in what conditions he travelled from place to place. Whilst travelling and describing an actual journey, Spon is at the same time discovering the past, and in this way his récit combines with scholarly remarks and references.

Spon's account consists of three volumes, the first two of which comprise six books; volume 3 consists entirely of inscriptions which he collected during his travels and which he places all together, so that those readers who are interested in them can consult them easily. Nearly all of Bayle's quotations and references are to volume 1 (except in Mahomet DD where he refers to volume 2) and there are no references to the specialised information on inscriptions of volume 3. Bayle uses Spon principally as a source for information on small details and points of interest, of which this work is full. This is the case in Sainte-Maure B and Tenedos D where Spon is quoted in order to inform us on two very specific points. In Sainte Maure B Bayle gives us Spon's version, whilst also informing us that Moréri and Coronelli say something different again:

M.Spon témoin oculaire nous dit que cet aqueduc 'sert de pont pour les gens de pied, bien qu'il n'ait guere que trois pieds de large, et sans aucun appui. Quelque assuré qu'on puisse être', continue-t-il, 'on tremble quand on passe dessus, principalement quand on rencontre quelqu'un qui vient du lieu où l'on va; car c'est tout ce que peuvent faire deux hommes que d'y passer de front.'

T.1, pp.136-7 (p.104 éd.d'Hollande).

Just like Belon, Spon is important because he is a 'témoin oculaire' and hence more reliable. In Tenedos D a short quotation contributes to the gradual build-up of knowledge which Bayle is realising throughout the DHC, adding to the stock of information with small nuggets gleaned from various sources:

L'Isle est fertile en bons vins, dont elle fournit Constantinople, et les muscats y sont excellens...Ceux du Vaisseau qui se plaisoient à la chasse, y trouvoient autant de gibier qu'ils vouloient, mais particulièrement des lievres et des perdrix.

T.1, p.201 (p.153 éd.d'Hollande). Quoted in Tenedos D

Other passages, in which Bayle uses Spon for this kind of information, lead into more general reflections on history and historical parallels. Instead of being content simply to quote from Spon, Bayle uses his comments as a springboard for developing his own arguments. His passing references to this récit and the ease with which he introduces it into his writing would seem to indicate a fairly detailed reading of the text. Hence in Hercule I a story recounted by Spon about the Greeks of Smyrna leads Bayle to declare that such examples are of great interest to writers who would like to establish parallels between the Christians and the Pagans. He does not go any further than that, simply making this statement, giving the quotation and leaving his idea to germinate in the reader's mind:

Voilà un Article pour celui qui entreprendra la Compilation des Parallèles Historiques, par raport à certains Contes des Paiens et des Chrétiens; car nous aprenons des Voyageurs, 'qu'à la porte de la vieille Forteresse' de Smyrne, 'il y a un grand cerisier sauvage que les Grecs du pays disent être le bâton de S.Polycarpe premier Evêque de Smyrne, qui un moment après qu'il fut planté en terre poussa des branches.'

T.1, p.306 (p.232 éd. d'Hollande). Quoted in Hercule I

Bayle does not develop the argument himself then, but provides the material for someone who may wish to do so, following his belief that it is important for each writer to add to the stock of knowledge, so that future generations can profit from it:

...il importe, que ceux qui savent les choses, se hâtent de les publier; car autrement, la peine de remonter jusqu'à la première origine devient trop grande.

Bellai F

In Mahomet GG we learn that according to a prophecy Islam is destined to be destroyed by 'une famille blonde' and in writing about this prophecy Bayle is reminded that Spon also spoke about it. Once again we see that he dips into this récit for bits and pieces of information:

Cette Famille blonde, si fatale aux Musulmans, me fait souvenir d'un Passage de M.Spon que je m'en vai raporter. 'De tous les Princes de la Chrétienté, il n'y en a point que le Turc craigne tant que le grand Czar de Moscovie...Aussi ay-je oui dire à quelques Grecs, entr'autres au Sieur Manno-Mannea de la ville d'Arta, homme d'esprit et d'étude pour le pays, qu'il y avoit une Prophetie parmi eux, qui portoit que l'Empire du Turc devoit être détruit par une Nation Chrysogenos, c'est-à-dire blonde, ce qui ne peut s'attribuer qu'aux Moscovites qui sont presque tous blonds.<sup>6</sup>

T.1, pp.355-6 (p.270 éd.d'Hollande). Quoted in Mahomet GG

Similarly in Mahomet DD and Golius D Jacob Spon is referred to as the source for information about the Turks and Islam. Discussing Golius, a reputed Orientalist who visited libraries in Turkey, Bayle comments that 'les Turcs ne sont pas aussi dépourvus de Livres que l'on pense' and for those who may wish to know more, he gives a reference to Spon. The passage in question is one where Spon mentions a bazaar where books are sold (described to him by a Scot whom he calls Vatz and whom Wheler, probably more accurately, calls Watson). He gives details of various books, showing that many are available in Turkey and they are considered very important.

...à Constantinople il y a un Bazar, ou marché de livres manuscrits de différentes Sciences, en Turc, en Arabe et en Persan, et...il y a du danger pour les Chrétiens d'y aller, parce qu'ils croiroient profaner leurs livres de nous les vendre. C'est ce que j'appris moi-même, lorsque passant depuis à Prusa devant une boutique où il y avoit quelques livres Arabes, et les voulant marchander, on me renvoya avec l'injure de Giaour qu'ils donnent ordinairement aux Chrétiens...

T.1, p.254 (p.193 éd.d'Hollande).

Spon then goes on to recount his own personal experience as an illustration of the high esteem the Turks have for their books and the scorn which they show towards Christians. In Mahomet DD Spon informs us about Islam. Although in this long and important article Bayle does not always quote at length, sometimes just giving a page-reference, small details from writers such as Spon are vital in establishing a fuller picture. Such minor references are indications of the many ways, large and small, in which travel literature contributed to the DHC.

Mr Spon...assûre que ceux qui sont nez lors que leur mere faisoit le Voiage de la Mecque ont le même privilege 'de porter le Turban vert.'

Mahomet DD

Les Emirs sont ceux qui se disent de la race de Mahomet, et à qui il est permis de porter le Turban vert. Ceux qui sont nez lorsque leur mere étoit en voiage pour la Meque ont le même privilege.

T.2, p.20 (p.16 éd.d'Hollande).

Such then was the type of information afforded Bayle by a récit like Spon's. Much in it must have reflected Bayle's own interest in Antiquity and history and these aspects are evident in the passages cited. But it is again clear that he operated a system of selection - no references to the inscriptions in volume 3, little or no geographical description, omission of any details about travelling arrangements. On the other hand, historical information and material concerning Islam are considered important and interesting by Bayle.

A certain number of minor references also occur in the DHC and for the purposes of this study we will divide them into three categories: those quoted directly by Bayle, those quoted from a secondary source and those taken from non-travellers who compiled information rather than actually travelling. The first author we will look at in this group is

the Englishman George Wheler, who travelled with Spon and published an account of the journey in 1682, published in French in 1689 as the Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant. This account is substantially the same as his companion's, but does contradict it on occasions. It is said to be fuller than Spon's (Avertissement au Lecteur p.4) since he had longer to prepare and correct it (their journey ended in November 1676). Wheler's interests were very much the same as Spon's (history, inscriptions, 'médailles') and their accounts are in many ways very similar. In the DHC Wheler is always quoted as a complementary source, alongside Spon, not really adding anything new but confirming other writers' observations. The fact that Bayle refers to this récit (Golius D) and quotes from it (Tenedos D) indicates once again his desire to provide as many sources as possible, either concurrent or contradictory. In the article Tenedos Bayle points out that the island is still known and talked about in modern times, informing us that it is 'fertile en bled et en vin, et principalement en muscat, dont on porte la plus grande partie à Constantinople' (Wheler p.103). Again in Golius D Wheler's contribution is minimal, serving to back up Spon. Bayle gives a reference to Wheler's account of the travellers' meeting with Watson who 'nous surprit Mr Spon et moy d'un récit qu'il nous fit de leur science contre l'opinion commune du monde. Il nous assêura qu'il y a à Constantinople un Bazar, ou Bourse pour les Livres Manuscrits de diverses sciences...mais qu'il étoit dangereux pour les Chrétiens de s'y trouver...' (p.162). Such small, apparently unimportant references, tucked away in a corner of the DHC, attest to Bayle's desire to provide as much information as possible and also indicate his considerable interest in and knowledge of récits de voyages.

Another writer, Balthasar de Monconys, is twice quoted in the DHC. Elsewhere in the Dictionnaire Bayle remarks that he 'disputoit quelquefois fort librement contre ceux qui avilissent la grandeur de Dieu...et on lui fit l'injustice de le traiter de Libertin, lui qui étoit pénétré d'une idée de Dieu la plus sublime qui se puisse concevoir' (Hobbes M). Monconys' récit, in three parts, appeared in 1665, after the author's death. Part One recounts a journey undertaken from 1645 to 1649 and covers Portugal, Provence, Italie, Egypte, Syrie, Constantinople et Natolie; Part Two (1663-4) deals with his Voyage

d'Angleterre, Païs Bas, Allemagne et Italie and Part Three is entitled Voyage d'Espagne, Mort de Sultan Hibrahim, Lettres Sçavantes, Algebre Vers et Secrets. Bayle's quotations are from Part One - either he had not read the other parts or else nothing there seemed to him worthy of quotation. It is only the sections dealing with the Near and Middle East which occur in the DHC. This account is written in journal-form, recounting day-to-day events and observations. This method has the disadvantage of retaining in the published form much which is dry, boring and of little real interest to the reader - daily happenings recounted with little analysis or comment, somewhat thin on social observation and description of mores and way of life. Monconys seems to lack a comparative and analytical eye, being apparently more interested in science, medicine, the occult - he gives remedies, recipes, diagrams, scientific observations and what he calls 'divers secrets' (p.146 remedy for gonorrhoea, in 1647 he writes a letter to Bernier about the rise in the level of the Nile). This récit is then rather plodding and lacking in insight, on occasions curiously laconic and indifferent:

Je fus le matin à Constantinople avec Messieurs de la Porte et de Meaux voir quatre testes coupées qui estoient exposées à la porte du Serrail, entre lesquelles estoit celle du Capitan Bacha: L'apresdiné je demeuray au logis à escrire à Alep...

p.465

The limited interest and usefulness of Monconys' récit are thus, perhaps, reflected in the limited use which Bayle makes of it. His references and quotations do however illustrate once again his preoccupations and the use to which he very often put récits. In Adam I where Bayle discusses the stories which abound about Adam's gigantic size, Monconys is one of the many sources which he quotes or refers to. Along with others, his account provides a certain amount of information and Bayle adds together all the material he has come across in order to build up a fuller picture. In the following passage, quoted in Adam I, Monconys recounts stories, beliefs and traditions which he has been told, rather than having experienced them:

Mon Arabe me dit comme la Caravane du Caire arrivoit à la Mèque, et qu'après y avoir fait sa priere, elle alloit au pied de la montagne, qui en est distante d'une lieue, attendre les deux autres Caravanes de Damas et de Bagdet, qui arrivoient les jours suivans à la Mèque; et qu'étant toutes le neuvieme de la douzieme lune qui est Diel Heghe, à la fin, dis-je, du neuvieme jour entrant au dixieme, qui est à l'Asser, toutes les trois Caravanes montent au dessus de cette montagne, au sommet de laquelle (qui est fort bas, comme de ces monts de terre qui se trouvent seuls au milieu des plaines) ils croyent qu'Eve avoit la tête apuyée lors qu'Adam la conut la premiere fois, et qu'elle avoit ses deux genoux bien loin dans le bas de la plaine, sur deux autres, distans l'un de l'autre de deux portées de mousquet, à chaque endroit desquels on a fait mettre une colombe, entre lesquelles il faut pour être bon Agi, c'est-à-dire Pelerin, passer en allant et en revenant de la montagne, au sommet de laquelle est une Mosquée qui est faite comme une niche où il ne peut entrer que sept ou huit personnes.

Voyage de Syrie pp.372-3.

Again in Mahomet EE where Bayle discusses at length the various miracles or tricks which Mohammed is said to have performed in order to increase his prestige and reputation amongst his followers, Monconys' contribution is based on second-hand information. Here we have an interesting example of the way in which Bayle's mind wandered, his thoughts branching out in different directions - from the general subject of Mohammed and the devotion shown towards him, Bayle moves on to talk about his tomb, much visited and said to be suspended in mid-air. This he rejects as a foolish story, with a rap on the knuckles for writers who encourage the circulation of such fables:

Ils font des pélerinages fort dévots à la ville de sa naissance, et à celle où est son tombeau. Il n'est pas vrai que ce tombeau soit suspendu, comme plusieurs Ecrivains disent en se copiant les uns les autres...<sup>7</sup>

Mahomet

At this point Bayle seems to be reminded of another story of suspension, recounted by Monconys, a 'conte bien ridicule' which he is keen to place alongside the stories of the suspended tomb in order to show just how ridiculous humans can be. Once again récits are extremely useful to Bayle when he wants to demonstrate human failings.

L'Oia de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur dit qu'il y avoit une pierre à la Meque suspenduë en l'air depuis que Mahomet ayant monté dessus pour de là monter sur le Bouraq; c'est un animal selon l'Alcoran, plus petit qu'un mulet et plus grand qu'un asne, que Dieu luy avoit envoyé pour le porter au Ciel, comme la pierre le vit monter elle le suivit, mais s'en appercevant la fit arrester, demeura à l'endroit de l'air où elle se trouva alors; d'autres disent que depuis quelques femmes grosses passant dessous de crainte qu'elle ne leur tombast dessus s'estoient blessées, et qu'on y a mis des pierres dessous pour la soûtenir, mais qu'elles n'y servent de rien et que sans cela elle ne laisseroit pas de demeurer suspenduë en l'air.

Voyage de Natolie pp.464-5.

Bayle seems to have been very adept at recalling suitable passages which either illustrate his arguments or contradict previous assertions. In Monconys anecdotal evidence was what seems to have struck him as most useful, and the somewhat laboured journal is not directly quoted. We can also imagine that Monconys, with his frequent use of second-hand information, was not an ideal source for Bayle (cf. Belon and his insistence upon the fact that he was often a 'témoin oculaire').

Richard Simon is yet another author who is quoted in the important article Mahomet in relation to the major themes of Moslem morality and the miracles supposedly performed by Mohammed. These two themes link up with what we have seen previously in connection with other authors cited in this article. Simon often caused much controversy with his books and in the Préface to the Histoire Critique de la Creance et des Coûtumes des Nations du Levant (published under the pseudonym of the Sieur de Moni) he claims not to be the author of the work. He says he would like to see it published, though, since it is a good travel guide which he himself found useful when travelling in the Levant. The author has much admiration and respect for oriental countries, which he defends against European misconceptions. The quotations in Mahomet L (on morality) and Mahomet H (on miracles) are from chapter XV, 'De la creance et des coûtumes des Mahometans'. The fourteen other chapters, some on precise subjects (ch.II 'De la Transubstantiation. Si elle est reconnüe par les Grecs qu'on nomme ordinairement

Schismatiques', ch.III 'De l'adoration du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie: Si elle est en usage parmi les Grecs'), others dealing with 'le creance et les coûtumes' of various nations (ch.IV Melchites, ch.V Georgiens, ch.VII Nestoriens, ch.XII Armeniens) do not appear in the DHC. It is Islam which interests Bayle, who for his article Mahomet draws on various different sources.

Simon gives a good description of the different sects and religions existing in the Middle East, with considerable detail. He attempts to establish facts, as far as possible, and discover the truth rather than simply expressing his own opinions. He is extremely critical of Christians who criticise other religions for their abuses or contradictions, whilst forgetting that they themselves are not perfect. Having selected the chapter which can provide him with some interesting material on an important topic, Bayle also recognises that if he wants to talk about morality in connection with Islam or illustrate how Mohammed was regarded by his followers, Simon is a good source, with his defensive, favourable position towards Islam:

...j'ai reconnu que la plus-part des Heresies qu'on attribüe aux Peuples du Levant n'ont presque aucun fondement, bien que les Missionnaires, pour faire mieux valoir leur emploi, les accusent d'un grand nombre d'erreurs...

p.1

This attempt at objective, unprejudiced writing was the kind of source which Bayle must have greatly appreciated, for not all writers were so keen to be fair. The picture drawn by Simon, and which Bayle uses on the pro-Turk side of his argument, is of a virtuous, highly moral people (as against the commonly-held view that Mohammed permitted or even encouraged moral laxity):

Leur Morale consiste à faire le bien, et à éviter le mal: c'est ce qui fait qu'ils examinent avec soin les vertus et les vices; et leurs Casuistes ne sont pas moins subtils que les nostres.

pp.173-4. Quoted in Mahomet L

Je passe sous silence le reste de leur Morale, d'autant que ce que j'en ai rapporté suffit pour montrer quelle elle est; et je puis assurer, qu'elle n'est point si relâchée que celle de quelques Casuistes de nostre siecle. J'ajouterai seulement, qu'ils ont quantité de beaux preceptes touchant les devoirs des particuliers envers leur prochain, où ils donnent mesme des regles de la civilité. Ils ont aussi escrit de la maniere dont on se doit comporter envers son Prince; et une de leurs maximes est, qu'il n'est jamais permis de le tuer, ni mesme d'en dire du mal sous pretexte qu'il est un Tyran.

pp.175-6.

Simon also provides details about Islam - p.171 Paradise, p.172 Predestination, p.177 prayers five times a day, pp.179-80 ablutions - which are useful to Bayle in his investigation of this religion. Although himself highly critical of Mohammed's 'trickery' passed off as miracles, Bayle reports, from Simon, what Moslems believe - even if he does not believe this, he considers it important to report the information available:

...les Mahométans en attribüent quelques-uns [des miracles] à leur Legislatteur. Ils assurent qu'il fit sortir de l'eau de ses doigts, et qu'en marquant la lune de son doigt, il la fendit. Ils disent aussi, que les pierres, les arbres, les bestes le reconnurent pour le veritable Prophete de Dieu, et qu'ils le saluerent en ces termes, 'Vous estes le veritable Prophete Envoyé de Dieu.' Ils affirment de plus, que Mahomet alla une nuit, de la Meque à Jerusalem, d'où il monta au ciel; qu'il vit là le Paradis et l'Enfer; qu'il parla avec Dieu, quoi que cela soit reservé aux Bienheureux après leur mort; qu'enfin il descendit du ciel cette mesme nuit, et qu'il se trouva dans la Meque avant qu'il fust jour.

p.167. Quoted in Mahomet H

Elsewhere in the DHC Bayle laments 'combien un Auteur est à plaindre, lors que sa Bibliotheque n'est pas fournie de toutes sortes de Livres...avec quelle retenue il faut parler d'un Ouvrage que l'on ne conoit que sur le raport d'autrui' (Damien C). However, despite his misgivings he does occasionally rely upon other writers for comments on récits which he has not read. On the Middle East, Bespier is the source for comments on three works (Herbert, della Valle and de Torres), La Mothe le Vayer provides information on Thévenot and du Verdier and two works are known to Bayle through reviews in the Giornale de Letterati.

Herbert, de Torres and della Valle are all quoted in the article Fatime. Even if he had not read these three accounts the references to Bespier attest to a fairly detailed reading of this latter text. Sir Thomas Herbert's Relation de Voyage de Perse et des Indes Orientales occurs in Fatime A (p.339 in Herbert, T.1 p.23 in Bespier). This récit, which recounts a journey which Herbert made with the English ambassador to Persia, between 1628 and 1629, appeared in English in 1634 as A Description of the Persian Monarchy now beinge: the Orientall Indyes Iles and other parts of the Greater Asia and Africk. It went through a number of editions during the seventeenth century and was translated into Dutch in 1658 and French in 1663. In de Wicquefort's French translation it appears with Jeremie van Uliet's Revolutions arrivées au Royaume de Siam l'an mil six cens quarante sept, translated from Flemish. Herbert's account was generally considered to be accurate and reliable. He gives many geographical details, critical comments on the countries visited and the people encountered, explanations of religion and customs, and the history of various nations. Book One relates his journey via the Canary Islands to the Cape of Good Hope, and from there on to Goa. At the end of Book One he describes the history and internal affairs of India and Persia, then in Book Two gives a detailed description of his journey through Persia, with a fair amount of detail on Islam and Mohammed. The third book recounts his return, including a short account Du Royaume de Siam. This is, all in all, an interesting account, combining well history and geography and personal observations. He analyses and compares fairly effectively the different countries which he passes through, in which he seems to have shown a great interest, accumulating a considerable amount of information. His observations in the holy town of Com contribute to the article Fatime:

La dévotion, que l'on a pour ce lieu, l'a [la mosquée] enrichie de plusieurs grands presens, que l'on y a portés au sepulcre de Fatima, femme de Mortis Ally, et fille de Mahomet, le grand Prophete de tous les Musulmans, laquelle y est enterrée. Le bastiment de la Mosquée est rond, et fait à l'epirotique. La tombe de la pretenduë sainte est élevée de douze pieds de terre, et est couverte d'un draps de velours blanc, et l'on y monte par quelques marches, faites d'argent massif.

Livre II, p.339. Quoted in Fatime A

(the text in the DHC contains some differences in spelling).

The account of Diego de Torres also contributes small details to the article Fatime, and again Bayle relies on Bespier for his information.<sup>8</sup> De Torres was a Spaniard who went to Morocco in 1546 to operate as a 'racheteur' of prisoners. His account was published by his widow in Seville in 1585 and translated into French as the Histoire des Chérifs et des royaumes de Maroc, de Fes, de Tarudant et autres provinces... in 1636. The edition we refer to appeared in 1667 in tome 3 of L'Afrique de Marmol. This is mainly an historical account, with personal experiences mixed in, but relatively few comments on religion and customs. The first 53 chapters cover the history of Morocco, then from chapter 54 to 73 the account becomes more personal, with the arrival of de Torres in Fez. Bayle's quotation, found in Bespier, is from chapter 74, 'De l'Origine de Mahomet', where the beginnings and practices of Islam are described:

Ils appellent...la Sainte Vierge, Lela Mariam, qui signifie la Dame Marie.

De Torres, p.140

De Torres stresses what he considers to have been the tricks used by Mohammed in order to gain people's confidence and increase his following, and from chapter 75 to 78 he describes certain customs and practices in more detail. From chapter 79 to 112 he returns once more to historical events, although within his recounting of history he includes some remarks about social customs. Chapter 107, for example, quoted by Bespier and Bayle, is entitled 'Du regne du Chérif, de ses mariages, et de ses revenus' and here we find more explanation concerning the attribution of the name 'Lela'. The Chérif 'fut marié avec quatre femmes; de la première il eut trois enfans mâles et une fille...Sa fille s'appeloit Léla Miriam...Il eut de sa seconde femme deux fils et deux filles...Léla Aya, et Léla Fatime. Sa troisième femme fut Mencia, dont il n'eut point d'enfans: la quatrième Léla lu fille du Mérieu dont aussi il n'eut aucuns enfans' (pp.213-4).<sup>9</sup>

Bespier is once again the source of information for the passage from Pietro della Valle which occurs in Fatime C, giving a small detail about Com:

Il y a un beau pont à Com, et on voit auprès du pont une belle Mosquée, dans laquelle on me dit qu'une soeur d'Iman Riza qu'ils ont en veneration, et qui fut un des successeurs des plus estimez de Mahomet, est enterrée, et laquelle ils considerent aussi pour une Sainte à leur mode, tellement qu'ils ont beaucoup de respect et de veneration pour le lieu de sa sepulture.

Della Valle v.II p.58. Bespier pp.23-4.

Throughout the DHC Bayle only refers to della Valle through Bespier - it is possible then that he had not actually read this important work, first published in Rome in 1650-3 as Viaggi descritti in lettere familiari. Della Valle travelled extensively in the East from 1614 to 1626, living for long periods in Constantinople and at the Persian court. His lively epistolary account was translated as Les Fameux Voyages de Pietro della Valle and appeared in three volumes in 1661.

In Abumuslimus A and Spinoza A quotations from della Valle serve as illustrations of certain heretical notions concerning the four elements. Bayle is able to expand on the universality of certain ideas and beliefs, and by using this récit he opens out the debate, bringing in more examples and demonstrating the links between thinkers in different countries at different times. The theme of similar ideas being repeated across time and all over the world occurs elsewhere in the DHC (Taulerus F, Japon D). In Spinoza Bayle tries to show that Spinoza's ideas were not original, for early Christian heretics and certain 'Anciens' held such beliefs. This is an attempt to place Spinoza in an historical context, showing the continuity of ideas which are constantly taken up and reformulated.

Quelque différence qu'il y ait entre ce dogme et le système de Spinoza, le fond est toujours le même...

Abumuslimus A

Pietro della Valle...dit qu'une de leurs opinions est que 'tout ce que l'on voit' que 'tout ce qui est dans le monde' que 'tout ce qui a été créé, est Dieu.' Il parle aux deux pages precedentes d'une autre Secte d'Heretiques Mahometans, qui approche de celle-là. Ils s'appellent, dit-il, Ehl eltab quid...qui signifie en Arabe 'hommes de vérité', ou plutôt 'gens de certitude'. Ils croyent qu'il n'y a point 'd'autre Dieu que les quatre Elemens, qu'il n'y a point d'ame raisonnable, ni d'autre vie après celle-cy, mais que tout l'homme n'est qu'un mélange des quatre Elemens et qu'en mourant il se resout et se dissipe dans les quatre Elemens simples, et ainsi s'en retourne a Dieu qui l'a créé, et ainsi de toutes les autres choses...

Spinoza A Bespier p.648, della Valle T.3, p.394

The 'deux pages precedentes' mentioned here occur in Abumuslimus A where Bayle discusses these same heretical ideas. Bespier gives quite a long quotation from della Valle (p.666, della Valle p.392), Bayle's is slightly shorter.

We see here that Bayle was able to draw quite a lot out of a récit with which he was perhaps not very familiar and which he may not have read. He was able to recognise which points were of interest and could add to his arguments, helping to develop the debate. Della Valle, although only quoted via Bespier, contributes to the DHC in an important way, with these comments about heretical beliefs amongst Moslems.

The two récits which are quoted from La Mothe le Vayer occur in the same article and both concern the Turkish language. One is the well-known Voyages of Jean Thévenot ('le jeune') who travelled from 1655-62 and from 1663-67, falling ill and dying before his return to France. The second is Gilbert Saulnier du Verdier's Abregé de l'Histoire des Turcs (1653). These references provide Bayle with examples of the way in which all nations naturally believe their own language to be superior to all others:

Ainsi les Turcs soutiennent qu'il n'y a que la leur seule qui soit de bon usage en ce Monde, qu'en Paradis on parlera Arabe, et que le jargon des Persans, leurs mortels ennemis est reservé pour l'Enfer.

La Mothe Oeuvres T.XIII, ch.XV, pp.258-9.  
Quoted in Claude (Emp) A

This is based on the following passage from Thévenot:

...ils disent communément que la langue Turque sert en ce monde, et qu'en Paradis on parlera la langue Arabe, et en enfer la Persienne, qui toutesfois est belle...mais comme ils hayssent extremement les Persiens, ils médisent de tout ce qui les regarde.

Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant (1664) Ch.LXXIII p.497.

Again in Claude (Emp) A La Mothe provides a second example.

Le respect des Turcs pour leur langue est fort singulier, si ce que j'ai lu dans la Vie de Bajazet II est véritable. Ce Sultan 'menaceant de faire la guerre aux Venitiens, la République lui envoya un Ambassadeur pour lui demander la paix. Ce Prince lui accorda sa demande, et lui en fit délivrer les articles écrits en Latin; mais André Gritti Gentilhomme Venitien, qui n'ignoroit rien de toutes les coutumes des Turcs, pour avoir esté long-tems à Constantinople, avertit cet Ambassadeur que les Turcs ne tenoient jamais rien de ce qui n'étoit pas escrit en leur langue. C'est pourquoi l'Ambassadeur fit de grands efforts pour faire changer ce traité en langage commun du pays; mais ce fut peine perduë. Aussi dès qu'il fut parti la flotte de Bajazet fit voile pour aller attaquer les places des Venitiens dans la Morée.'

Based on du Verdier T.1 pp.524-5 (Bajazet II)

These examples illustrate the way in which Bayle put to good use his general reading. Apart from reading récits themselves he also picked up useful information from journals, which enabled him to be aware of a wide range of books without having to have read them all. The precision of some of his references to these publications indicates how carefully he read them. In Marets I and Osman B Bayle refers to two reviews in the Giornale de Letterati - in March 1673 the Viaggio All'Indie Orientali del P.F.Vicenzo Maria di S.Caterina da Siena (pp.29-41) and in January 1675 the Memorie Istoriche de'Monarchi Ottomani di Giovanni Sagredo Cavaliere (pp.1-10). It is the passages on religion (Marets I) and politics (Osman B) which Bayle selects - once again he passes over the passages on geography and natural history.

En considérant, cette multitude de Docteurs Chrétiens, qui prédisent depuis tant de Siecles une grande Révolution de foi, j'ai été curieux de savoir si l'on trouve de semblables gens dans les autres Religions; et j'ai trouvé entre autres choses qu'il y a des Mahométans qui laissent des legs à un Prophete inconnu, qui doit venir délivrer le monde de la tyrannie de l'Antechrist: et que les Perses croient que Mahomet Mahadi fils d'Hossen, second fils d'Ali, n'est point mort, et qu'il se tient dans un lieu caché, d'où il sortira un jour pour réfuter toutes les erreurs, et pour réunir tous les hommes à une même créance. Il prêchera à cheval, et commencera à le faire dans la ville de Mazadelle, où on lui tient toujours un cheval prêt. Cela ressemble en quelque chose à l'opinion de plusieurs Chrétiens touchant le Prophète Elie. Il ne faut pas être surpris que l'on persuade de telles chimeres aux Mahométans; car le prince de Bassora peut leur faire acroire qu'il est le premier des Favoris de Mahomet, et que son crédit est si grand auprès du Prophète, que sur ses Lettres de change on donne aux porteurs telle ou telle place dans le Paradis. Il y a une telle banque chez lui pour l'expédition de ces Lettres: il signe une police selon laquelle on acquiert la possession d'un certain endroit du ciel, plus ou moins avantageux, à proportion de la somme qu'on lui compte. 'Il prencipe di Bassora pretende esser de' Confidenti di Mahometto, e haver maggior autorità degl'altri, in vertu della quale concede à gente semplice pezze di cielo, seguendo polize di cambio di tanto e tal sito nel Paradiso, secundo il dinaro che ne riceve.'

Marets I (Quotation from GdL 31 March 1673, p.33).

Bayle is keen to compare and contrast religions and beliefs, discovering the differences and similarities between them, and demonstrating that human stupidity and gullibility are indeed universal. The question of government and politics, the rights and privileges of a monarch, the rights and duties of his subjects, also preoccupied Bayle. Once again he goes beyond the bounds of European illustrations and finds interesting examples in the récits. It was said that no nation had more respect for its monarchs than the Turks and yet it was possible for a Sultan to be deposed once opposed by the Mufti. This was an interesting reflection on despotism and the strength of a nation's belief in monarchy as the best form of government. Applying this to Europe (possibly what Bayle had in mind) we see a parallel with events in England in 1688 - the Glorious Revolution and the split which it engendered amongst the French Huguenots. Some, like Jurieu, became favourable to the theory of 'popular sovereignty', others maintained that allegiance to the King was paramount. This latter group, which included Bayle, believed that the French Protestants should not be encouraged to rebel, since this would threaten their safety and reinforce their reputation as a dangerous fifth column.

Il qual Mustafa era huomo stolido, e la stolidezza di lui si spacciava per santità, e rassegnatione in Dio da Daret Primo Visir, e da gli altri corteggiani, sacendolo semper guardar in cielo, quando usciva in publico, e fingendo miracoli: fu deposto, havendo il Mufti promulgado, che l'Alcorano vietava l'obbedienza ad un Re insensato, durante il quale erano inefficaci l'orationi, e invalidi i matrimonii.

GdL 28 January 1675 p.3. Quoted in Osman B

It is clear then that Bayle read journals very carefully and was happy to use any references to récits which he came across, and the same was true of other works from which, in the course of his wide reading, he was able to glean information about travel literature. These pieces of information, apparently unimportant in themselves, are slipped into the DHC here and there, but when we gather them together their collective importance becomes clearer.

A certain number of récits referred to by Bayle were in fact written by people who did not travel themselves but relied upon genuine récits to produce their accounts. Some of the writers discussed above under other headings could have been included here (Simon, du Verdier) but it is most appropriate to group here the works of Guillet de Saint-Georges, Herbelot and Bespier.<sup>10</sup>

Guillet de Saint-Georges (1625-1705) who also published under his brother's name (la Guilletière - this was the case with the 1676 edition of Lacedemone Ancienne et Nouvelle) worked from books on Greece to produce travelogues.<sup>11</sup> His supposed exaggerations and inaccuracies led to a long quarrel with Spon, particularly over Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle which Guillet had presented as an account of his brother's travels in Greece. Guillet was very interested in ancient history and Lacedemone Ancienne et Nouvelle is concerned in large part with establishing comparisons between the past and present (on page 19 this is declared to be the account's primary purpose). We thus have lengthy references to myth and legend, with more opportunities for comparisons and contrasts between ancient and modern than between East and West. Such comparisons take the place of geographical details, which are rare - in Volume One there are no diagrams or plans of towns, in Volume Two just one (of Lacédémone/Sparte). The first

volume describes the journey through the Peloponnese, geography, modern-day customs and the arrival at Lacédémone. In Volume Two Guillet describes the town and its history, then continues the journey to Malvezia, Monembaze (Monemvasia), Napoli (Neapolis) and from there to the island of Syros, Volo (Volos) and then Larissa in Thessalia. The quotations used in the DHC reflect the nature of this work - Bayle cites it for anecdotal information rather than for confirmed evidence. Having recounted the stories about 'la massue d'Hercule' said never to be touched by flies, Bayle expands his comments by introducing another example of a similar legend, this time from the récits:

A propos de tout ceci, je rapporterai une chose que j'ai lue dans un Ecrivain moderne; c'est qu'à Misitra les chiens n'entrent jamais, ni dans les Mosquées des Turcs, ni dans les Eglises des Chrétiens. Les Turcs expliquent cela par un miracle à leur égard, et par une raison naturelle à l'égard des Grecs. Ecoutons M.Guillet.

'Les Turcs parlent de la discretion de ces chiens comme d'un miracle. Ces animaux se glissent quelquefois dans les maisons particulieres, quand ils en trouvent les portes ouvertes; mais les Mosquées ont beau n'être pas fermées, les chiens n'y entrent jamais. Les Turcs prennent occasion de s'en étonner, et appellent un respect miraculeux ce qui n'est qu'une imitation des jeunes chiens, qui de race en race ont toujourns vu les plus vieux s'éloigner de l'entrée des Mosquées, où apparemment les premiers Turcs les avoient bien frottez, pour leur faire perdre l'habitude d'en approcher.

On ne voit point aussi de chiens dans les Eglises des Grecs; mais les Turcs ne le trouvent pas étrange, et en rendent une raison que j'ay trouvée vraisemblable. Je vous ai dit cy-devant, que quand les Grecs Schismatiques entrent dans leurs Eglises, ils font une reverence si profonde, qu'à force de se pancher, ils mettent la main à terre. Les Turcs disent que les chiens leur voyant porter la main si bas, s'imaginent que c'est pour ramasser des pierres, et les leur jeter à la tête, et que cette peur les chasse des Eglises.'

Hercule I Guillet p.232 éd.d'Hollande.

Such stories enable Bayle to reflect upon the irrationality of human behaviour - people never use the same standards for themselves as for others and are only too willing to believe things which are to their advantage. Bayle refers to this again in Jonas B where he discusses Catholics and Protestants who explain miracles as it suits them, and in Constance B he gets in one of his many jibes against Jurieu:

Il y a des Ministres, à qui tout paroît Miracle dans les événemens qui concernent leur Parti. Mr.Jurieu, par exemple, en trouve par tout...



Récits thus provide modern-day examples, which alongside those drawn from Antiquity, show that nothing has changed, even if Guillet often tries to show that humans were more virtuous in the past. As Bayle says elsewhere, 'je remarque cela, afin qu'on voie combien les siecles et les nations s'entre-ressemblent' (Drusius L).

The article Hali-Beigh concerns Bobovius (otherwise known as Hali-Beigh) a Pole who was sold to the Turks and lived at court for many years. Bayle gives a quotation from Guillet as an illustration of how learned Hali-Beigh was, but he does not comment on the rest of the information contained in the passage, according to which the Turks were very circumspect, careful not to give anything away:

Voyez comment Fornetti, Panagiotti, la Fontaine, et tous les autres Dragomans de la Porte sont circonspects, quand ils traitent avec les Ministres des Princes Chretiens, ou avec les gens de leur suite. Le fameux Renegat Polonois Haly-Bey, qui à l'apostasie près, et moralement parlant, est un des plus honnêtes hommes du monde, ne s'explique pas mieux avec les Francs, quoy qu'il soit leur grand amy; et il le pourroit pourtant bien faire, luy qui parle dix-huit Langues differentes.<sup>12</sup>

Hali-Beigh B Guillet p.81 éd.d'Hollande

Bayle uses récits as he likes, emphasising the points which he finds most interesting or which fit in best with the subjects he is discussing. Here the main object was to convey information about Hali-Beigh, but at the same time Bayle's quotation gives extra information for the reader who may be interested.

Herbelot de Molainville's Bibliothèque Orientale was a good source of facts for the DHC. Herbelot was a savant who had learnt Arabic, Hebrew and Persian and spent most of his life assembling material for this solid well-researched work which was published in 1697, after the author's death. It contains articles on all sorts of subjects concerning the Orient and Bayle's references to it indicate how useful such a work could be to a writer interested in récits and the customs, beliefs and social organisation of Eastern nations. In Abudhaheer for example, we learn that Abudhaheer was the leader of

the 'Karmatiens' who sacked Mecca and stole the Moslems' sacred black stone. Having returned the said stone, they declared it to be a substitute, and mocked the Moslems for accepting it as genuine. When tested, however, the stone floated on water, in accordance with the qualities attributed to the sacred black stone. Bayle comments:

Voilà un petit échantillon de la Légende des peuples Orientaux. Vous trouverez beaucoup de choses curieuses touchant les Karmatiens, et Abudhafer, dans la Bibliothèque Orientale de Mr.d'Herbelot...Il les nomme Carmathes, et il écrit Abu Thafer le nom de leur chef.

Abudhafer

Again in Zoroastre Bayle uses Herbelot as a reliable work of reference able to cast some light on the 'ramas d'incertitudes, et de contes bigarrez' surrounding this Persian deity:

Il est encore dans une grande vénération parmi les Perses qui ne suivent pas la Religion Mahométane, mais l'ancienne Religion du païs. Ils le nomment Zardhust, et plusieurs croient qu'il étoit venu de la Chine, et ils en content une infinité de choses miraculeuses. Vous en pourrez voir un échantillon dans la Bibliothèque Orientale de Monsr.d'Herbelot...

Zoroastre

This then was another work of which Bayle was aware and to which he could refer his readers for further information. We also have evidence of a closer reading by Bayle of the Bibliothèque Orientale especially in La Mecque where he refers to it on a number of occasions and gives quotations. The spring of Zemzem which sprang up in order to quench the thirst of Ismael and in which pilgrims to Mecca must wash three times before drinking of the water, is discussed with the aid of quotations from Herbelot:

Mahomet, pour rendre la Ville de la Mecque, lieu de sa naissance, plus considérable, pour échauffer la devotion des peuples, et y attirer une plus grande foule de Pelerins, a donné de grands éloges à l'eau de ce Puis. Car il y a une Tradition de luy reçue par le Khalife Omar, qui porte, que l'eau du Puis de Zemzem sert de remede et donne la santé à celui qui en boit; mais que celui qui en boit abondamment, et qui s'en desaltere, obtient le pardon de tous ses pechez. Et l'on rapporte d'Abdallah surnommé AlHafedh, à cause

qu'il sçavoit par coeur un grand nombre de Traditions, qu'étant interrogé sur sa mémoire, il répondit, que depuis qu'il avoit bû à longs traits de l'eau du Zemzem pour la fortifier, il n'avoit rien oublié de ce qu'il avoit appris...La Ville de la Mecque a demeuré long-temps sans avoir d'autre eau, que celle du Puis de Zemzem, jusqu'à ce que le grand concours des caravanes eut obligé les Khalifes d'y faire construire un Aqueduc qui en fournit presentement une quantité suffisante.

Herbelot p.928.Quoted in La Mecque G

For more details about Mecca, its geographical position and those who govern the town, it is again Herbelot who is the source. His is not the view of a 'témoin oculaire' recounting anecdotes and experiences, but rather a catalogue of facts about the East, there to be dipped into by any interested reader:

On ne s'accorde point quant à la situation de la Mecque. Le Dictionaire de Moreri la pose à une journée de la Mer rouge. Monsr.Baudrand l'en écarte de quarante milles Arabiques, et Monsr.d'Herbelot de trois journées. Quelques-uns la mettent presque sous la ligne; et d'autres à vingt-uns degréz quarante minutes de latitude septentrionale.

La Mecque Herbelot p.569.

As so often, then, Bayle offers various versions, not deciding between them, but giving the reader references which can be followed up if so desired. The Bibliothèque Orientale is again referred to concerning the ruler of Mecca who despite his high income remains poor because of the rivalry of others. Herbelot also informs us that

...la plus ancienne origine que l'on trouve des Emirs ou des Scherifs, comme on les appelle aujourd'huy, de la Mecque, se trouve raportée par Ben Schouhnah sous le regne des Aïoubites, ou Princes de la posterité de Saladin qui regnoit dans l'Iemen en Arabie. Car, il écrit qu'en ce temps-là, il y avoit un Prince à la Mecque, et un autre à Medine, qui portoient le titre d'Emir, et que l'an 633 de l'heg. un nommé Cotadah fils d'Edris de la race d'Ali de la branche de Hossain, étoit Emir de la Mecque.

Herbelot p.569. Quoted in La Mecque H

This then was the contribution to the DHC of a work such as Herbelot's. A different kind of contribution was made by Bespier who as we mentioned above published in 1677 a translation of Paul Rycaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire to

which he added his own Remarques Curieuses sur la Diversité des Dignitez et des Charges des Officiers du Grand Seigneur, et sur les opinions differentes des Auteurs qui ont écrit de l'état de l'Empire Ottoman...<sup>13</sup> As the title indicates, these Remarques consist of notes on Rycaut's account (criticisms, corrections) and comments and quotations from other authors who had written on this subject. Bespier's work is very useful, since it is critical, picking up inaccuracies in Rycaut and other writers, and also comparative, offering different versions of the facts according to different authors. Bayle refers to Bespier in order to correct mistakes and give references to other récits or information about the Ottomans. We have already seen with Herbert in Fatime A how Bespier with his wealth of references to other travel accounts could draw the reader's attention to all sorts of récits. He is adept at throwing up contradictions and disagreements between texts, illustrating how difficult it can be to reach any conclusion. He gives various possibilities, not always deciding which one is correct, but leaving each interpretation to stand for itself. The correction of other writers forms a major part of this work, and such a critical approach may well have been appreciated by Bayle (cf. his own plan to compile a 'dictionnaire des fautes', see below p.173). In Job A, Job B and Mahomet AA Bespier corrects mistakes made by Rycaut. Bayle's article Job concentrates on pointing out the errors written about 'ce saint personnage', 'pour ne pas répéter ce qu'on trouve dans Moreri'. When other writers make mistakes Bayle seeks to correct them, but otherwise he sees no point in repeating facts already available - 'faut-il faire acheter deux fois les mêmes histoires?' he asks (Préface, 1697, p.3). In Job A and Job B he quotes Rycaut then gives Bespier's criticism. Firstly, Rycaut is quite wrong when he declares that the Turks venerate the tomb of Job outside Constantinople because they believe it to be that of the Biblical Job:

Je croi bien que quelques Turcs grossiers, et mal instruits dans l'Histoire et dans la Chronologie, peuvent prendre le sepulchre de Job, qui est à Constantinople au pied des murailles de cette Ville, pour celui de ce saint homme, dont l'Histoire nous est rapportée dans le Vieux Testament; mais les Historiens des Mahometans nous aprennent, eux-mêmes, que ce sepulchre a été bâti pour un autre Job, qui étoit Mahometan, et qui avoit été un des compagnons de Mahomet. Il fut tué au siege de Constantinople, qui étoit

attaquée par Jezi fils du Calife Moavias, l'an 52 de l'Hegire, ou 672 de Jesus-Christ. C'est ce que remarque Elmacin dans son Histoire des Sarrasins, Chapitre 7 livre I, et quoy qu'Elmacin ait été Chrétien, neanmoins il ne fait que rapporter ce qu'il a trouvé dans les Historiens Mahometans, dont il avoue luy-même qu'il fait l'abbregé.

Bespier p.4 quoted in Job A

In the second part of Job A Bayle quotes Bespier's reference to 'un des plus savans Rabins du XVII siecle' who was apparently 'dans la même erreur que ces Turcs grossiers'. Such quotations indicate on the one hand a concern for accuracy on the part of Bespier and on the other a fairly close reading of the Remarques Curieuses by Bayle; he is able to recall precise references in Bespier which enable him to build an article around the mistakes of others. In Job B we learn that Rycaut accused the Turks of being badly informed about history, and once again a quotation from Bespier shows that it is he in fact who has made a mistake:

L'Auteur Anglois a pris cela de Busbeque; mais il n'a pas bien compris le sens de ce qu'il dit. Car Busbeque ne dit pas que les Turcs croyent que Job étoit le premier Juge de la Cour de Salomon, ni qu'Alexandre étoit le Général de ses armées. Il dit seulement, que les Turcs sçavent si peu la Chronologie et l'Histoire, que s'il leur venoit dans la pensée, ils ne feroient nulle difficulté d'assûrer que Job étoit le premier Juge de la Cour Salomon, et Alexandre le General de son armée. Il y a bien de la difference entre ces deux choses.

Bespier p.6, quoted in Job B.

The last phrase of this passage indicates once more Bespier's concern for accuracy in the writing of history, just like Bayle. In Mahomet AA Rycaut is again referred to and quoted with regard to a treaty (published in Paris in Latin and Arabic in 1630) which Mohammed was said to have signed with the Christians in order to avoid having to fight them as well as the Arabs (Rycaut L.II ch.II pp.316-7). Authors disagreed over whether or not this document was genuine - Voetius and Bespier thought it was a fake, Rycaut and Saumaise accepted it as authentic. Bayle considers that Rycaut adopted this opinion simply because it fits better with his contention that from the start Islam was full of tricks and ruses. He does not base his comments upon facts, but he accepts the validity of this document because it means that he can accuse the Moslems of pretending to be sincere,

whilst not really intending to live in peace with the Christians. His reasoning is rejected by Bespier, who points out that there are inconsistencies in Rycaut's arguments. From an apparently simple disagreement, in which Bayle quotes Rycaut at length and calls on Bespier to contradict him, Mahomet AA expands to take in wider issues. Thus Bayle goes on to show that the Moslems on several occasions showed tolerance towards the Christians, and that Rycaut's accusations are therefore unjustified - from which Bayle moves on to a long reflection on tolerance and persecution, as we saw above.

Apart from permitting the correction of another author (Job A + B) and the development of important arguments (Mahomet AA) quotations from writers such as Bespier also provide information about other countries (for example on Islam and Mohammed in Mahomet). Mahomet S is full of different opinions on the question of how many wives Mohammed had - Chevreau says nine, as does Rycaut, but Bespier points out that the number eleven has also been suggested, whilst Baudier says fifteen. Bayle thus gives us a selection of the different views which have been expressed. Bespier in any case concludes that 'il n'y a rien de bien assuré à l'égard du nombre de femmes de Mahomet' (p.682).<sup>14</sup> The same could be said about the Moslem Paradise, where authors once more diverge - Rycaut (p.322) says that in Heaven the pleasures to be taken with beautiful women would last sixty years, but Bespier insists on greater precision:

L'Alcoran ne parle nulle part du temps de ces plaisirs. Baudier ne fait point de difficulté de l'étendre jusques à cinquante ans, p.661 de son Histoire de la Religion des Turcs. C'est ce qu'il a pris de Vigenere p.208 de ses Illustrations sur Chalcondyle; ou qu'ils ont pris l'un et l'autre de Jean André, p.72 ou il dit la même chose. Je ne trouverois pas mauvais, qu'ils l'eussent copié en une infinité d'endroits, comme ils ont fait, et sur tout sur les delices du Paradis, où ils ont presque pris mot pour mot quatre ou cinq pages. Mais ce que je ne puis approuver, est que ni l'un ni l'autre ne le nomme en pas un des endroits où il le copie. Au reste, je ne sçay si la Zune parle de ces cinquante ans, comme l'assûre Jean André, mais Pocock, qui a été fort exact à decrire tout ce que les Mahométans disent des delices du Paradis, ne parle ni des cinquante ans de Jean André, de Baudier, et de Vigenere, ni des soixante ans de nôtre Auteur; il dit seulement que ces Infidèles assûrent qu'il y aura cent divers degrez de plaisirs dans le Paradis, dont le moindre sera si grand, qu'afin que les Fidèles les puissent goûter sans en être accablez, Dieu leur donnera à chacun la force de cent hommes. Kowat miat ragiol.

Bespier pp.625-6. Quoted in Mahomet II

Bayle seems interested and amused by this aspect of Islam, reflection of the Prophet himself, 'pratiquant et enseignant la plus excessive impudicité' (Mahomet II). He follows on with a reflection on the fact that so often humans prefer either to reject the idea that leaders or prophets could possibly commit crimes or have vices, or else transform these same vices into virtues! So, acts which would otherwise be condemned are passed over and accepted, since this is less painful than questioning the superiority of one's leader, and despite his lifestyle and reputation Mohammed continued to pass for 'un grand Serviteur de Dieu':

...un homme s'est-il une fois aquis la réputation de grand zélateur de l'Orthodoxie, s'est-il signalé dans les combats contre l'Hérésie offensivement et défensivement, vous trouverez plus de la moitié du monde si prévenue en sa faveur, que vous ne pouvez leur faire avouer qu'il ait tort...Seneque lui-même ne disoit-il pas qu'on prouveroit plus facilement que l'ivrognerie est louïable, que non pas que Caton commît un péché en s'énivrant? Les Sectateurs de Mahomet disoient de même en leur coeur, il vaut mieux croire que l'impudicité n'est pas un vice, puis que notre grand Prophète y est sujet, que de croire que puis qu'il y est sujet, il n'est pas un grand Prophète.

Mahomet II

Apart from the récits we have discussed above, a certain number of works are only mentioned in passing in the DHC, with no quotation or development. Busbecq, Herbelot, Spon, Rycaut and Wheler are all mentioned in passing, but there are also more substantial references to these books (see above). The works of Baudier, Bobovius, de Brèves and Pidou de St Olon are present in the DHC, but only the title is given. We give below some details about the articles in which these récits occur, signs once more of Bayle's awareness of travel literature and desire to incorporate it into his writing.

Baudier (Michel)

An article is devoted to him (Baudier) and in Mahomet II and Mahomet S he is referred to as being quoted by Bospier - 'Baudier donne quinze femmes à Mahomet, sans les esclaves' p.682 (pp.27 + 42 in Baudier).

Bobovius (Albertus)

The article Hali Beigh concerns his life and works, but there are no direct references to his writing and no quotations. Bayle relies upon other works which mention Bobovius (for example the Journal de Leipsic).

de Brèves (François Savary)

Bayle does not give the title of de Brèves' work, but twice quotes La Mothe, who refers to it (see above also, p.65).

...nonobstant qu'ils soient raclez à fleur de ventre, comme parle l'Ambassadeur de Breves, si assûre-t-il qu'on en voit qui ne laissent pas d'épouser plusieurs femmes pour leur servir à d'abominables lubricitez.

Lettre CXII T.XI p.527. Quoted in Combabus B

...tous ces Eunuques (au moins les libres, et qui ne sont occupez au service des Grands) espousent quantité de femmes, comme s'ils pouvoient estre peres, et sont abominables en leur lubricité...

de Brèves, p.373.

Par tout où s'étend la fausse Religion de Mahomet, ceux de la lignée qu'on nomme Cherifs, y sont en telle veneration, qu'autres qu'eux n'oseroient porter le Turban verd, et qu'ils sont mesme irréprochables en Justice. Et comment les Turcs et les autres Musulmans ne respecteroient-ils pas les descendants de cet Imposteur, puis qu'ils estiment tellement jusques aux chevaux issus de la cavalle qui le portoit, qu'on n'oseroit les battre, ni les maltraitter, comme nous l'apprenons de la Relation du Sieur de Breves?

T.VIII p.364. Quoted in Mahomet DD

Il y a en ce pays, de races qu'ils disent yssuës de la cavalle qui portoit Mahumet, ce sont les meilleurs qu'aye le Grand Seigneur en toutes ses terres, sans excepter ceux de Barbarie. Quand ils sont en repos en quelque lieu, ils branlent continuellement la teste à droite et à gauche, de mesme que font les Turcs quand ils prient; pour cela ils tiennent qu'ils ont quelque chose de sainteté, et ceux qui les pensent feroient conscience de les avoir batus, ou d'avoir manqué à la moindre chose de leur service...

de Brèves, pp.102-3.

In Hipparchia D La Mothe is again referred to, this time concerning morality and sex:

La plupart estiment cette action honteuse, et s'en cachent, d'autres la pratiquent dans les temples mesmes, estimans, dit Herodote, que si cette action desplaisoit à la divinité, elle ne le souffriroit pas du reste des animaux, ainsi Diogene plantoit son homme en public, et Crates usoit de sa femme Hipparchia de mesme. Une Secte Mahometane le pratique encores à present...

Le Banquet Sceptique p.134.

#### Pidou de St Olon (François)

His name is mentioned in Leon A where Bayle discusses different attitudes to female virginity. This is the only reference to Pidou de St Olon in the DHC, but it would seem to indicate a certain attention to detail on the part of Bayle, slipping in minor references which are not developed but may be of interest to the reader.

...on fait porter l'Epouse publiquement, et toute voilée au son des Tambours et des Haut-bois au Logis de l'Epoux, auquel il n'est pas permis de lui découvrir le Visage, ni de la voir en aucune partie du Corps qu'il ne l'ait reconnuë Pucelle; ce qui étant fait, il lui ôte son Bandeau, et défait son Calçon teint du Combat, qu'il jette dans la Cour, et que les Femmes qui l'ont conduite ramassent, en chantant et dansant en signe de joye de ce qu'elle est acceptée pour Epouse; que s'il ne la trouve pas Vierge; il lui fait dépouïller ses Habits nuptiaux, la fait sortir de sa Chambre sans la voir, et la renvoie chez son Pere, auquel il est permis par la Loy de l'étrangler, s'il veut en faire justice.

Pidou de St Olon, pp.86-7

Alongside these specific récits we find throughout the DHC many comments which may well have been inspired by Bayle's reading of travel literature. Whilst he gives no source for certain remarks and arguments, we often feel that the influence of

récits is present, these works whose role in the Dictionnaire extends beyond direct quotations. Below we list some of the articles which contain comments possibly suggested by Bayle's knowledge of the Middle East, and we indicate récits, referred to elsewhere by Bayle, which may have provided these ideas.

### Abaris H

Bayle suggests that Abaris' 'baguette' would have 'porté la Réformation des Moeurs par tout le Monde, beaucoup plus efficacement que ne l'ont pu faire tout ce qu'il y a jamais eu de Missionnaires et de Prédicateurs'. In addition, jealousy could have been eradicated and 'les Italiens, et les Peuples Orientaux, n'auroient que faire de donner des Geoliers à leurs Femmes'.

Echoes of this can be found in Bobovius, Chardin, Rycaut, Herbert, Thévenot.

L'on voit fort rarement les femmes des 'Banjans' et des autres 'Indiens', parce qu'ils en sont si jaloux, qu'ils les enferment en des lieux, où à peine le Soleil les peut voir.

Herbert, p.54.

...plus leur mary est de condition, moins elles ont de liberté...

Thévenot, p.107.

### Blomberg A

Here Bayle argues against Brantôme, who in his Vies des Capitaines Etrangers stated that Don Juan d'Autriche (illegitimate son of Charles V) could not possibly have had a 'low-born' mother, since 'il tenoit par trop du noble'. Bayle replies:

...l'expérience montre que les grans Seigneurs, qui se mesallient ont des enfans aussi fiers, et aussi entêtez de grandeur, que ceux qui ne se mesallient pas. Je suppose que d'ailleurs l'éducation soit égale. Trouve-t-on de la bassesse dans les Sultans, qui sont quelquefois fils d'une misérable païsane?

Busbecq (himself illegitimate) says:

...l'on ne cognoissoit personne que par ses vertus et ses belles actions. La naissance n'y apportoit point de difference...La vertu est l'ornement unique et considerable en cette Cour, où chacun doit penser de bonheur que de luy seul depend l'establissement de sa naissance, de sa noblesse, et de sa fortune...Ils ne pensent pas que l'on puisse naistre vertueux, ou que la vertu passe du pere aux enfans, ils sçavent que c'est Dieu seul qui l'inspire...C'est donc dans cette Estat où les dignitez et les charges sont de iustes recompenses des merites...au lieu que dans nos Royaumes les moeurs sont toutes corrompuës, la vertu ne trouve plus personne qui la considere, et la naissance passe pour l'unique regle de la distribution des honneurs.

pp.142-5

### Bourgogne (Philippe) D

The Turks' reputation for cruelty, mentioned in many récits (e.g. Rycaut).

Un Turc n'auroit pas été plus dur que le fut Philippe envers Charles VII, et n'auroit pas exigé des satisfactions plus flétrissantes.

Also in David H :

Peut-on nier que cette maniere de faire la guerre ne soit blâmable? Les Turcs et les Tartares n'ont-ils pas un peu plus d'humanité?

### Jonas B

Bayle discusses the facility with which humans find miraculous explanations for events when it suits them, but explain by natural causes anything which does not fit into their particular system. An example of such behaviour is reported by Guillet, whom Bayle quotes in Hercule I.

Tout le monde sait la facilité avec laquelle les Catholiques Romains se laissent persuader un nombre infini de miracles. Ils croient pieusement mille et mille Contes qui se débitent tous les jours, et ils regardent comme des chicanes d'Hérétiques obstinez les raisons les plus spécieuses de ceux qui s'inscrivent en faux. Mais s'ils aprenent que le Parti Protestant fait courir quelque miracle, ils se revêtent d'un tout autre esprit...S'ils ne peuvent point nier le fait, ils l'expliquent par des causes naturelles, et compilent dans les Naturalistes, et dans les Relations des Voageurs, mille événemens semblables.

Leon A On virginity:

On a trouvé des peuples proches de la Mer rouge, qui sont jaloux de cela jusqu'à la fureur: ils ne seroient point sûrs de leur fait, si l'on n'eût pris dès le berceau certaines mesures qui engagent le nouveau marié à commencer par une espece d'opération de Chirurgie.

Such practices are recorded by Baudier, pp.147-8.

Macedoine I

Bayle discusses harems:

Il est certain que les Princes de l'Orient, et Salomon tout le premier à leur exemple, qui se piquoient d'avoir tant de femmes, ne couchoient pas avec toutes. Ils en usoient avec elles à-peu-près comme aujourd'hui les Sultans; ils en assembloient un grand nombre, afin de faire un meilleur choix de quelques-unes: les autres servoient à montrer leur opulence, comme font tant de meubles inutiles...

Mahomet P

Some travellers were critical of the 'moeurs' of the countries they visited (e.g. Rycaut) whereas others (e.g. Busbecq) were full of praise. Hence Bayle says that 'je ne prétens pas que les Chrétiens soient plus déréglez quant aux moeurs que les Infideles; mais je n'oserois affirmer qu'ils le soient moins. Les Relations des Voiateurs ne s'accordent pas'.

Patin D

On the links between polygamy, jealousy and the birth-rate:

...dans les Païs où la Polygamie est permise les femmes d'un même mari s'entrejouënt mille tours pour empêcher la fécondité les unes des autres.

Rycaut says:

...il n'y a rien qui contribuë davantage au petit nombre des enfans des Turcs, que la jalousie mortelle, que les femmes ont les unes des autres: car cette passion enragée les oblige à employer jusques aux secrets les plus pernecieux de la Magie les unes contre les autres, pour empescher que leurs accouchemens ne seroient heureux, ou que leurs enfans ne vivent long temps...

p.459

Pidou de St Olon, however, observed the opposite in Morocco:

Quoy qu'elles n'ayent qu'un Mari à plusieurs, et que la plûpart vivent ensemble, elles ne sont point jalouses les unes des autres.

p.89

### Pereira C

Quoting from the NRL (1684) Bayle refers to the lack of liberty in Turkey. Rycaut mentions this in Livre I, ch.I.

Qui auroit jamais deviné que l'Espagne, où la liberté des opinions est moins soufferte, que celle du corps ne l'est en Turquie, produiroit un Philosophe assez temeraire, pour soutenir que les animaux ne sentent pas?

### Rorarius H

The hatching of eggs by artificial incubation, mentioned in the margin, note 79. This is referred to by several writers.

...je fus voir les fours où l'on fait éclorre les oeufs sans poule...

Monconys, p.253.

Des fourneaux à faire esclorre des poulets.

Thévenot, pp.273-5.

...les poules n'y couvent pas les oeufs comme elles font en ces pays...tous ceux qui demeurent à certaine distance de ce four banal, sont obligés d'aporter les oeufs qu'ils

veulent faire éclore, qui par l'ardeur du Soleil et du fumier pourri, produisent infailliblement des poussins...

Busbecq, p.259

Zoroastre F

Nous ne saurions voir goutte dans ce cahos de pensées nous autres Occidentaux; il n'y a que les Levantins accoutumés à un langage mystique, et contradictoire, qui puissent souffrir sans dégoût, et sans horreur, un si énorme galimatias.

Here then are the different types of récits on the Middle East which occur in the DHC, contributing to and influencing Bayle's comments in various ways. Some essentially provide historical or geographical information, some were more personal and anecdotal, some provide day-by-day accounts of journeys and others were more thematic. These works are thus extremely diverse, but seem all together to have had a substantial influence on Bayle's ideas and the way they are expressed in the Dictionnaire. He consults them for opinions and examples on all sorts of topics and they are constant factors, reference points, throughout his work.

(1) Tavernier also says that 'en Turquie où on ne souffre point de cloches aux Chrétiens, le Roy de Perse leur permet tout' (p.30).

(2)...après que les Turcs auront beu, et mangé leur saoul dedans ce paradis, alors les pages ornez de leurs ioyaulx et de pierres precieuses et anneaux, aux bras, mains, iambes et oreilles, viendront aux Turcs chascun tenant un beau plat d'or en la main, portants un gros citron ou poncire dedans, que les Turcs prendront pour odorer et sentir, et soudain que chasque Turc l'aura approché de son nez, il sortira une belle vierge bien aornée d'accoustréments, qui embrassera le Turc, et le Turc elle, et demeureront cinquante ans ainsi embrassants l'un l'autre, sans se lever ne separer l'un de l'autre, prenans ensemble le plaisir en toutes sortes que l'homme peult avoir avec une femme. Et apres cinquante ans, dieu leur dira: Omes serviteurs, puis que vous avez faict grande chere en mon paradis, ie vous vueil monstrier mon visage. Lors osterá le linge de devant sa face. Mais les Turcs tumberont en terre de la clarté qui en sortira: et Dieu leur dira: Levez vous mes serviteurs, et iouissez de ma gloire: car vous ne mourez iamais plus, et ne recevrez tristesse ne desplaisir. En levant leurs testes, voiront dieu face à face: et de la chacun reprenant sa vierge...passera son temps ioyeusement sans avoir peur de mourir. Voila que Mahomet ha racompté de son paradis...

Livre III ch.IX p.177 (p.392 in 1588 ed.) Quoted in Mahomet Q

For greater clarity, when quoting the 1553 edition of Belon, some spellings have been resolved (e.g. 'grande' for 'grāde').

(3) In the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres (p.1131, Chardin pp.278- 80) Bayle mentions the example of the Georgian princess tortured to death for refusing to become Moslem. Bayle comments that 'il n'y a jamais ni peuple ni siècle si destitué de vertu qu'il ne produise quelque exemple de fermeté dans la Religion que l'on croit bonne'.

(4) For example Tome I Livre I 'Des diverses routes qu'on peut tenir pour se rendre de Paris à Ispahan ville capitale de la Perse, par les Provinces septentrionales de la Turquie'.

Tome I, Livre II 'Des diverses routes qu'on peut tenir pour se rendre de Paris à Ispahan ville capitale de la Perse, par les Provinces meridionales de la Turquie'.

Tome II, Livre I 'Des routes que l'on peut tenir pour se rendre d'Ispahan à Agra, et d'Agra à Dehly et Gehanabat..

(5) Tavernier provides plenty of material, and many of his comments are very harsh:

...il semble que celles [les barbaries] que nous reprochons aux Espagnols dans l'Amerique, leur doivent estre plus pardonnables qu'aux Hollandois qui veulent les imiter dans l'Asie; parce que les premiers exerçoient leur barbarie sur des Idolatres et des Sauvages...et que ceux-cy s'attaquent à des Chrestiens...

pp.244-5

He goes on to blame the massacre of Portuguese and Japanese Christians upon the Dutch (pp.254-5), accuse the Dutch of having failed in their duty to Christianise these countries (p.258) and towards the end of Livre V condemns in very strong terms the behaviour of some of the Dutch women (p.348, p.355).

(6) Un Pere de l'Oratoire raporte, qu'à certains jours de l'année, les Turcs maudissent les Chrétiens solennellement. Ils lisent dans leurs Mosquées une Prophétie qui porte que la Monarchie Ottomane sera détruite par les Francs après qu'elle aura duré dix siècles. Pendant cette lecture les femmes hurlent, et de leurs cheveux épars elles balient les Autels. Ils s'imaginent que cette cérémonie détournera l'infortune qui les menace.

Torquato B

(7) Even Madame de Sévigné mentions this story in a letter written on 21 January 1674, where she says:

Je vous ai vue longtemps à décider d'une couleur; c'est la marque d'une âme trop éclairée, qui voit si clairement toutes les difficultés qu'elle demeure comme suspendue, comme le tombeau de Mahomet.'

Another reference can be found in a letter of 4 November 1676.

Thévenot however says that 'le sepulchre n'est point suspendu en l'air, comme plusieurs ont escrit fausement; et qui plus est, ne l'a jamais esté, mais il est à platte terre' (p.293).

(8) Given the lack in the DHC of any récits on sub-Saharan Africa, we include here, along with the récits of other Islamic countries, the account of de Torres (and later that of Pidou de St Olon).

(9) On this point Bespier was mistaken since Bayle says that according to him 'toutes les filles du Cherif prenoient le titre de Lela' and he 'les nomme toutes quatre, à savoir Lela Mariam, Lela Aya, Lela Fatima et Lela Lu.' But this is not what de Torres says, according to him Lela Lu was the Chérif's wife, not his daughter.

(10) There is also the work of the translator Leunclavius. In Leonclavius A Bayle says that this was 'une Traduction d'un Livre composé par les Turcs mêmes; je veux dire des Annales Turques, que Jérôme Beck de Leopoldsdorf, Ambassadeur de Ferdinand, apporta de Constantinople l'an 1551. Ferdinand les fit traduire en Allemand par Jean Spiegel; et puis Leonclavius les traduisit en Latin.'

The result was the Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum (1588).

(11) In the DHC Bayle refers to the Dutch edition of Guillet, whereas we have used the Paris edition. There are minor differences of spelling (and sometimes expressions vary) between the two editions. We give here the quotations as reproduced in the DHC and references to the Dutch edition.

Page 232 (quoted) corresponds to pp.415-7 in the Paris edition.

Page 81 corresponds to pp.146-7.

(12) Wheler says:

...un certain Hulisbey renegat élevé dans le Serrail: Il étoit Polonois de naissance, et son nom de Chrétien étoit Albertus Bobovius, il avoit esté fait esclave fort jeune, et il étoit sorti de puis peu du Serrail...on disoit qu'il pouvoit parler dix sept langues.

p.168

(13) There are on occasions differences between Bespier's text and the text given by Bayle (spelling, punctuation). We generally reproduce the quotations as given in the DHC

(14) On this subject, Belon informs us that:

Il est écrit dans un Livre Arabe, intitulé des bonnes coutumes de Mahomet, le loüant de ses vertus, et de ses forces corporelles, qu'il se vançoit de pratiquer ses onze femmes en une même heure, l'une après l'autre.

Livre III, ch.X, p.404. Quoted in Mahomet S

## Chapter VI: Récits de voyages in the Dictionnaire: the Far East

In the DHC eight authors on the Far East are mentioned in eleven articles, in two cases Bayle drawing his information about the récits from journals (the Journal des Sçavans and the Giornale de Letterati). A further two minor passing references also occur (to Froes and Alexandre)<sup>1</sup> and we can discern the possible influence of far eastern récits in another eight articles (see Appendix B). In the DHC Bayle only refers to or quotes from récits on the Far East when discussing religion and tolerance - other topics, observed elsewhere, are not linked by him with the Far East. This then is an important indication of Bayle's view of the Far East, and his opinion on the role such récits could play. As we will see in his other works, China especially provides an example of a tolerant society which can very effectively be compared and contrasted with Europe, and his references are very concentrated, clustered around this key topic. Other subjects can easily be illustrated by different types of récits, for instance on the Middle East, but on religion and tolerance he seems to want to be more direct, making the most of this valuable information and not introducing any diversions. Possibly he does not want to encumber these articles with minor details, preferring to stick to the central subject, so important throughout his work. This concentration upon religion is confirmed when we look at the identities of the authors concerned - five are Jesuits (Tachard, Le Comte, Le Gobien, Froes and Crasset), one is Dominican (P.Noël Alexandre), one is a Carmelite (P.F. Vincenzo), one is an Anglican Chaplain (Lord).<sup>2</sup> Only two authors, Bernier and La Loubère, are not directly linked to a particular church or order! This remarkable concentration is a particular trait of the récits referred to by Bayle on the Far East, and contrasts considerably with those referred to on the Middle East, where all sorts of different travellers are quoted. This may be because Bayle was particularly interested in religion and so deliberately chose accounts written by people who could be expected to have researched the subject thoroughly and devoted large sections to it. It is however true that, travel to the Far East being particularly difficult at this time (the distance and

expense, problems encountered by anyone wishing to enter China) most récits were in any case written by missionaries. Trade with China was limited, and it would have been difficult for independent travellers to venture that far - hence the most frequent sources were the 'religieux', there to evangelise or sent by their sovereign.<sup>3</sup> A final characteristic which we can observe about these oriental récits is the fact that they were almost all published only a few years before Bayle refers to them in the DHC.<sup>4</sup> This can be explained by the gradual opening-up of China towards the end of the seventeenth century, an increasing interest amongst Europeans and the mounting of a number of expeditions (for example to Siam), following which several récits were produced. Apart from a minor reference to Froës (1560) and the work of Alexandre (1700 - see note 1) all the major works in our list appeared between 1667 (the French translation of Lord, first published in English in 1630) and 1698 - one in the 1660s, two in the 1670s, two in the 1680s and three in the 1690s. A very high proportion of extremely recent material is thus used by Bayle, a reflection of the growing literature on the Far East and the increasing interest in China largely because of the Querelle des Rites. This then is a sign that Bayle kept very much abreast of current affairs and recent publications, incorporating into his works such material as he found useful.

The Far East is interesting then because it affords the chance to reflect on religious practices and proposes a different type of behaviour. Bayle is interested in the philosophical and religious content of the récits and uses them as a means of advancing an on-going debate, already begun in his previous works. Hence they are of considerable importance in Bayle since they concern one of the major topics to which he constantly returns. The twin themes of tolerance and persecution are never more to the fore than when Bayle is quoting récits on the Far East.

Récits written by Jesuits are important in the DHC - Tachard's Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites was a major source and quotations from his work and Le Gobien's are used. On other occasions, the récits of Le Comte, Le Gobien and Tachard are mentioned without actually being quoted. As we mentioned above, all the récits are referred to in connection with religion and Bayle thus has the opportunity to discuss issues such as

persecution, coercive conversion and tolerance. Information about the Rites Controversy also leads him to bring up questions like Chinese atheism and idolatry.

Tachard gives a thorough, accurate account, with good illustrations, and Bayle makes considerable use of this work in his discussion of Siamese religion in Sommona-Codom (added in 1702). We find the title again mentioned in Brachmanes.<sup>5</sup> Tachard set out for China with five other Jesuits (including Le Comte and Bouvet) and in his work, divided into six books, he describes each stage of the journey. Sommona-Codom contains quotations from Livre 6, 'Les Moeurs et la Religion des Siamois' - after discussing geography, dress and social customs, Tachard begins on page 378 (édition de Paris) his remarks on religion. Bayle quotes from page 397 onwards and his choice has thus fallen clearly upon religion. The chapters which have not been quoted by Bayle once again confirm the pattern which runs through the DHC - Livre 1 ('Voyage de Brest jusqu'au Cap de Bonne Esperance') gives the background to the voyage, astronomical and geographical observations and an account of the activities which occupied the passengers during their journey; Livre 2 ('Voyage du Cap de Bonne-Esperance a l'Isle de Java') describes the Cape, the way of life, habits and beliefs of the people who live there, with details about the various tribes. It is interesting that none of this is quoted or referred to. Livre 3 ('Voyage de l'Isle de Java au Royaume de Siam') describes the stop-over in Java, the rest of the journey to Siam and the arrival there. Livre 4 ('Voyage de la Barre de Siam, aux villes de Siam et de Louvo') contains a description of the Jesuits' reception in Siam. In Livre 5 ('Retour du Voyage de Siam') Tachard gives an account of the celebrations organised by the king of Siam for his guests. He also relates the attempts by the French ambassador, Chaumont, to convert the Siamese monarch to Christianity, an event which, says Tachard, would of course result in the conversion of many of his subjects (p.317). The King, although replying very cleverly that if God wanted everyone to be Christian why had he created so many other religions (p.310), nonetheless shows considerable interest in extending contact with France, and requests more 'mathematicians' to be sent. Tachard is hence delegated to return to France on this mission (p.329) and thus his account stops here, he was not to continue to China with the other Jesuits.

In the article Sommona-Codom Bayle says:

Je n'en parle que pour avoir lieu d'examiner une Objection très subtile que Monsr. du Rondel m'a proposée contre ce que j'ai avancé dans l'Article de Lucrece, 'Que la foi de l'existence de Dieu, sans la foi de la providence, ne peut pas être un motif à la vertu.'

From here, as in Remarques B and C, he adds comments from Tachard (in 1702). As well as giving details about Sommona-Codom, his life and acts, Bayle draws on Tachard to reply to du Rondel. The latter had claimed that the Siamese pray to their god even though they believe that he never intervenes in human affairs, which would seem to contradict Bayle's assertion:

...à Siam et en autres pays où l'on croit en Sommona-Codom c'est un dogme incontestable que ce Dieu ne se mêle de quoi que ce soit dans son Nireupan, et laisse aller sur la terre toutes choses à leur gré; et cependant on ne laisse pas de le prier, de l'invoquer, et de tâcher par toute sorte d'efforts de l'imiter dans la pratique des vertus.

Sommona-Codom A (Lettre de du Rondel)

Bayle doubts that this is true, arguing that people are unlikely to put themselves out for little or no gain, and declares that since the Siamese appear to contradict themselves so much they are capable of saying that Sommona-Codom does not intervene but believing that he does:

...leurs idées sont si confuses qu'elles leur permettent d'affirmer le blanc et le noir d'un même objet...ils nient l'existence de Dieu, et admettent une providence.

Sommona-Codom A

Like du Rondel, Bayle refers to La Loubère, but using his arguments differently to come to different conclusions:

Les notions de leur esprit sont différentes du sentiment de leur coeur; c'est pourquoi leur théorie ne s'accorde pas avec leur pratique...nous devons croire qu'ils n'invoquent point Sommona-Codom, entant qu'ils croient qu'il n'a nul pouvoir, et qu'il ne se mêle de rien...mais entant qu'...ils lui attribuent quelque puissance.

Sommona-Codom A

Having stated his case Bayle invites du Rondel to reply to and refute his comments 'pour la plus ample instruction de mes Lecteurs'. This article is a good example of the interaction between Bayle and his readers and the importance for him of the information which could be provided by his many correspondents. It also demonstrates the way in which according to his reading he was prepared to add to and alter his articles (a long addition in Rem A and the quotations from Tachard first appeared in the second edition).

Le Comte's Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'Etat présent de la Chine is referred to in Spinoza B, although Bayle bases his comments on the Bibliothèque Universelle (T.VII pp.404ff.):

...ils enseignent une double loy, qu'ils appellent la loy exterieure et la loy interieure. L'une doit preceder, et préparer l'esprit à recevoir l'autre. Ce sont des cintres, disent-ils, qui sont necessaires pour soutenir la voûte qu'on veut faire, et qu'on renverse dès qu'elle est achevée.

Le Comte, Lettre X p.126 (p.103 in the 1698 Amsterdam edition).

This is the only occasion on which Le Comte is referred to in the DHC (perhaps at this point Bayle had only read extracts, for example, as here, in the Bibliothèque Universelle - the work occurs again only in the later Continuation des Pensées Diverses), but in any case it is clear that religion is the topic most likely to interest Bayle here. Le Comte's work is in two volumes - the first contains eight letters, which deal in order with the voyage from Siam to Peking, the reception at court, towns and buildings in China, climate, rivers, the Chinese character and social hierarchy, Chinese habits, language and

books, and Chinese thought. In the second volume (the one referred to in Spinoza B) letters 9-14 deal with Chinese politics and government, ancient and modern Chinese religion (the letter referred to by Bayle), the establishment and progress of Christianity in China, the missionaries, the approval of Christianity by the Chinese Emperor and finally a general chapter on observations made in China. The pattern is maintained, then, Bayle is selecting topics which interest him and provide useful material for his arguments.

Although Le Comte does discuss the very important issue of the infiltration of Christianity into China, and its formal acceptance by the Chinese Emperor, on this subject Bayle refers to Le Gobien's Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine, which is specifically concerned with the history of Christianity in China and events leading up to the imperial edict which recognised the Christians. Bayle quotes the Préface of this work in Brachmanes (also in Rem K), once he refers to it without quoting (Maldonat L) and once gives a general reference to the work as a whole (Milton O). The body of the work, divided into two books, gives details about missions in China and appears to have been of less interest to him - it is the Préface which sets Bayle off thinking about tolerance. Similarly, two works published along with Le Gobien's, and which hence Bayle must surely have read, are not mentioned. These are the Eclaircissement donné à Monseigneur le Duc du Maine, sur les honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius et aux Morts and Bouvet's Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine.

In his Préface Le Gobien describes the four different sects which exist in China. It is his remarks on the 'Brachmanès' which Bayle picks up on. Having introduced the subject he expands by then informing us that 'les Brachmanes subsistent encore dans l'Orient' (Brachmanes) - far from being simply some historical phenomenon which one may read about, Bayle makes the point that this sect still exists, and quotes from Le Gobien to prove it:

'La troisième Secte, qui a cours parmi les Chinois, se peut nommer la Religion des Brachmanes ou Bramenes, et ils lui donnent eux-mêmes ce nom.' Ce sont des 'Prestres, qui révérent principalement deux choses, le Dieu Fo, sa Loi, et les Livres qui contiennent leurs Réglemens particuliers.'

Brachmanes (Le Gobien, Préface, pp.7-8).

More details from *Le Gobien* (pp.8-10, non-paginated) are given in Brachmanes K.

The question of the beliefs of the Chinese is renewed in Maldonat where Bayle again refers to *Le Gobien* on the issue of whether or not the Chinese 'lettrés' can be said to be idolatrous. The Jesuits said not (*Préface*, pp.16-17), claiming that the philosophers paid only lipservice to popular Chinese idolatrous practices. This was a debate which led the Jesuits into many problems, their enemies in China (other orders) accusing them of closing their eyes to idolatry in order not to alienate the Chinese.<sup>6</sup> On another important subject, tolerance, *Le Gobien's* account of Christianity in China is again of interest to Bayle. Whereas *Le Gobien* saw the edict of tolerance accorded to the Christians by the Chinese Emperor (seven years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes...) as a great victory, Bayle considered that it could only lead to persecution and social disorder. He says that in some circumstances certain actions may be necessary as a form of self-defence, arguing like Milton that one must not tolerate the intolerant since they are dangerous - universal tolerance can be foolish and have serious consequences. He identifies Catholics as those who have most frequently been guilty of intolerance and persecution and concludes that the Emperor has made a grave mistake in deciding to let them circulate freely in China:

...un Prince sage n'eût pas accordé aux Missionnaires du Pape et à leurs Neophytes, la liberté de conscience, avant que de s'informer quels sont leurs principes de conversion...il eût sçu que ce sont des gens qui prétendent que Jesus-Christ leur ordonne de contraindre d'entrer...peut-être se verront-ils obliger plutôt qu'on ne pense à résister à des séditions dangereuses...et à égorger s'ils ne veulent être égorgez.

Milton O

The expression 'contraindre d'entrer' reminds us of Bayle's other works against intolerance and his experience of the persecution of Protestants in France.<sup>7</sup> The parallel with events in France is clear, but Bayle demonstrates that intolerance is the same wherever it occurs - just because we are talking about another continent does not mean

that these Catholics will behave any differently. There is no reason why, once they are more powerful, they should not implement the same policy in China as in Europe. The point is mentioned again in Mahomet AA where Bayle's arguments are well illustrated by the Jesuit Froës. Bayle gives a quotation from Froës in Latin and comments that 'les raisons ne suffisant pas à convertir les Infidelles, on pria le Viceroy de Goa de secourir l'Evangile par les Arrêts de confiscation'.

La Loubère's Description du Royaume de Siam is an important source in Sommona Codom and occurs again in Ruggeri D and Spinoza X. His récit consists of two volumes, the first divided into three parts, and all of Bayle's quotations are taken from the third part of the first volume. Once again, this seems perfectly in accord with Bayle's usual pattern - he has carefully selected the parts he wants to refer to. Part One (chapters 1-9), entitled 'Du Pais de Siam', contains geography, history, remarks about agriculture and the seasons. Part Two (chapters 1-15), 'Des Moeurs des Siamois en general', consists of remarks on clothes, houses, furniture, entertainment, education, music and so on. Part Three (chapters 1-25), 'Des Moeurs des Siamois suivant leurs diverses Conditions', deals in the first nineteen chapters with hierarchy, the King and court, then 'Des Funerailles des Chinois, et de celles des Siamois' (chapter 20, quoted by Bayle), 'Des Principes de la Morale Indienne', 'De la suprême félicité, et de l'extrême infélicité selon les Siamois' (chapter 22, quoted), 'De l'Origine des Talapoins, et de leurs Opinions' (chapter 23, quoted), 'Des contes fabuleux que les Talapoins et leurs pareils ont entez sur leur Doctrine' (chapter 24, quoted) and finally chapter 25, 'Diverses observations a faire en prêchant l'Evangile aux Orientaux.' Volume Two contains bits and pieces which are fairly disparate, but which, La Loubère explains ('Au Lecteur') will serve to 'faire mieux connoître...le génie des Siamois'. There are quite a few illustrations, scientific details, astronomy, games, Chinese chronology, and hence not much that Bayle was likely to have wanted to quote. So all Bayle's quotations are from chapters 20, 22, 23 and 24. As we have seen, in Sommona Codom they provide him with arguments to back up his statement that 'la foi de l'existence de Dieu, sans la foi de la providence, ne peut pas être un motif à la vertu, ou un frein contre le vice' (Sommona

Codom A). Du Rondel used the example of the Siamese to prove a point (also referring to La Loubère), and Bayle is taking the same example in order to refute him, finding passages in La Loubère which back up his arguments.<sup>8</sup> A similar use of La Loubère's récit is observed in Ruggeri D where Bayle is forced to qualify a very sweeping statement, due to the evidence provided by this récit.<sup>9</sup>

On croit ordinairement que toute personne, qui nie l'existence de Dieu, nie aussi par une suite nécessaire l'existence de tous les Esprits, et l'immortalité de l'ame. Je ne m'étonne point qu'on croie cela; car je ne pense pas qu'il y ait d'exemple de la desunion de ces deux blasphêmes, je veux dire, ou qu'il y ait jamais eu d'Athée qui ait enseigné l'existence des Démons, et l'immortalité de l'esprit humain; ou qu'il y ait jamais eu d'homme persuadé de la Magie, sans croire que Dieu existe.

Ruggeri D

This is at first Bayle's reply to whether or not it is possible to be atheist and yet believe in the power of magic and astrology, prompted by the fact that Ruggeri was an astrologer at the court of Catherine de Medici who was nonetheless said to be atheist. Bayle wonders what the truth was, whether this man was a sincere atheist or really believed in the power of magic, for otherwise how can it be that 'un tel personnage, ne croiant ni Dieu ni Diable, s'amusoit néanmoins à l'Astrologie, et à la Magie'? With the example of the Siamese, though, he is forced to contemplate the possibility of these two things being compatible, for 'voilà des gens fort capables de devenir Magiciens sans croire de Divinité' (Ruggeri D). He admits that 'ce qu'on raporte de la Religion des Orientaux me doit interdire les expressions générales que j'ai employées.' He continues, quoting La Loubère:

On nous assure que les Siamois ne reconnoissent aucune Divinité, et que cependant ils croient le retour et l'apparition des esprits; qu'ils craignent les morts, et qu'ils pratiquent certaines cérémonies pour les apaiser.

Ruggeri D

This is a good example of the way Bayle thought and wrote, ideas emerging as he wrote and being incorporated into the argument, often changing its direction or modifying previous statements. He himself remarked in a letter that when he sat down to write he never knew how his text would turn out, and the same is true in his Dictionnaire where Bayle's voluminous reading and good memory enable him to insert information which adds to his arguments.

In Spinoza X where Bayle talks about 'l'Athéisme qui est si généralement répandu parmi les Chinois' La Loubère is again referred to.<sup>10</sup> In Spinoza B Bayle had talked about the 'Foe Kiao' sect in China, drawing comparisons with Spinoza's beliefs and in Spinoza X he declares that this philosopher is not so difficult to refute although 'il auroit été plus redoutable, s'il avoit mis toutes ses forces à éclaircir une Hypothese qui est fort en vogue parmi les Chinois.' Here then, Bayle establishes, as so often, a comparison between the Chinese and Europeans, commenting that 'après ce qui se passe parmi les Chrétiens, on seroit mal à-propos incrédule touchant les folies de la Secte "Foe Kiao"' (Spinoza B). Bayle draws parallels between the two continents, showing how similar they can be, and in this La Loubère's récit is extremely useful. Récits provide him with evidence that the beliefs of such as Spinoza are not rare or unique and exist in other parts of the world.

A récit by Bernier, the Suite des Memoires du Sieur Bernier sur l'Empire du Grand Mogol, provides similar information in Spinoza A - having stated that Spinoza had 'une méthode toute nouvelle, quoi que le fond de sa Doctrine lui fût commun avec plusieurs autres Philosophes anciens et modernes, Européens et Orientaux' Bayle goes on to give examples and quotations to back this up:

Le dogme de l'ame du monde, qui a été si commun parmi les Anciens, et qui faisoit la partie principale du Systême des Stoïques, est dans le fond celui de Spinoza.

Spinoza A

Si nous penetrions bien dans Platon et dans Aristote, peut-estre que nous trouverions qu'ils ont donné dans cette pensée. C'est là la doctrine comme universelle des Pendets,

Gentils des Indes; et c'est cette mesme doctrine qui fait encore à present la Cabale des Soufys, et de la pluspart des gens de lettres de Perse...

Bernier (in Spinoza A).

The resemblance with the 'Anciens' having been established, Bayle quotes a long passage from Bernier (pp.202-6) which illustrates the point that 'le Spinozisme n'est qu'une méthode particuliere d'expliquer un dogme qui a un grand cours dans les Indes':

La creation donc...n'est autre chose qu'une extraction et extension que Dieu fait de sa propre substance...de mesme que la destruction n'est autre chose qu'une reprise qu'il fait de cette divine substance...tout ce monde n'est qu'une espece de songe et une pure illusion, en tant que toute cette multiplicité et diversité de choses qui nous apparoissent, ne sont qu'une seule, unique et mesme chose, qui est Dieu mesme...

Bernier pp.203-4 (Spinoza A).

Bernier considers that such explanations 'ne sont bonnes que pour jeter de la poudre aux yeux d'un peuple ignorant' (p.206).

Examples drawn from récits thus enable Bayle to link ancient and modern writers, Western and Eastern civilisations, pointing out not only differences, but also most importantly, similarities. He is very interested in showing the extent to which different societies although far away from one another in time and space, can often have a lot in common.

In Rorarius Bayle returns to the problem of the soul. Rorarius wrote a book claiming that animals were more rational than humans, whereas Descartes said they had no soul and Aristotle thought they had one but were incapable of rationality. Bayle admits that Cartesianism is theologically a good system, enabling one not to call faith into question, facilitating the proving of human immortality, the division of body and soul. It necessitates, however, accepting the 'automate' nature of animals. Bayle refuses to accept that the souls of humans and animals are different (Rorarius F). Leibniz also claimed that animals consisted of more than simply matter:

Il approuve le sentiment de quelques Modernes, que les animaux sont organisez dans la semence; et il croit d'ailleurs que la matiere toute seule ne peut pas constituer de véritable unité, et qu'ainsi tout animal est uni à une forme qui est un être simple, indivisible, véritablement unique. Outre cela il suppose que cette forme ne quitte jamais son sujet, d'où il résulte qu'à proprement parler il n'y a ni mort ni génération dans la nature. Il excepte de tout ceci l'ame de l'homme; il la met à part, etc. Cette Hypothese nous délivre d'une partie de l'embarras.

Rorarius H

In the margin Bayle notes that this hypothesis has been mentioned by Bernier who in his 'Relation des Gentils de l'Hindoustan' (p.200), contained in the Suite des Memoires 'raporte une Opinion à peu près semblable des Philosophes de ce Païs-là'. Again, similarities are stressed. Bayle concludes that it would seem that the soul must be 'produite par création, et détruite par annihilation; il faudroit donc que la chaleur<sup>11</sup> eût la force de créer les ames, et de les anéantir,<sup>12</sup> et que peut-on dire de plus absurde?' (Rorarius H).

It is interesting to note that of the four letters contained in the Suite des Memoires du Sieur Bernier sur l'Empire du Grand Mogol it is only the second one that is used by Bayle. The first, to La Mothe le Vayer, 'Contenant la description de Dehli et Agra', is an account of Bernier's observations in these two towns - architecture, geography, markets, food, and so on. The second letter, the one mentioned above, is the 'Relation des Gentils de l'Hindoustan. Touchant les Superstitions, etranges façons de faire, et Doctrine des Indous ou Gentils de l'Hindoustan', and is addressed to Chaplain. Its full title gives a good indication of why Bayle was interested in it. It ranges across various subjects, including widow-burning, religious beliefs and reactions to an eclipse of the Sun. The remaining two letters, however, contain little that would have been useful to Bayle. The 'Lettre envoyée de Chiras en Perse à M.Chapelle. Sur le dessein qu'il a de se remettre à l'estude, sur quelques points qui concernent la doctrine des Atômes, et sur la nature de l'entendement humain' is essentially concerned with scientific subjects and the 'Relation du Voyage fait en 1664 à la suite du Grand Mogol Aureng-Zebe' recounts Bernier's journey to Kashmir and Bengal, with graphic descriptions of the hardships and the heat endured. This collection of writings by Bernier shows us why he was such a good

source - his interests ranged widely over medicine, science, astronomy, philosophy, he was tolerant, open-minded, curious and eager to discover new things. Although sceptical of miracles, magic and fables, he does not reject certain aspects of India for being different and as a well-informed, intelligent observer he is able to give valuable eye-witness accounts. He looks for evidence, weighs up different opinions and makes up his mind on the available information.

Throughout the DHC Bayle often refers to journals containing reviews of books which he had not actually read. In this way he is able to refer to a greater number of récits, basing his remarks upon material from the journals. On the Far East two journals are used by Bayle - the Journal des Sçavans and the Giornale de Letterati. In both cases, although he is simply drawing on extracts of works, we again discern a pattern in his selection of different passages, which nearly always concern religion.

The Histoire de l' Eglise du Japon, published by the 'Abbé de T.' (whose real name was Crasset) serves as an important source for the article Japon, in Remarques A, B and E. None of the comments on geography and the character of the Japanese (JdS pp.318-322) are quoted by Bayle, the first quotation he uses comes from page 322 (Japon A) and concerns the Bonzes and their religious practices. On the subject of celibacy he quotes:

'...ils ne le gardent pas toûjours fort exactement. Ils s'abstiennent de chair et de poisson, se rasent la barbe et les cheveux, et cachent leurs debauches sous l'apparence d'une vie austere.'

Japon A (JdS p.322).

Not content with simply reporting what has been said by another writer, Bayle uses this as a springboard to develop his own line of thinking. Hence the subject of the celibacy of Japanese priests leads him to think about the celibacy of priests in Europe, and immediately a comparison suggests itself:

...le célibat mal observé, les tromperies cachées sous les apparences d'une morale rigide, le profit des enterremens, le secours envoyé aux ames séparées du corps, fourniroient beaucoup de comparaisons. Je suis persuadé que plusieurs personnes n'ont pu lire les Extraits de Mr Cousin sans s'écrier intérieurement, 'c'est comme chez nous'...Ce seroit une chose assez curieuse qu'une Relation de l'Occident composée par un Japonois, ou par un Chinois, qui auroit vécu plusieurs années dans les grandes villes de l'Europe. On nous rendroit bien le change.

Japon A

This occurs constantly in Bayle's use of récits, which he finds interesting for the contrasts and comparisons which they suggest. At the outset he seems often simply to be reporting, making a statement about religion or moeurs in another country, but nearly always he moves towards a comparison, often very critical of Europeans. His method, then, is to begin by establishing the differences which appear to separate two cultures, then gradually break down this impression of distance and difference. The reader, having initially felt she was reading about societies which are far away and very different, slowly realises that this is not necessarily the case. Bayle skilfully shifts the emphasis, almost imperceptibly, until one realises that a new slant or totally different interpretation has emerged. Thus in Japon A the material provided by Crasset, on the whole fairly critical of the Japanese, nonetheless enables Bayle to make the point that rather than emphasising the vices of other nations, the missionaries would do better to become aware of their own failings. If the Japanese decided to write a book about the Christians' vices, they would probably not be very pleased, he declares! In Japon B Crasset is again quoted regarding the Bonzes and the gods they worship - Bayle quotes him in order to provide information on this subject for his readers. He goes on to discuss the numerous sects which exist in Japan, apparently peacefully coexisting:

'On conte jusques à douze Sectes, ou douze Religions, dans le Japon; et chacun a la liberté de suivre celle qu'il lui plaist, ce qui ne cause point de division...'

Japon

In Japon E Bayle returns to this important subject of tolerance, where oriental countries provide such a good example for intolerant Europe. He ignores pages 325-331 of the JdS (history of Japan) but his attention is attracted by Crasset's outrage at the persecution suffered by Christians in Japan:

Cet Abbé 'admire la profondeur des Jugemens de Dieu, et s'étonne qu'il ait permis que le sang de tant de Martyrs ait esté répandu, sans qu'il ait servi, comme dans les premiers siecles de l'Eglise, d'une semence feconde pour produire de nouveaux Chretiens.'

Japon E (JdS p.331).

Obviously Crasset defends and justifies the behaviour of the missionaries in the Far East, and is horrified by the persecution suffered by the Christians there (when Christianity was banned in 1640). Bayle on the other hand denounces the missionaries and the coercive techniques used to convert people (cf. the techniques used in Europe against the Protestants). The early Christians, he argues, were not cruel and violent, and hence were worthy of the protection of God. However, intolerant missionaries deserve to be badly treated themselves, since they are persecutors and not innocent victims. Here once again Bayle is on the side of the non-Christians against the Christians - as with China, where he warned that tolerating the Christians could only lead to trouble, he argues that in practical political terms the Japanese had little choice but to persecute and drive out the Christians, for the status quo and social harmony were under threat. As usual Bayle considers that maintenance of the peace is the most important objective, to be pursued if necessary by refusing to tolerate intolerant elements.<sup>13</sup> He argues that if the Japanese had acted any differently (as he criticised the Chinese Emperor for doing) their government, religion and customs may all have been destroyed by the invaders, which is exactly what happened in the Americas:

Le meilleur parti, que les Japonois eussent à prendre, étoit de se convertir au vrai Dieu; mais n'ayant pas assez de lumieres pour renoncer à leur fausse Religion, il ne leur réstoit que de choisir entre la persécution active, et la persécution passive. Ils ne pouvoient conserver leur ancien Gouvernement, ni leur ancien Culte, qu'en se défaisant des Chrétiens. Ceux-ci tôt ou tard eussent ruiné l'un aussi bien que l'autre, ils auroient armé tous leurs néophytes: ils auroient introduit dans le païs le secours, et les maximes cruelles des Espagnols; et à force de tuer, et de faire pendre comme en Amérique, ils auroient mis

sous leur joug tout le Japon. Ainsi, quand on ne considère les choses que selon les vues de la Politique, l'on doit convenir que la persécution, que les Chrétiens ont soufferte en ce païs-là, a été dans l'ordre des moïens que la prudence fait prendre pour prévenir le renversement de la Monarchie, et le saccagement d'un Etat.

Japon E

Crasset mentions in passing 'un mot indiscret qu'un Espagnol avoit lâché, que son Maître se servoit des Religieux pour se rendre maître des Indes' (JdS p.331), an anecdote which Bayle adds to his arguments defending the Japanese action. Crasset says little about this story since it is unfavourable to his vision of things, but Bayle gives us the reference, in the Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans (September 1691, pp.13-14):

L'ingénuité d'un Espagnol justifie les précautions de ces Infideles. Elle 'donna un pretexte specieux aux Bonzes d'exercer leur haine, et de solliciter l'extirpation des Chrétiens. Interrogé par le Roi de Tossa, comment le Roi d'Espagne étoit devenu le maître d'une si grande étendue de païs dans l'un et l'autre hemisphere, il répondit trop naïvement, qu'il envoyoit des Religieux prêcher l'Evangile aux nations étrangères, et qu'après avoir converti bon nombre de Payens, il envoyoit ses troupes, qui, se joignant aux nouveaux Chrétiens, subjugoient le païs. Cette indiscretion coûta cher aux Chrétiens.'

A review of the Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon thus provided Bayle with valuable information about tolerance, just as another review, this time in the Italian journal Giornale de Letterati gave details of Oriental religion. It is clear that Bayle read publications like the GdL very thoroughly, and also had a prodigious memory, since he is capable of introducing into his writing short quotations such as the ones from Il Viaggio All' Indie Orientali del P.F. Vincenzo Maria di S.Caterina da Siena Procuratore Generale de Carmelitani Scalzi, con l'osservationi, e successi nel medesimo, i costumi, e riti di varie nationi. (GdL 1673, pp.29-41). Once again the choice of quotations is indicative of Bayle's interests: on pages 30-32 the reviewer talks about different Christian sects, on pages 32-33 he discusses the followers of Islam, on pages 33-36 the Gentiles and on pages 37-41 plants and animals observed during the voyage. Again, it is details about other religions which interest Bayle. In Manicheens C he translates a passage from page 33 about the manichaeism of the 'Gurdes' (Kurds?), also giving the Italian in the margin.

Reading Bayle's translation one is led to believe that the greater attention they pay the evil principle is an indication of their wickedness, whereas the passage in Italian makes it clear that if they concern themselves more with the 'culte du mal' than with the 'culte du bien' it is simply because they do not believe that the latter can do them any harm:

Les Gurdes nation dans l'Asie servent deux principes, l'un comme l'auteur du bien, l'autre comme la cause du mal; mais avec cette différence, qu'ils sont infiniment plus exacts dans le culte du dernier, que dans celui du premier.

I Gurdi, gente del deserta della Soria, che vive a proprio capriccio, venerano come i Manichei due principij, uno del bene, e l'altro del male: con questa differenza che poco pensando al primo, como quello che credono non poter loro far alcun male, attendono solo al culto del secundo.

The evidence of this récit enables Bayle to assert that Manichaeans still exist in certain parts of the world, and that they are not simply of historical interest.

Again in Mariana we see Bayle's excellent memory and lateral thinking at work, creating comparisons and parallels. He is led to a discussion of Mariana's reputed chastity, and this develops into a more general consideration of the subject, with Bayle recalling other anecdotes and giving a reference to a passage in the GdL:

Cette herbe de Melchior Canus me fait souvenir de ces Solitaires Indiens, qui pratiquent une rude pénitence toute leur vie, et qui renoncent même a la vue des personnes de l'autre sexe. Ils arment leur main d'une canne, par le moien de laquelle ils écartent toutes les pensées impures, et toutes les tentations, comme s'il ne s'agissoit que de faire fuir un chien.

Mariana C

The passage in Italian reads:

I Ruxis, ò Hio biolo abitano ne'deserti, pascendosi di foglie, e frutti salvatici, occupati quasi sempre nella meditatione de'lor dij; professano perpetua verginità, fuggendo la

visita delle donna, portano una canna in mano, con la quale dicono tener coutano i diletti, tentationi e travaglij.

GdL p.35

In the use of this récit, not a major source but still interesting enough to be quoted by Bayle, the point can again be made that it is religion which is singled out for attention. It is certainly not by chance that from the brief résumé of this work which he had at his disposal in the GdL it should be religious details which stick in his mind and are brought into articles in the DHC. With this kind of minor reference he gradually builds up a picture of other nations, at the same time subtly breaking down assumptions and prejudices.

As well as the articles directly referring to specific authors, eight articles in the DHC contain remarks which were almost certainly suggested by Bayle's reading of récits on the Far East, although they are not attributed to a particular source. Familiar subjects are again touched on here: tolerance and persecution, oriental behaviour, the universality of ideas. In Abdas Bayle talks about Abdas, who through his zeal for Christianity was indirectly responsible for the persecution of Christians in Persia - this subject enables Bayle to comment once more on tolerance and persecution. He remarks that it is not necessarily easy for a monarch to convert to another religion, for if the people do not agree the situation can become very dangerous. Excessive tolerance of foreign religions can thus be something of a trap for monarchs, and Bayle reminds us of the fate of the last Siamese monarch, deposed in 1688 because of his over-friendliness with the French:

N'a-t-on pas dit que le dernier Roi de Siam avoit été renversé du Trône, pour avoir été trop favorable aux missionnaires Chrétiens?

Abdas B

These words, contained already in the first edition of the DHC, and written, he says, in 1693, remind us of the reaction Bayle was to have to writers such as Le Gobien who hailed the acceptance of Christianity in China as a great victory. Bayle, on the other

hand, saw foreign interference and excessive tolerance of intolerant religions as dangerous and divisive within a country, leading to civil war and chaos. As usual, he is on the side of peace and the status quo, seeing change as threatening. In Braunbom C he mentions the Chinese Emperor's edict as an example of the way in which the power of Catholicism has increased rather than diminished (this in reply to Jurieu who prophesied the imminent downfall of Catholicism and the victory of Protestantism) and in Mahomet he returns to the subject of persecution caused or directly inflicted by Christians. Having stated that Christianity maintains its superiority over Islam only so long as the latter is proved to have been spread by violent means, and the former by peaceful ones, Bayle naturally goes on to demonstrate that this cannot be said to be true. From the fourth century onwards, the Christians adopted persecution as a means of spreading their faith, and hence cannot claim any superiority over other religions. Indeed, Moslems have to a certain extent a better record than the Christians:

La conclusion, que je veux tirer de tout ceci, est que les hommes se conduisent peu selon leurs principes. Voilà les Turcs, qui tolèrent toutes sortes de Religions, quoi que l'Alcoran leur ordonne de persécuter les Infideles: et voilà les Chrétiens, qui ne font que persécuter, quoi que l'Evangile le leur défende. Ils feront un beau manège dans les Indes, et dans la Chine, si jamais le bras séculier les y favorise...

Mahomet AA

Here then is another warning from Bayle that once the missionaries get official backing they will resort to persecution and the result will be a national disaster - this is in line with what he said above about Le Gobien and Crasset. Récits constantly provide Bayle with examples of intolerance, and again in Rapin (René) C he reflects on the best way of going about conversion using 'méthodes douces':

...un Janséniste, qui prêcheroit les Infidèles du Japon ou de la Chine pour la première fois, ne seroit pas assez bête pour débiter par le Dogme de l'extinction du Franc arbitre, ou par celui de la Prédestination absolue...il renverroit son Jansénisme au tems que ses Néophytes n'auroient plus besoin de lait, et seroient capables d'une viande ferme.

Bayle's example of a Jansenist being careful of how he goes about the job of conversion reminds us of many Jesuit writers' admonitions to caution, for in their efforts to convert as many people as possible they were careful not to alienate them by disapproving certain practices. Le Comte, for instance, describes Jesuits dressing as Bonzes at first in order to win people's confidence, although ultimately this policy failed (T.1 p.248), 'pour s'accommoder au caprice du peuple' he agrees to accept certain ceremonies (T.1 p.274) and he emphasises the civil nature of Confucianism, official Jesuit policy (T.1 p.336). Le Gobien adopts a similar line (p.319) and La Loubère too counsels caution:

...les Missionnaires...ne doivent pas découvrir d'abord aux Orientaux ny tous les Mysteres, ny toutes les pratiques du Christianisme.

p.427

Otherwise, says La Loubère, they will be shocked by much in the Bible and in Christian doctrine and will refuse Christianity.

A second important theme in some articles is the universal nature of many beliefs and practices, confirmed by récits. For instance, the importance of dreams is attested by all sorts of writers, ancient and modern, Christian and Moslem, European and Asian:

...les songes les plus mystiques sont aussi communs parmi les Paiens, et parmi les Mahométans, que parmi les Sectateurs de la vraie Religion. En effet, lisez Plutarque, et les autres Historiens Grecs et Romains; lisez les Livres Arabes, Chinois etc., vous y trouverez tout autant d'exemples de songes miraculeux, que dans la Bible, ou dans les Histoires Chrétiennes.

Majus D

The existence throughout the world and at different points in history of similar ideas is mentioned again in Taulerus F where Bayle's remarks rejoin those made in Sommona-Codom and Spinoza:

Il est surprenant que ces Mystiques Chrétiens, et ces Philosophes Paiens, aient été si conformes les uns aux autres, qu'on diroit qu'ils s'étoient donné le mot pour débiter les mêmes folies les uns dans l'Orient et les autres dans l'Occident. Quel concert admirable entre des gens qui ne s'étoient jamais vûs, et qui n'avoient jamais ouï parler les uns des autres!

Across time and space, then, striking similarities can often be observed. Such comments pepper the DHC, part of Bayle's comparative approach, his tendency to regard history as a series of communicating jars rather than air-tight containers. He views ideas as circulating, often being modified in the process, but sometimes remaining surprisingly recognisable.

As we mentioned above, Bayle was very good at recalling references or details of books he had read, as the above examples demonstrate. Sometimes the references are minor ones in fairly unimportant articles, and yet Bayle seems to think it useful to slip in this kind of comment, gleaned doubtless from a unspecified récit. In Combabus he recounts the story of a courtier who took the drastic step of castrating himself in order not to be suspected of having committed adultery with the Queen, leading into a discussion of castration, the confidence one can place in eunuchs and so on. Since he is on the subject of oriental courts Bayle suddenly seems to remember something he has read:

Ceux, qui savent le cérémoniel des Princes Orientaux anciens et modernes, n'ignorent pas quelle marque de faveur c'est que le privilege d'entrer chez le Roi quand on veut.

Combabus E

La Loubère (Livre 1 pp.176-7) spoke of this 'cérémoniel', as does Tachard in the following passage:

A la Cour de Siam on ne donne jamais que deux audiences aux Ambassadeurs, la première et celle de congé...Mais Sa Majesté pour distinguer cette Ambassade de toutes les autres, fit dire à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, que toutes les fois qu'il voudroit avoir audience il étoit prest à la luy donner avec plaisir.

Again, in Golius, about the famous mathematician and linguist, he slips in a small detail about Chinese characters - such a detail can easily go unnoticed, but indicates to us Bayle's retrieval system at work and his liking for minor pieces of information which all together build up a full picture. We note, however, that although Bayle here mentions the figure of 8000 characters, other sources (Le Comte, p.309 and Le Gobien, p.57) say 80,000:

Ce n'est pas peu de chose que de savoir seulement conôître les figures dont ils se servent en écrivant. Ils en ont jusqu'à huit mille.

Golius F

In the récits about the Far East Bayle thus found a wealth of examples to illustrate his arguments on tolerance, persecution and religion. The experiences related by travellers and the model provided by societies such as China were invaluable in building up and strengthening these arguments, expressed in earlier works and throughout the DHC. Bayle recognises how useful the evidence provided in recent récits can be and skilfully inserts it in numerous articles.

(1) Ludovicus Frois, Epistola ad Fratres in Europa degentes scripta Goae primo die Decembriis 1560, apud Dannhaverum in Vale triumphali.

Noël Alexandre, Lettre d'un Docteur de l'Ordre de S. Dominique sur les Ceremonies de la Chine: au R.P. Le Comte (Cologne, Héritiers de Corneille d'Egmond, 1700).

Referred to in Lucrèce R and Xenocrate I.

Un Dominicain qui a écrit depuis peu sur l'Idolâtrie Chinoise approuve parfaitement cette Observation de Lactance, et s'en sert pour soutenir ce qu'il doit prouver contre les Jésuites...Si la contradiction des Chinois n'est pas plus crasse que celle dont on accuse

Lucrece, les Adversaires des Jésuites n'y gagneront rien; car il est sûr que Lactance n'a nulle raison de croire que Lucrece se soit contredit.

Lucrece R

Thus Bayle replies to Alexandre that 'tout habile homme qu'il est' it is not possible to prove that the Chinese contradict themselves on the question of the soul, just like Lucrece. If the enemies of the Jesuits want to combat their version, they must find stronger arguments! 'Le Docteur Jacobin' is again criticised for inaccuracy in Xenocrate I where it is said that he 'ne s'est pas bien informé de la doctrine de Xenocrate'.

(2) Henry Lord, Histoire de la Religion des Baniens, translated by Briot (Paris, de Ninville, 1667).

First published in English in 1630 as A Display of two forraigne sects in the East Indies...the sect of the Baniens...and the sect of the Persees.

Bayle refers to this work in Zoroastre (see Lord on Zertoost, pp.151-177).

(3) Other récits on the Far East not referred to in the DHC are those of the Abbé de Choisy, which occurs in the CPD and Chaumont, referred to in passing in the NRL.

(4) We note the lack of any very early récits on the Far East in the DHC.

(5) La Relation du Pere Tachard fait voir que les Brachmanes ou Bramines de Bengale menent une vie très austere, qu'ils marchent sur le sable brûlant les pieds et la tête nue, et qu'ils ne vivent que d'herbe.

Brachmanes

Later, giving a reference to Tachard (p.39) Bayle says that 'les Brachmanes de Siam croient que les premiers hommes étoient plus grans que ceux d'aujourd'hui, et qu'ils vivoient plusieurs siecles sans aucune maladie...'

(6) The Jesuits were of course eventually condemned by the Pope and the Sorbonne. See the Journal Historique des assemblées tenues en Sorbonne pour condamner les Mémoires de la Chine (Paris, 1700).

(7) For example the Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jesus-Christ, 'Contrain-les d'entrer'; ou Traité de Tolérance Universelle (Rotterdam, Fritsch et Böhm, 1713).

(8) Ch.22, pp.500-501 (p.394 in the 1714 edition which we have used); ch. 23, pp.514-515 (pp.404-406); ch.24, pp.533-534 (p.420).

Ruggeri D is very long, an indication that Bayle considered this subject to be of some importance.

(9) See La Loubère chapter 20, p.481 (p.379 in the 1714 edition) and p.470 (p.370; ch.22, p.501 (pp.394-5); ch.23, p.508 (p.400) and p.514 (pp.404-5).

(10) See chapter 23, pp.503-504 (pp.396-7 in 1714 edition) and pp.505-506 (pp.397-8).

(11) Here in the margin: 'On fait éclore des poulets en mettant les oeufs dans un four que l'on chauffe par degrez. Cela se pratique dans l'Egypte.'

(12) Here in the margin: 'On peut faire mourir plusieurs sortes d'Animaux, en les mettant dans un four un peu trop chaud'.

(13) This theme recurs constantly throughout the DHC:

...ne disputez qu'autant que vous le pouvez faire sans troubler le repos public, et taisez-vous, dès que l'événement vous montre que vous divisez les familles, ou qu'il se forme deux partis. N'achevez pas de réveiller mille mauvaises passions, qu'il faut tenir enchaînées comme autant de bêtes féroces...

Amyraut E

...lors que les circonstances des tems et des lieux ne souffrent pas que l'on propose des nouveautez, vraies tant qu'il vous plaira, sans causer mille desordres dans les Universitez, dans les familles, dans toute la République, il vaut cent fois mieux laisser les choses comme elles sont, que d'entreprendre de les réformer. Le remede seroit pire que le mal...

Arminius E

## Chapter VII: Bayle's Other Works

Apart from the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique Bayle also drew extensively upon récits de voyages in certain other works. Three substantial works do not contain material from travelogues: the Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Mr Maimbourg (1682), La Cabale Chimérique (1691) and the Entretiens de Maxime et de Themiste, ou Réponse à l'Examen de la Théologie de Mr Bayle par Mr Jaquelot (1707). They are all replies to criticisms and accusations from other authors, and Bayle concentrates either on theological arguments or self-justification. In the Critique Generale he takes up the defence of Calvinism in reply to a work by Père Maimbourg, whereas in the Cabale Chimérique he counters accusations from Jurieu, who had declared Bayle to be the author of the mysterious Avis aux Réfugiés (1690). Bayle describes and explains his behaviour throughout the affair of the Avis and ridicules Jurieu's unfounded statements. In the Entretiens de Maxime et de Themiste, published posthumously, he once again defends himself, this time against the Protestant Jaquelot, who had expressed doubts about the orthodoxy of Bayle's religious beliefs. Of his remaining works, two do not contain specific references to or quotations from travellers: Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique (1686) and the Commentaire Philosophique (1686). In these works Bayle draws in a very general way on his reading, using the examples of other countries to develop his arguments, but without indicating precise sources. These two works are linked by the fact that both contain this kind of unspecific reference, and in addition the second is very largely an extended version of the first. Another four works contain extensive quotations from récits de voyages with precise indications of the sources used: the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres (1684-7), the Pensées Diverses (1683), the Continuation des Pensées Diverses (1705) and the Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial (1704-7). (See Appendix C).

We will study these different works, looking at the use made in them by Bayle of travel literature and drawing links with his use of récits in the Dictionnaire. It will be

interesting to note whether there is any evolution throughout these works in the way Bayle treats this literature - for instance, any changes in his attitude towards it or the relative importance accorded different parts of the world. The works in question cover a period of a quarter of a century, the first published in 1683 and the last in 1707, and they hence encompass not only the pre-Dictionnaire period, but also the years during which Bayle was working on the first two editions and the final years of his life. By looking at such a long period of Bayle's literary production, we will be better able to come to conclusions about the trends and evolutions in his work.

Leaving aside for the moment Bayle's early work, the Pensées Diverses, which will be studied below and compared with the later Continuation des Pensées Diverses, let us look first at Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique sous le Règne de Louis le Grand. Bayle was moved to write it by the death in prison of his brother Jacob, who had been arrested in July 1685 and imprisoned in Pamiers, dying later in Bordeaux. The arrest of Jacob had been a direct consequence of the publication of the Critique Generale. Unable to get at the author himself, the authorities chose to attack remaining members of his family in France. The death of his brother was a severe blow to Bayle, who had previously lost his mother in 1675, his younger brother Joseph in 1684 and his father earlier in 1685. Apart from a brief meeting with Jacob in August 1670, when he renounced Catholicism after eighteen months and fled France, Bayle had seen nothing of his family since leaving home in Le Carla in November 1668 to pursue his studies. Letters attest to his attachment to his family and his heart-brokenness on hearing of Jacob's death, all the more because he felt himself responsible.<sup>1</sup> Energetic efforts on the part of Bayle to have his brother released, through letters to contacts in Paris, were ultimately unable to save Jacob, who died just a few days before the order to release him arrived. This personal grief, coupled with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685 led Bayle to the writing of Ce que c'est, a short work in which he expresses his pain, outrage and anguish at the treatment meted out to the Protestants in France.

The Edict of Nantes had in fact been strictly respected for only a short time after its promulgation in 1598.<sup>2</sup> Already, by the beginning of the reign of Louis XIII in 1610,

moves away from the strict observance of Protestant rights could be perceived. One of Richelieu's declared aims in his Testament Politique was to 'ruiner le parti huguenot', and indeed throughout the seventeenth century there was a steady erosion of the rights and freedoms enjoyed by the Protestants.<sup>3</sup> So much so, that it was possible for Louis XIV to claim in 1685 that since there were no longer any Protestants in France, such legislation was pointless! Bayle and others denounced the coercive methods used to 'convert' Protestants to Catholicism, whilst the official line was that gentle persuasion was the only method employed.

Ce que c'est is divided into three parts, with Bayle in the first part adopting the persona of a French Catholic priest who has received a letter from a Protestant refugee friend, and is writing to a second 'réfugié' in London to ask his opinion on the letter. The second part of the work contains the letter which the priest has received from his Huguenot friend, and the third part a reply from the 'réfugié'. It is of course the second part of the work which contains a virulent attack on the policy of forced conversion and persecution of the Huguenots. Bayle's anger and bitterness come out in his condemnation of the evils perpetrated in the name of Catholicism. He keeps up the fiction of three separate authors being responsible for this work in the third letter, where the second Huguenot refugee agrees with much of what his 'coreligionnaire' has said, but finds some of his expressions excessive and unjust. The arguments given in Ce que c'est were to form the basis for the Commentaire Philosophique, which expands on the subjects of tolerance and persecution, taking more calmly the points thrown out by Bayle in the heat of the moment.

In Ce que c'est then, we find Bayle writing about the important question of persecution and peppering his work with references to the behaviour of the Europeans in other countries (one reference to the Americas, four to the Far East). Here he confines himself to talking about the consequences of European interference in such countries, the intolerance displayed by the Christians and their fomenting of social disorder. He does not in this work counter-balance his comments on the Europeans with remarks about the tolerance exhibited, for example, by the Chinese. He describes the Europeans negatively without comparing them with a positive image provided by other nations. In the

Dictionnaire he was to develop his comments on tolerance in this direction, indicating the differences between intolerant Europeans and tolerant Orientals, but at the time of writing Ce que c'est he has not gone further than underlining the appalling behaviour of European missionaries in the 'Nouveau Monde':

Où auroit-on trouvé des hommes, sans les faire exprés, qui eussent été capables de mettre le Nouveau Monde dans le triste état où vous l'avez réduit par vos carnages, et par la communication de vos débauches...

p.77

He draws parallels between the hypocrisy, mauvaise foi and violence at work in attempts to convert the Huguenots and similar attempts at conversion in the New World. Other themes, later developed at greater length in the Dictionnaire, are already evident here. For instance, he declares that the Jesuits have got into China under false pretences, since although they pretend first and foremost to be mathematicians, they aim in fact to make converts to Christianity. Bayle points out that the danger of this is that once implanted they will use force to make converts, and once they have a big enough following, they will create social disorder by encouraging their Christian converts to oppose the legitimate ruler. They have no right to be there, says Bayle, and it is the duty of all those who believe in justice and peace to warn the Chinese Emperor of the danger he and his country are facing. A stout defender of absolutism, Bayle saw tolerance and non-violence as the only way to avoid social disorder such as France had experienced during the Wars of Religion.

...on est obligé d'avertir un peuple qu'on trompe, qu'il prenne garde à lui, et qu'assûrement s'il n'y prend garde, on le trompera. Or qu'elle plus-grande tromperie y pût-il avoir, que celle de vôtre Eglise. Elle envoie d'abord les Missionnaires qui ne démandent que permission de voyager, qui se déguisent, qui, pour en juger charitablement, vûlent instruire les Infidelles de nos veritez...ils font accroire à ces bonnes gens, tout ce qu'ils croient le plus propre à les gagner, en un mot, leur fin unique est d'avoir bien-tôt le plus grand nombre de Sectateurs qu'ils pourront, et si après cela l'autre partie ne se vût pas convertir, de l'y contraindre par la force... l'exécution de cela est naturellement et inévitablement selon toutes les apparences du-moins, cause de mille meurtres, désolations, et guerres civiles, ou de mille hipocrisies, profanations de nos Misteres, Baptêmes sacrilèges reçûs par des gens, qui ne s'y soumettent que le couteau à la gorge...

pp.99-100

Bayle finds the attitudes and behaviour of the missionaries so shocking, that he declares himself not at all surprised that Dutch traders should have denied any links with these 'Christians' (p.98) and even become involved in the expelling of missionaries from Japan (p.99). Indeed, he goes on, not only should the Chinese be warned of the dire consequences of allowing such potentially disruptive elements into their country, but they should also be informed of what has already happened in France. Here Bayle makes a more direct parallel with the Huguenots, arguing not simply on theoretical grounds of what might happen in China, but on the proof of what has already taken place in France and could be repeated. Let us, he enjoins, 'faire savoir à l'Empereur de la Chine ce qui vient de se passer en France, afin qu'il prenne ses mesures pour recevoir, comme il faut, les Missionnaires, que le Roi vient d'envoyer en ce país-là sur le pié de grands Mathématiciens. On est obligé en conscience d'avertir cet Empereur, que ces gens-là, qui ne démandent d'abord que d'être soufferts, n'ont pour bût que de se rendre les Maîtres' (p.102). We find in such passages the key words 'contraindre' and 'conscience', which were at the core of the arguments for tolerance and the rights of the individual (erring) conscience which Bayle was to take up at greater length in the Commentaire Philosophique. Passing references to the Biblical injunction, 'contrain-les d'entrer', interpreted by Saint Augustine as a justification for forcible conversion, prefigure this later work, whose full title was Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ, "Contrain-les d'entrer"; ou Traité de la Tolérance Universelle. The conclusion of Ce que c'est seems to be that no religious orders should have been sent to the New World in the first place, 'car c'est une gangrène qui ronge toûjours, et qui chasse du fond de l'ame toute sorte d'équité et d'honnêteté naturelle' (p.104), but that given the fait accompli of their presence there, Bayle intends to continue to denounce them.<sup>4</sup>

The Commentaire Philosophique is a longer, more measured work than Ce que c'est, upon which it expands. In it too, Bayle makes frequent references to other countries 'colonised' by Europeans in the seventeenth century, without making specific references to travellers or récits. He appears to have seen and wished to exploit the

enormous potential provided by the evidence of European zeal for conversion in the New World, but is here content to refer to the missionaries in a general rather than specific way. As in Ce que c'est the subject-matter means that all the references are concerned with religion. Once again, the main accent is on the bad behaviour of the Europeans, although here there are signs that Bayle is developing a counter-balancing approach, showing on the one hand how 'bad' the Europeans are and on the other how 'good' certain other nations are. This method was to be developed by Bayle in the Dictionnaire. The total number of references to other countries in the Commentaire Philosophique is eleven for the Far East and three for the Middle East. Africa and the Americas are not referred to at all. This ties in with what would seem to be something of a pattern in Bayle: on the subject of tolerance and persecution, he almost always draws most of his examples from events in China and Japan. The Middle East is also referred to fairly consistently with regard to religion, but Bayle's references here are not as 'single-minded' as for the Far East. The latter is referred to exclusively in relation to religious matters in the Dictionnaire whereas the subjects touched on for the Middle East are more varied.

Some of the arguments put forward in the Commentaire Philosophique are familiar ones which we have already encountered in Ce que c'est - a parallel between the Catholic/Protestant clash in Europe and the opposition of Europeans converters and the Chinese; the duplicity of the Jesuits, whose presence in China can only lead to disaster; the need to warn the Chinese of the fate which awaits them if they do not expel the missionaries immediately:

...qui ne voit que ce seroit introduire dans son Roiaume la Semence perpetuelle du Carnage, et de la Désolation des Villes, et du plat País, que de laisser prêcher ces Gens-là? Au commencement, ils ne feroient, à la vérité, que prêcher, qu'instruire, que flater, que promettre un Paradis, que menacer d'un Enfer; ils persuaderoient beaucoup de Monde, et il arriveroit qu'ils auroient dans toutes les Villes, et dans tous les Ports, plusieurs Sectateurs: mais alors, ou par les Secours étrangers, ou même par les seules Forces de ceux qui les suivroient, ils commenceroient leurs Violences contre tous ceux qui voudroient perséverer dans leur ancienne Religion.

The Chinese Emperor may well find himself forced to adopt Christianity, says Bayle (I p.186) for the Christians, on their past record, would in all likelihood consider themselves justified in breaking any promises or treaties previously made if in so doing they could advance their 'cause' (cf. CQC p.104). Bayle thus advises the Chinese Emperor to 's'informer de ces Missionnaires de quelle nature est leur Doctrine par raport au Bien public, et aux Loix fondamentales' (I p.188), for in so doing he will discover that 'dès qu'ils pourroient ils forceroient les Gens à se faire bâtiser' (I p.346). Comparing the lack of tolerance shown by Catholics to Protestants, and the intolerance of Catholics vis a vis other nations (p.346), Bayle concludes that both Protestants and Chinese are right not to trust the Catholics, and the only safe solution for the Chinese is to immediately expel all missionaries (p.382). The notion of the rights of the individual conscience is here very much to the fore - even in error, the individual human being must have the right to follow her/his conscience. Although a staunch supporter of absolutism, in the name of security and stability, Bayle could not accept persecution being carried out by the state. He believed the use of violence to be a crime against God, and saw plurality of beliefs as a strength rather than a threat to society. Rationally, it was impossible to see how a situation of continual war, each form of truth opposing every other form, could exist, and Bayle stood for the doctrine of 'civil tolerance' and the overriding importance of 'lumière naturelle'. It could not be wrong to follow one's conscience, but it was most certainly wrong to violate the individual conscience. Bayle was of the opinion that all those who demanded tolerance for themselves (for example the Protestants), should be prepared to accord it to others and that failure to abide by this rule of tolerance was the most serious threat to peace within a society. He also emphasised that belief is relative, and that all societies could be threatened by religious disagreement and social disruption. Hence his insistence on the damage likely to be done by Christian missionaries in China and the parallels he draws between the Chinese and the Protestant/Catholic disagreements.

An approach which Bayle had not used in CQC but which he uses in the CP (to be extended much more in the DHC) is the invitation to his readers to imagine how it would be if the ruler of an Islamic country decided to send out missionaries to convert people in Europe. This is an effective way of ironically pointing out the injustice and

intolerance of Christian missions. Bayle begins his undermining of Christian claims to 'moral superiority' on pages 117-119, where he discusses and attacks a book by Diroys, in which the author declares Christianity to be superior to Islam, because the latter uses force to convert people. Nothing could be further from the truth, counters Bayle; if use of force and violence is to be a criterium for judging religions, Catholicism will without a doubt come off very badly:

*Ecoutons le, taillant en pieces le Mahométisme, sans prendre garde qu'il perce de part en part des mêmes coups le Catholicisme.*

I p.117

He then goes on to project the reader into an imaginary situation, suggesting that if Diroys had to defend his statements to the Chinese, he would have difficulty in doing so if they had first of all been informed by the Protestants of the atrocities for which the Catholics are responsible:

*Je voudrois bien savoir comment Mr DIROYS, envoyé Missionnaire à la Chine, avec son Livre, pourroit soutenir la vuë de quelques Chinois, qui le liroient, après avoir lû les Relations que les Protestans leur pourroient, et leur devroient, fournir de ce que fait et qu'a fait le Papisme dans l'Europe, dans l'Amerique, et dans les Indes?*

I p.119

By the use of such hypothetical situations, inverting the habitual roles, Bayle brings home to us very clearly the dishonesty inherent in such methods. He goes on to imagine a situation where Moslem missionaries come to Europe - pushing his arguments to their logical conclusions, he declares that no one would be justified in punishing them. The Christians in Japan believed themselves to be doing their duty, and their persecution was roundly denounced by certain writers (for instance the Abbé de T., quoted by Bayle in Japon), hence, says Bayle, if it was wrong for the Japanese to kill these Christians, whom they saw as dangerous infiltrators, it would be equally wrong for Europeans to persecute visiting Moslems. He refuses to draw a distinction between Christianity, Islam and other eastern religions - as far as he is concerned, they should all operate according to

the same rules, with the same respect for tolerance, for none can claim superiority or the right to dominate or persecute others, none is necessarily better.<sup>5</sup>

...s'il prenoit fantaisie au Mufti d'envoyer en Chrétienté quelques Missionnaires, comme le Pape envoie dans les Indes, et que l'on surprit ces Missionnaires Turcs s'insinuant dans les Maisons, pour y faire le métier de Convertisseurs: je ne pense pas qu'on fut en droit de les punir. Car, s'ils répondoient les mêmes choses que les Missionnaires Chrétiens répondroient dans le Japon en pareil cas...et que, sans avoir égard à cette Réponse, ni les ouïr dans leurs raisons, on les pendit: ne seroit-on pas ridicule de trouver mauvais que les Japonnois en fissent autant ?

I p.378

This sort of rigour and determination to push himself and his opponents to the limits of logic, developing each argument until the irrationality becomes evident, is a feature of Bayle's writing which is present in the Commentaire Philosophique. Subtitled Traité de la Tolérance Universelle, this book sets out to deal uncompromisingly with tolerance, without dodging difficult questions or making exceptions.

Having severely undermined the Christian 'moral superiority' argument, Bayle goes on in Tome II (4e partie, Supplément, pp.268 ff.) to describe an imaginary meeting between Chinese philosophers, Catholic missionaries and Protestant ministers. Here he brings together two elements: the Catholic/ Protestant opposition and the question of what would happen if the Chinese knew about Catholic persecution. He asks himself not only how the Chinese would react if they discovered Catholic intolerance, but also how they would feel about the conversion efforts of Europeans who cannot even agree amongst themselves. This is a wider point than simply a condemnation of Catholic intolerance and violence; Bayle is here calling into question the whole idea of going to another country to convert the population. He is doubtful of the ethics of interfering in another country's religious and social organisation, assuming that one's own religion and values are superior instead of just different, and risking unrest and upset. He suggests that if the divisions between the Christian churches were known to the Chinese, they would have very little to fear from this new religion, which would have difficulty persuading any Chinese to join it:

'Messieurs les Convertisseurs Chrétiens...qui venez de si loin, pour nous apprendre, que vous n'êtes pas d'accord entre vous...nous ne vous craignons gueres. Vous ne gagnerez aucun Chinois; pourvu que vous ne vous serviez que de la Raison, et pourvu que l'Empereur défende à tous ses Sujets, d'embrasser le Christianisme, qu'entre les mains d'un Ministre et d'un Missionnaire, s'observans l'un l'autre.'

II pp.275-6

The irony here points up very well the arrogance implicit in believing oneself justified in trying to gain converts to one's religion. Bayle concludes that potential missionaries would do better to tell themselves that 'il vaut mieux nous tenir ici en repos, qu'aller servir de Pierre d'Achopement aux Infideles de la Chine' (II p.276).

The Commentaire Philosophique is hence an immensely important work in the exposition of Bayle's views on tolerance. Many of the ideas expressed at greater length in the DHC can already be seen here in embryo. In the CP he takes up again the material and grievances of CQC, in places expanding and going further in his use of references to foreign countries. The example of the Far East seems to have been particularly useful to him when talking about 'la tolérance universelle' and he often returns to the Chinese model when seeking to illustrate his arguments.

Both the preceding works appeared towards the end of the period during which Bayle edited the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, a journal which attests to his interest in and knowledge of récits. The popularity of travel accounts is reflected in this work, Bayle to a certain extent seeking to please his readers by reviewing the sort of books which were popular. Writing the NRL meant that he had to be up-to-date with the latest publications, informing his readers of what had appeared recently, collating information from his many correspondents, giving where possible reviews and comment. He was thus well placed to know about travel accounts which could provide him with useful material, and indeed many of the works reviewed in the NRL occur later elsewhere in Bayle (DHC, RQP, CPD). In the NRL we find three reviews concerning the Far East between February 1685 and October 1686 (see Appendix C).<sup>6</sup> In April 1686 Bayle also

inserts a short extract from a letter about 300 Chinese manuscripts recently arrived in Paris for translation, and in October 1686 mentions in passing the Chevalier de Chaumont's travel account and the Abbé de Choisy's letters ('Je ne sai point si ces Lettres fendront la presse parmi tant d'autres relations'). The reviews are all relatively extended, varying from the four to five pages accorded to Père Verbiest's letter from China (February 1685) and Fontenelle's spoof Lettre écrite de Batavia (January 1686) to the ten pages in October 1686 on a book by Couplet about the Jesuits in China. On the Near and Middle East there are six reviews or announcements, dating from March 1684 to October 1686, the most important being the two reviews in September and October 1686, both twenty or so pages, of Chardin's Journal.<sup>7</sup> There are also long reviews in April and May 1684 of Simon's Histoire Critique de la creance et des coûtures des Nations du Levant. Africa is not heavily represented - in August 1684 there is a short review of Ludolf's Nouvelle Histoire d'Abissinie and in October 1685 a slightly longer one of Dos Santos' Histoire de l'Ethiopie Orientale.<sup>8</sup> Neither of these works appears elsewhere in Bayle. The Americas figure even less, meriting one reference covering a page or so in May 1685, on the Histoire de la Conquête de la Floride.

Of the works mentioned, Fontenelle (in any case not a genuine récit), Verbiest, Dos Santos and Ludolf do not occur again in Bayle. The Abbé de Choisy is referred to but not quoted in the Continuation des Pensées Diverses and both Chardin and Simon are quoted in the DHC. In the NRL it is the Near/Middle East which emerges with the greatest number of reviews and references, the Far East following, leaving Africa and the Americas trailing somewhat. We can compare these results with the Journal des Sçavans, where we find the following numbers of récits:

	<u>N/M East</u>	<u>Far East</u>	<u>Americas</u>	<u>Africa</u>
1684	2	0	0	2
1685	3	3	0	0
1686	1	2	0	0
1687	0	1	0	1
Total	6	6	0	3
No of these in <u>NRL</u>	1	1	0	2

Thus Bayle's coverage is broadly similar in extent to the JdS, and shows how he is concerned to match his readers' interests. It is also interesting to note, though, that there is less overlap in the coverage than one might have expected, which shows not only how much travel literature was being produced, but also Bayle's independence with regard to it.

Let us look now at the subjects which récits lead Bayle to discuss in the NRL. They can be summed up as being very largely the problems of tolerance and persecution, coupled with praise for Oriental nations. During the first year of the NRL there is relatively little comment on these subjects, although in April 1684 we read:

Il montre que les Chrétiens du Levant ne sont pas aussi blâmables que les Missionnaires le débitent, afin de mieux faire valoir leur emploi.

In a review of Simon, pp.206-7

This sort of criticism becomes more pronounced, Bayle more clearly speaking 'as himself', and not simply quoting, as the NRL progress, and by the following year he is

talking about Christian persecution and how other nations would feel about it, set against the admirable tolerance of the Chinese:

...il y a bien de l'apparence que si ces bons Indiens, et Japonois sçavoient comment les Chrêtiens se sont traités les uns les autres pendant mille ans, et comment ils ont traité les sauvages de l'Amérique, ils ne laisseroient pas mettre le pied dans leur païs à pas un Chrétien.

October 1685, pp.1161-2

If Dos Santos' account led Bayle to reflect on the whole process of evangelisation, in January of the same year he had praised the Chinese and their respect for 'les gens de lettres' and in February a letter from Père Verbiest inspired him to wonder at the gulf separating the Chinese from their European 'invaders':

Je ne sçai pourquoi les Chrêtiens font si peu de réflexion sur l'esprit de tolerance qui régné dans ces Rois Payens que nous traitons hautement de barbares et de ferores. Voilà un Empereur Chinois très-persuadé que la Religion des Jesuites est fausse, et tout à fait opposée à celle dont lui et tous ses sujets font profession, qui ne laisse pas de souffrir ces Missionnaires, et de les traiter fort humainement.

February 1685, p.203

Speaking in October 1686 about a catalogue of Jesuits having worked in China, he discusses the pretexts on which they find their way into the country and are tolerated there. Again he underlines that although persecution is widespread amongst Christians, the Chinese and Siamese are much more tolerant:

Ils ne sont soufferts et honorez, dit-on, que comme d'habiles Astronomes, et de bons Mathematiciens...On souffre ailleurs les Missionnaires quand on croit qu'ils entendent la Medicine...il faut prendre garde de ne pas trop attribuer le faux esprit du Christianisme aux Infidelles de l'Orient. Il s'en faut bien que la honteuse maxime de la contrainte de conscience les ait autant gâtés qu'elle a gâté le plus grand nombre des Chrêtiens, ainsi ne nous imaginons pas que toutes les Religions soient faites comme celle qui domine dans l'Occident...Les Siamois souffrent toutes sortes de Religions...

October 1686, pp.1159-60

In the NRL we see Bayle marrying his own interests with the 'goût du jour', which as a writer he knew he had to take account of. During this period religion and tolerance were popular subjects - the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the increasing importance of contacts with the Far East, the arrival in France of Oriental ambassadors. Hence, quite apart from the fact that he saw these as vital subjects which had their place in a journal like the NRL, Bayle was probably also reflecting what are likely to have been topics of general interest and concern.<sup>9</sup>

In these three works which appeared in the mid-1680s we see Bayle referring to travel literature without giving specific quotations (CQC, CP), but building up his store of material, increasing his awareness of such literature (NRL). However, in a slightly earlier work, the Pensées Diverses (1683), he had already used quite a wealth of references to récits. This work is linked thematically to the Continuation des Pensées Diverses (1705), and we have chosen to place it here, non-chronologically, in order to facilitate a comparison with the later work. The Pensées Diverses. A l'occasion de la Comète qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680 first appeared in 1682 as the Lettre à M.L.A.D.C. Docteur de Sorbonne. Où il est prouvé par plusieurs raisons tirées de la Philosophie, et de la Theologie, que les Cometes ne sont point le presage d'aucun malheur. Avec plusieurs Reflexions Morales et Politiques, et plusieurs observations Historiques; et la Refutation de quelques erreurs populaires and was suggested to Bayle by the panic caused by the appearance of a comet in 1680. In this book he sets out to explode the myths and superstitions surrounding such events, commonly believed to portend great happenings, generally tragic of course. Bayle ridicules such beliefs, showing their irrationality and the extremes to which they lead people, and he also discusses paganism and atheism and their links with superstition. He expresses the controversial view that idolatry is potentially much more dangerous than atheism, since in the former superstition plays such an important role. His whole point is that religion has no effect whatsoever on the morality or otherwise of an individual - if one refrains from

committing certain crimes it is more likely to have something to do with civil laws, which punish such crimes, than with religious belief. Hence, religion does not prevent wickedness in people, and neither does it prevent superstition, which is widespread. Reference to *récits de voyages* enables Bayle to establish the universality of superstition, which manifests itself in many different countries, often in very similar forms, and thus he breaks down ideas about superiority and differences between nations. The *récits* also provide him with examples of the virtue of Oriental countries - their religion does not appear to have made them any less virtuous than the Christians, in fact quite the opposite. Superstition, its harmful effect and universal nature, and the comparison of Christians and non-Christians constitute the essence of this work.

On the Near and Middle East four authors are referred to or quoted in the PD in a total of eleven references (although only one direct quotation is given).<sup>10</sup> One of these authors, Tavernier, is again referred to on the Far East, along with three others, and here there are eight references in all.<sup>11</sup> The Middle and Far East are thus more or less equally represented, with Ricaut's work on the Ottoman Empire having quite clearly been an important source (referred to six times and once quoted). No works on the Americas or Africa appear, and neither are there any 'source-less' references to these parts of the world. All of the authors apart from Maffeus (Historiarum Indicarum, 1603) figure elsewhere in Bayle, all but the Compagnie Hollandaise being referred to in the DHC. Ricaut is a major source, from the PD through to the DHC and the later works CPD and RQP. The PD predates the important Jesuit literature on China which was to appear in the late 1680s and 1690s, and was to become a reference-point for Bayle in the DHC and CPD. The increasing links with China and Siam, and the *Querelle des Rites* at the end of the seventeenth century, were to swell the supplies of available literature and information, increasing knowledge and awareness of numerous subjects, but writing in 1682/3 Bayle is restricted to the already known classics such as Bernier and Tavernier. Between the writing of the PD in 1683, the CQC and the CP in 1686 and the DHC in 1697, however, he became aware of a whole range of recent writing on China and Siam which he uses to great effect in his later works. His knowledge of *récits* about the Middle East also increased considerably, even if the works referred to tend to be less recent - for instance

his editing of the NRL brought writers such as Simon and Chardin to his attention. Ricaut, Spon, Tavernier and della Valle, the four writers on the Middle East who feature in the PD, remain important reference-works throughout Bayle's writing - recent publications and older works are added to his bibliography as time goes on, but even in the DHC these récits continue to be at the core of many of his arguments.

In the PD Bayle thus looks mainly towards the East for examples of what other people believe and how they live. The récits of Bernier, Tavernier and Ricaut enable him to ridicule these peoples, showing how foolish many of their beliefs are. He draws parallels between religion, paganism and atheism, indicating the universality of superstition, and hence none of the nations he refers to comes off particularly well. The Turks are at one point referred to as showing exceptional tolerance towards the Christians ('Encore aujourd'hui les Chrétiens sont tolérez dans la Turquie' p.739)<sup>12</sup> and on another occasion he points out the hypocrisy of Christian double standards (CLXV pp.499-500) but this line of argument is not really developed in the PD, where Bayle did not yet seem to have thought of exploiting the evidence for virtuous pagans, to the detriment of Christians. He seems more interested in showing just how ridiculous they all are, quoting in chapter XIX Bernier, Tavernier, della Valle and the Ambassade de la Compagnie Hollandaise to illustrate that whether one is in China, Japan or Persia, interest in and fear of astrology does not vary:

Tous les Peuples des Indes Orientales ont à peu pres le même entêtement pour l'Astrologie que les Chinois.

XIX p.52

This build-up of reference upon reference is a favourite technique with Bayle. He often likes to set them up in opposition to one another, their conflicting views serving to bring out the variety and contradictions inherent in all situations. Here, however, they also serve to weigh down the reader with proof - Bayle gives a maximum of evidence to back up his case, the weight of proof eventually becoming overwhelming. We know that superstition exists in Europe, but here, says Bayle, is evidence that it also flourishes

elsewhere in the world - for human beings 'sont si semblables à l'égard de ces passions, que l'on diroit qu'ils se copient les uns les autres' (CXXXVI p.402).<sup>13</sup> Bayle goes on to establish that it is rationally impossible for comets to be the cause of all the disasters for which they are held responsible (p.113) and he suggests other more plausible explanations. But of course rationality cannot persuade people that they are wrong if they are quite convinced of something, and Bayle is aware that superstition is firmly anchored in society. Eclipses of the Moon also provoke exaggerated reactions in many people - in the East (LXXXIX p.252) it is said that the Moon must be saved from defeat by magic forces, and the means of achieving this is through the creation of a great deal of noise.

Les Perses pratiquent encore cette ridicule cérémonie, au raport de Pietro della Valle. Elle est aussi en usage dans le Royaume de Tunquin, où l'on s'imagine que la Lune se bat alors contre un dragon.

p.252

If the first 'volet' of Bayle's attack had been to show how widespread and ridiculous superstition is, in Tome II he moves on to a longer consideration of atheism and its relationship to superstition. He restates his opinion that religion in no way prevents crimes from being committed, the ultimate example being the Christians, whose religion has never stopped them from killing (CXLI p.419). His declaration that 'il n'y a point d'Annales qui nous apprennent les moeurs et les coûtumes d'une Nation plongée dans l'Atheïsme,'(CXLV p.435) would seem to indicate that at this point he was not familiar with works such as Lescarbot's Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Sagard's Histoire du Canada or Cieza de Leon's Chrónica del Peru where atheist societies are described. None of these works is mentioned by Bayle until the DHC and CPD, where the discussion of atheism continues, Bayle in the meantime obviously having done some reading and research, discovering récits which lend weight to his argument that there are atheist societies, and that they are not necessarily more wicked than Christian ones. He states that even without any evidence one can rationally argue the existence of virtuous atheists, since their equally improbable-sounding opposite, wicked Christians, do indeed exist:

...il n'est pas plus étrange qu'un Athée vive vertueusement, qu'il est étrange qu'un Chrétien se porte à toute sorte de crimes.

CLXXIV p.531

His only example is provided by the atheist (but virtuous) Turks whom Ricaut describes (CLXXIV pp.537-8 and CLXXXII p.571) - the absence here of the 'sage Chinois' reminds us that this literature is not yet part of Bayle's available references.

In the light of the later works, especially the DHC, CPD and RQP, one gets the impression that in the PD Bayle is working mostly on a rational/logical level. He argues that since many Christians are so wicked, religion clearly does not have much effect on them, hence morality is probably no more of a problem in atheist societies than in Christian ones. He lacks concrete examples, though, and it is only in the later works that he has more evidence, quoting from authors who give accounts of atheist peoples who live very morally. This indicates a move towards direct evidence, away from supposition and theory - as he gathered more evidence, Bayle was able not only to put forward theories about atheists, but also provide actual examples. The increase in the number of references to récits between the PD and the later works indicates that Bayle found this literature particularly useful and rich in ideas, enabling him to develop his arguments. Not content with the limited arguments of the PD on atheism, too theoretical, he went on to add more material from his reading, giving in both the CPD and RQP a wealth of references which take the reasoning of the PD very much further. Similarly, recognising the potential of the moral atheist Chinese, he made sure to incorporate this example into his later writing.

Hence, between the PD and the CPD the number of references to récits increased considerably (Appendix C). The CPD appeared after the first two editions of the DHC and consequently many of Bayle's ideas and arguments from the Dictionnaire are repeated here, and on numerous occasions he refers the reader to this earlier work. On the Far East five authors are referred to or quoted - Le Comte, Le Gobien (for two different

works), Tachard, Bernier and the Abbé de Choisy. There are seventeen separate references to China and Siam (cf. PD - four authors in eight references). On the Near and Middle East only Ricaut and Bespier figure, in a total of two references - an indication of the ascendancy of the Far East, due to the increasing volume of literature on this part of the world. An important appearance is made by Africa and the Americas in the CPD, two areas absent from the PD. Five authors are either quoted or referred to on the Americas - Léri, Lescarbot, Sagard, Rochefort,<sup>14</sup> and the author of a work entitled Relation du Canada de l'année 1642. The first two were also sources for the DHC. There are in all thirteen references to the Americas, generally giving examples of atheism from this continent. The element of positive evidence for atheism, lacking in the PD has now been provided by literature perhaps discovered by Bayle during his research for the DHC. The African récits are similarly used in reference to atheism - Dapper is referred to three times, and in a fourth very general reference (XIII p.55) Bayle states that atheists are known to exist in Africa. For this expansion on his earlier work, Bayle has thus set about plugging some holes, improving and strengthening his arguments. Eight of the thirteen authors mentioned also figure in the DHC; three of them appear for the first time in the CPD (Rochefort, Sagard, Dapper) and Choisy had only previously been mentioned in passing in the NRL. Thus we see Bayle incorporating into his writing information recently gleaned from his reading.

Bayle begins volume 1 of the CPD with the argument that belief in a divinity is not an innate human characteristic and cannot be said to be universal. He brings in accounts of travellers having encountered atheists in other countries to support his rejection of the concept of universal consent. Even though many countries have been discovered by Europeans relatively recently, how many more might there be, he asks, whose laws and customs are quite unknown to us? (p.19). Evidence indicates that atheist nations do exist (p.20, p.55 - cf PD) and Bayle declares (p.6, p.20) that even if such evidence strengthens the arguments of the 'esprits forts', one cannot reject it:

On aime mieux s'inscrire en faux contre toutes les relations qui assûrent qu'il s'est trouvé des nations Athées dans le nouveau monde, que de souffrir qu'un Socinien se prevaille de

cela contre le dogme de l'idée innée de Dieu empreinte comme un caractere indelebile dans le coeur de l'homme.

Avertissement p.6

It is necessary to be as objective and fair as possible, accepting the evidence which shows that such people exist, rather than trying to gloss over certain inconvenient facts. Having asserted in the opening chapters that atheists exist (in contrast to his more tentative remarks in the PD) he goes on to give specific examples. There follow several references to and long quotations from Le Gobien's Isles Marianes (1700), where we find an account of a people who believe in the immortality of the soul but not in the existence of God. Such examples enable Bayle to attack widely-held beliefs about universal consent, showing the diversity of religious belief and practice and the importance of not attempting to establish universal laws:

...ne reconnoissoient aucune divinité, et avant qu'on leur eust prêsché l'Evangile, ils n'avoient pas la moindre idée de religion. Ils estoient sans Temples, sans autels, sans sacrifices, sans Prestres.

p.57

In Chapter XVIII (p.68) Bayle introduces the example of Turkish atheists described by Ricaut in order to extend his argument and make it clear that he is not simply basing his claims on one or two examples, but that he is dealing with a fairly widespread phenomenon. The quotations from travellers also serve to show that atheism has been observed everywhere in the world. Bayle keeps up a continual barrage of remarks about atheism, backed up with quotations from récits, and this growing use of such literature is an indication of its usefulness to him.

Having established the existence of atheism in many parts of the world, Bayle counters the argument according to which atheism is only to be expected from the 'barbares' of the Americas and Africa by reminding us of the Chinese, 'nation savante et ingenieuse autant qu'aucune autre' (p.73) and yet atheist. He asks how Europeans can come to terms with the fact that this highly developed nation consists of so many non-believers. In the following chapters (XXVII - XXX) he launches into a discussion of

Chinese religion, explaining the opposition between the Jesuits (who declared the Chinese to have had knowledge of Christianity many centuries earlier) and the Sorbonne (which eventually censured this opinion as unacceptable). The Sorbonne ruling was a point in Bayle's favour, contradicting as it did arguments for universal consent. The example of the Chinese was immensely important to Bayle, since they were recognised as having many admirable qualities and could not simply be written off as 'sauvages.' If people were presented with proof of the existence of a highly-ordered but apparently areligious society, they could well be forced to modify their views.

This approach doubles with the one adopted by Bayle in volume II, where there is a long section on atheism in the Americas. Once again he draws on a number of authors, seeking to throw his net as wide as possible. He refers to Léri, Lescarbot and Sagard, the latter being quoted very often, but also being criticised for his muddled and contradictory statements. The large number of page-references given by Bayle (on p.429 six to Lescarbot, on p.430 five to Sagard, on p.434 another four to Sagard) indicates that he aims to impress the reader with the weight of evidence available, working into the CPD the massive number of examples which back up what he is saying. At the same time he insists that generalisations can be dangerous and tries hard to show that diversity is an important factor. He criticises Sagard, for instance, for not always being clear, and for seeming to contradict himself, and concludes that the most one can say is that

Quelques peuples du Canada sont absolument sans religion; quelques autres ne le sont pas.

pp.428-9

This same desire to highlight diversity leads him to refer to Dapper's Description de l'Afrique where both idolaters and atheists are described, the former no more moral than the latter. Dapper's account comes in at this point to back up what Bayle has said about atheists in the Americas and the Far East, and to bring us back to an earlier argument according to which China is the only civilised atheist nation. From sources such as

Dapper and Le Gobien's Isles Mariannes Bayle concludes that this is not the case, all the evidence seeming to indicate that organised atheist societies do exist outside China. The 'Cafres' for instance are atheist but have laws against crime and a policing system, and the people in the Iles Mariannes would seem to be able to boast a better society than many Christians. Bayle repeats in Chapter CXLV (pp.730-2) that the Africans described by Dapper had very high standards, and he even points out that despite being Dutch and having no particular reason to favour the Africans, the author is full of praise for them.

Beginning by establishing the existence of atheists in the world, Bayle has moved on to concrete examples, concentrating first of all on the obvious example of the Chinese. Having argued that atheists can be virtuous, and more moral than idolaters or perhaps even Christians, he then deals with the more controversial information from travellers in Canada and Africa, who maintain that people there are atheist and yet moral. Hence, step by step, Bayle has led us to admitting the possibility of finding morality and atheism together. He does not restrict his arguments to the example of the Chinese, but also introduces the more unusual areas of Canada and Africa, areas which he himself touched on relatively little up until the CPD and the RPO. He seems to have become increasingly aware of their usefulness in the debate on atheism. The Chinese example was immensely important, but equally so was the information about less developed societies, information which was to be exploited by Bayle in the CPD. In concluding this work he ironically remarks that even the Jesuits in China had to bow to the evidence and accept that there at least atheists were more respected than idolaters:

...la plupart des gens lettrez de la Chine sont Athées, et...leurs moeurs sont meilleures sans comparaison que celles des Bonzes ou des Prêtres des Idoles...Cela fut cause que les Jesuites qui s'etoient habillez au commencement comme les Bonzes, s'habillerent en suite comme les lettrez.

p.785

The Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial first appeared in two volumes in 1704, expanding to five volumes between 1704 and 1707. Here Bayle takes up again, in a

fairly rambling manner, the discussion of superstition, magic, idolatry and atheism, most of the debate on these topics being contained in volumes 1, 2 and 4. As we have seen in his other works, he again refers quite extensively to *récits de voyages*. On the Far East five authors or works figure in a total of eleven references: *Le Comte*, *Le Gobien*, the *Ambassade de la Compagnie Hollandaise vers l'Empereur du Japon* (1686), the *Apologie des Dominicains Missionnaires de la Chine* (1699) and the *Description de l'Ile de Formosa* (1705). The first three had been used by Bayle in the PD, CPD and DHC, the last two appear only in the RQP. This attests once again to Bayle's ongoing interest in travel literature, which meant that he continued to collect and use material right up to his final work. The Near/Middle East totals five authors and seven references, four of the authors by now familiar (Ricaut, Guillet, Tavernier and Chardin) and a fifth, du Vignau, whose *Etat présent de la puissance ottomane* (1687) receives a mention. Most of the literature being used by Bayle at this point is thus familiar - seven out of ten authors on the Orient are already well known to us. The Americas and Africa with respectively one author (in three references) and two authors (in four references) follow the pattern established above, and are little mentioned. Bosman's *Voyage de Guinée* (1705) figures here for the first time, being a very recent work, as is La Hontan's *Suite du Voyage de l'Amerique* (1703). In the RQP the ascendancy of the East is confirmed, the main subject under discussion, various aspects of religion, appearing to lend itself to this kind of example. Despite the importance of works which Bayle has been referring to since the PD it is interesting even at this late stage to see him incorporating new material into his work - Bosman on religion, the *Description de l'Ile de Formosa* on the problems of getting the Japanese to accept Predestination. He was keen, then, to keep abreast of new material, quoting from it whenever it could be useful. Right up to his death he worked on replying to Protestant critics such as Bernard (on universal consent, T.II p.292) and Jaquelot (T.III).<sup>15</sup> Bernard doubted the veracity of travellers' tales recounting atheist nations (T.II pp.299- 303) and maintained that all peoples had innate knowledge of God, to which Bayle replied in the RQP that since the whole world was not yet known to Europeans, it would be foolish to jump to conclusions (p.296), and that in any case much reliable evidence existed to the contrary. Many theologians, he argues (T.II p.298) have accepted

the validity of travellers' accounts, and he criticises those who set out to find proof for their theories of universality just as much as those who are deliberately looking for signs of atheism. Both types of reader and traveller, he warns, are so blinded by their preconceptions that they are unlikely to come up with reliable results (p.302). In T.I Bayle had repeated many of his ideas on superstition and magic, and their universality:

Il [Pline] admire que malgré tant de discordes tous les païs du monde, ceux mêmes qui étoient inconnus les uns aux autres, se soient acordez à cultiver la Magie...Les decouvertes du nouveau monde en Orient, et en Occident nous ont appris qu'elle [la superstition] s'est fourrée par tout.

p.22

In Tome 4 he extends the debate on atheism beyond simply replying to other writers, as in Tome 3. He gives a wealth of references to authors (Tavernier, Dapper, Le Gobien) who have described atheism in Africa and the Orient, and makes the important point (T.IV p.140) that the atheism of the Chinese philosophers is particularly problematic for theologians because it is a form of 'positive atheism' - that is, they are aware of the alternatives and have consciously adopted atheism, unlike the 'negative atheism' of the Americans, stemming from ignorance. Bayle establishes here the viability of atheism, according to him preferable to idolatry. He once more calls on récits de voyages to illustrate his claim that atheist societies not only exist but flourish (Le Gobien, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses), religion and laws as Europeans know them not being vital for the establishment of a society:

Je suis persuadé que l'Empereur de la Chine compte plus sur la fidélité de la secte des Lettrez, que sur celle des Idolâtres.

T.IV p.296

As elsewhere Bayle underlines that observance of religious laws generally has little to do with keeping social order, which is more likely to be created by other forces, such as the fear of punishment or the loss of honour. Bosman is quoted in illustration of the fact that

utility as much as anything else may be one reason why humans have gods (pp.367-71) and in T. 5 a passing reference to La Hontan (pp.236-7) points out once more that religion does little to reduce crime if not backed up by laws.

The RQP is then largely a reiteration of familiar arguments, woven around replies to his old adversaries in the Calvinist camp in the last days of his life. What is perhaps important is that we see Bayle still in this final work drawing very heavily on *récits* to support and illustrate his ideas. We have here a considerable number of references, in quotations or passing references with or without a specified source - most are to familiar works which figure elsewhere in Bayle, but some are from very recent works appearing here for the first time. The 'no source' section is fairly important, indicating the extent to which Bayle's work is peppered with unattributable comments, slipped in here and there, adding imperceptibly to his arguments. These 'source-less' references, just as much as the specific page-references, show just how important travel accounts had become for Bayle and how much he relied on them.

This survey of Bayle's work outside the Dictionnaire enables us to establish a certain pattern in his use of travel literature which is maintained in the DHC. The East, in the early 1680s the Near and Middle East and later in the century the Far East, dominates as far as sources for references are concerned. The Americas and to a lesser extent Africa do figure, but they definitely play a rather minor role, Bayle obviously having been aware of travel accounts to these parts of the world, but using them relatively infrequently. We can also point to the changes which occur over the years - the rapid introduction of recently published material, the exploitation of Jesuit books on China and Siam and the improvement of major arguments through the use of material from *récits* (for example between the PD and the CPD a more developed argument on atheism). One of the most fascinating aspects of this is the way in which Bayle frequently returned to familiar sources whilst at the same time remaining open to and constantly incorporating into his writing new material. Right up until the final works, CPD and RQP, and in the additions made for the 1720 edition of the DHC, we find new material appearing alongside the 'old familiars' upon which Bayle drew from the 1680s onwards. Outside the DHC Bayle most

often uses récits in connection with subjects such as religion, superstition and atheism, but within these topics there is considerable evolution between the earlier and later works, his references broadening out and enabling him to refer not only to the Middle East but also to China, Canada and Africa. In the twenty years which separate the PD and the CPD he had amongst other things edited the NRL and produced the DHC, picking up along the way vast amounts of invaluable information relating to récits. The results of this research and reading we see in his later works, where references of all types, both general and specific, have considerably increased.

(1) In his letters home Bayle constantly asks for news and laments that he hears so little from his family (letters à son frère 31 July 1673 and à son père 19 November 1674). He expresses concern about Joseph's education (9 March 1675) and in a letter to Joseph grieves over the death of their mother (14 June 1675). See Nouvelles Lettres de Mr P. Bayle (La Haye, Van Duren, 1739)

(2) J.Garrisson, L'Edit de Nantes et sa Révocation. Histoire d'une Intolerance (Paris, 1985), p.50, p.79, pp.88-90.

E.Labrousse, "Une foi, une loi, un roi ?" La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes (Genève, 1985), p.29.

(3) Protestant schools were closed, Pellisson's 'caisse de conversions' was created, and Huguenots were forbidden to become midwives, joiners, jewellers, lawyers...

See John B.Wolf, Louis XIV (London, 1968), p.387.

(4) In the DHC Bayle also comments on the perils of excessive tolerance. For example in Abdas B and Milton O.

(5) He takes up this important point once more in the DHC, for instance in Mahomet P and Mahomet AA.

(6) February 1685 pp.199-203

January 1686 pp.87-91

October 1686 pp.1151-1161

(7) March 1684 pp.66-72

April 1684 pp.206-207

May 1684 pp.228-243

October 1684 pp.247-253

September 1686 pp.1061-1080

October 1686 pp.1124-1143

(8) August 1684 pp.87-89

October 1685 pp.1060-1163

(9) The extent to which récits were concerned with the discussion of religion is commented upon by Bayle in the RQP where he remarks (T.IV ch. XII) that Le Gobien's silence on the subject in one of his works is a little suspect:

...ne marque quoi que ce soit concernant la religion de ces Insulaires...Il semble qu'il y ait quelque mystere dans le silence qu'il a gardé sur un article que les nouvelles relations d'un peuple n'oublent jamais.

p.159

(10) Ricaut is referred to seven times, della Valle twice, Spon once and Tavernier once.

(11) Bernier is referred to twice, la Cie Hollandaise twice, Tavernier twice and Maffeus once (there is also one general reference).

(12) Note Bayle's irony:

On leur [aux Chrétiens] permet bien de réparer les toits et les lambris des Eglises qu'ils occupent de tems immémorial; mais on ne leur permet pas ni d'en construire de nouvelles, ni d'en agrandir quelqu'une, ni de rebâtir celles qui sont tombées en ruine: à peu près comme nous obligeons les Huguenots à se contenter des Temples qu'ils avoient sous le regne de Henri le Grand. Ce sont des persécutions, si vous voulez; mais il faut convenir cependant, que l'artifice y regne plus que la violence, et ceux qui travaillent à la ruine du Calvinisme, n'oseroient me le nier, car ils se feroient eux-mêmes leur procès.

Ch.CCXLIV

(13) ...on diroit qu'ils s'étoient donné le mot pour débiter les mêmes folies les uns dans l'Orient et les autres dans l'Occident. Quel concert admirable entre des gens qui ne s'étoient jamais vûs, et qui n'avoient jamais ouï parler les uns des autres!

Taulerus F

(14) The Dictionnaire des Anonymes identifies Rochefort as Louis de Poincy. In a note on p.731 of the CPD Bayle refers to Rochefort as a 'Ministre de l'Eglise Wallonne de Rotterdam'.

(15) Si la religion étoit un attribut essentiel à l'espece humaine, on n'auroit besoin ni de voyages, ni de relations de voyages, pour pouvoir dire véritablement que tous les peuples du monde reconnoissent la Divinité, et l'ont toujours reconnuë, et la reconoîtront toujours.

**Chapter VIII: Récits de voyages in the Works of La Mothe le Vayer,  
Moréri and Fontenelle and in Seventeenth Century Journals**

Alongside our study of Bayle's use of récits de voyages throughout his works we can also gain additional insights into the subject by establishing comparisons with other authors of the period. This will enable us to put into perspective the use of récits by Bayle, showing how his methods and the extent of his debt often differ from those of other writers. His remarks frequently go further, developing information from récits and using it to come to conclusions on important topics. For the purposes of such a comparison, two significant authors of this period are La Mothe le Vayer and Fontenelle, who are often linked with Bayle. Other sources can provide information about how many récits were published during this period, and hence give tentative indications as to what percentage of published récits Bayle appeared to be aware of. These sources can also indicate whether or not the numbers of accounts of journeys to different parts of the world which we have observed in Bayle reflect reality. That is, do the accounts referred to by Bayle reflect accurately the literature available or not? The journals referred to for this study are the Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans, Le Journal des Scavans, the Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique, the Bibliothèque Choisie and the Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne. Further statistics are provided by Les sources de l'histoire de France - XVIIe siècle (1610-1715) by Bourgeois and André (see Appendices D and E).<sup>1</sup>

Let us begin this survey by looking at Moréri, whose Grand Dictionnaire Historique, first published in 1674, inspired Bayle to produce his own dictionary.<sup>2</sup> Moréri's work was extremely successful and quickly went through several editions (1681, 1683, 1688, 1692, 1696, 1698, 1699, 1702, 1704, 1707...), gradually increasing in size from one volume in the 1674 edition to eight in 1740 and ten in 1759. Although it was clear from the start that the dictionary contained a considerable number of errors, the lack of any other similar work and the immense amount of work which any effective revision made inevitable, meant that the Moréri continued to be widely read and reprinted. After

the death of Moréri in 1681 the editing, revision and augmentation of the GDH were taken on by a series of editors (including Jean Leclerc from the sixth edition onwards) and a number of supplements, with contributions from different authors, were published. However, the task of putting right existing errors and at the same time avoiding the introduction of new ones meant that the GDH was never really able to 'catch up on itself' and editors had difficulty producing a near faultless edition. This then was the setting for Bayle's Projet for a Dictionnaire de fautes (1692) in which he planned to catalogue all the historical inaccuracies encountered in Moréri and elsewhere. He intended that his work should serve as a kind of supplement, the reader being able to refer to it in order to correct possible errors. Originally, he only planned to deal with mistakes which he had encountered in the course of his reading, not deeming it necessary to repeat correct information. For, as he was later to write in the Préface of the 1697 edition of the Dictionnaire, 'faut-il faire acheter deux fois les mêmes histoires?' (p.3). In the event, though, public opinion persuaded Bayle to drop his plan for a 'dictionnaire de fautes', considered too dry and fastidious, and turn his attention to the writing of a new dictionary, from scratch. He remained keen, however, to 'ne rien dire de ce qui se trouve déjà dans les autres Dictionnaires' (p.3) and hence the absence of articles on subjects which he felt had already been covered well. Although he constantly refers to the errors made by Moréri and other writers, the DHC is more lively and less dry than the originally proposed work would have been. A constant concern for historical accuracy is evident throughout the Dictionnaire for although obliged to abandon his original idea, judged to be 'contre le goût general' (Préface, p.1), Bayle remained keen to root out error and report everything that he could find out on specific subjects. In order to have been really useful a dictionnaire de fautes would indeed have had to have been as comprehensive as possible, and in the DHC we find traces of this desire to omit no fact or correction, however small. In reply to those critics of his Projet who said that some of the inaccuracies he planned to correct were minor points, Bayle agrees (in the Préface), declaring that ultimately none of them is important, or alternatively they are equally important and unimportant. For whereas small details can lead to catastrophic conclusions, apparently important events may have no influence at all. All facts should

be treated the same, with potentially equal weight and significance, for since absolute truth is so elusive and humans necessarily live in error, there seems little point in attempting to distinguish between 'small errors' and 'large errors'.

Bayle himself declared this emphasis upon accuracy to be one of the features of his work, distinguishing it from others:

Il y a une différence très notable entre les autres Dictionnaires Historiques et celui-ci...J'examine, je discute, je prouve, je réfute selon l'occasion...On me trouvera toujours prêt à faire agréablement ce que la justice et la vérité demandent.

Priolo B

Whereas Moréri relates historical events, including much which is erroneous, in a very uncritical fashion, Bayle constantly criticises, reevaluates and corrects, giving in the footnotes long lists of mistakes which he has unearthed in Moréri and elsewhere. This important difference is already evident in the respective titles of the two works - the combination of 'historique' and 'critique' by Bayle indicates that his approach to the writing of history was not the same as Moréri's. He realised that it was impossible to expect to be able to simply recount facts, since as soon as one starts to write history the simplest of facts is surrounded with different interpretations, individual points of view, the historian's subjectivity. He seeks the truth, whilst remaining aware of the difficulty of his enterprise, and very often can simply indicate possible answers without being able to give definite conclusions. This critical approach is reflected in the form of the articles in the Dictionnaire, very different from that adopted in the Grand Dictionnaire Historique. In the Moréri articles progress in a linear fashion, with few diversions or developments not directly relevant to the principal subject of the article. All the information is provided within the articles, the margins containing nothing more than additional references to other works and page-references. Of Bayle, however, Cassirer has said that 'un article de son Dictionnaire est un polype vivant qui se partage lui-même en une foule d'autres polypes, tous vivants et s'engendrant les uns les autres' (p.225). Articles are indeed

followed by long footnotes, often longer than the main articles and sometimes containing information which is more important or more interesting. Very often facts are contained in the text and Bayle's own thoughts in the footnotes, but the suggestion that he attempted to hide away controversial comments in the notes (cf. *L'Encyclopédie*) has been rejected by critics (Labrousse T.1 p.238, Sandberg p.101). With this method of footnotes however he is able to introduce all the 'petits faits' which he considers to be so important (Brunetière p.129) - in a footnote he can easily develop small details, letting his pen wander in various directions, more or less linked to the subject in hand. Dubois (p.19) comments that this apparent lack of method is in itself a method, since it can be a means of leading the reader to unexpected conclusions. Hazard also remarks that 'l'expression suprême de sa pensée, on ne la rencontre que par exception à l'endroit où on l'attend' (T.1 p.140).<sup>3</sup> If these footnotes are a good means of transmitting this kind of information, they also seem to correspond with Bayle's character (Labrousse T.1 p.240) which often displays a dislike of the linear approach, not wishing to go too directly from A to B.

This procedure and this structure - the two are finally inseparable - is open-ended. In moving from article to remarques, from remarques to Eclaircissements, Bayle engenders doubt without reaching the fixity of equipollence...For the dialogical structure of doubt engenders further inquiry...Bayle's skepticism is a search for truth, and although his encyclopedia, like all books, must ultimately stop, its form is emblematic of an inclusive procedure that cannot be enclosed in any book, a procedure that never stops.

Kenshur, p.315

Here then are major differences regarding the form of these two works. As for the content, we note once more considerable divergence between Bayle and Moréri, this also being true for the specific subject of the récits de voyages. Whereas Bayle seems to make a point of including anecdotes, funny stories, scabrous rumours, and making controversial comments, often leaving himself open to the accusation of obscenity (so much so that in subsequent editions he appended an 'éclaircissement' on the subject), the Moréri is in comparison dry and serious. Bayle makes light of serious subjects on occasions, by introducing a note of humour or recounting an amusing story which he has

read or heard. He does not avoid making controversial comments about well-known Biblical or historical figures (e.g. in David), comments which earned him attacks and denunciations from various quarters. The GDH is much more staid and sensible, sticking quite rigidly to the facts, for Moréri himself displayed a very definite pro-Christian attitude. He was a priest and very devout, and even though later editions were prepared by men like Leclerc, with different religious views, this tone remained.

Although he thought a number of Moréri's articles manifested a Catholic bias, he did not revise them, but countered them elsewhere in the text with his own Protestant point of view.

Miller p.19 (In Kafker pp.13-52)

Je soumetts aussi cét Ouvrage au jugement de l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, que je reconnois pour ma bonne et unique Mere, et pour ma Maitresse. Je souscrits par avance à toutes ses censures; parce que je fais gloire de dire avec un S.Evêque de Barcelone, que Chrétien est mon nom, et Catholique mon surnom.

GDH Préface (éd. 1694).

Despite his penchant for 'gauloiseries' Bayle is nonetheless more serious than Moréri when it comes to recording sources and page-references. In the name of historical accuracy, Bayle is meticulous about providing precise references, and he seldom if ever gives a quotation or refers to a book or text without providing further details. Hence the reader who wishes to do so will be able to refer to the original and not simply have to assume that Bayle is quoting accurately. The Moréri on the other hand tends to give fewer references, often much more general (for example to a particular work rather than with specific page-references) and on many occasions authors are paraphrased rather than directly quoted. This is in contrast to the DHC where quotations are used extensively, in order to avoid unnecessary inaccuracy creeping in.

As for the récits de voyages and their role in these two dictionaries differences are indicated in Appendix D, where we show the occurrence of récits in the 1694, 1702, 1731, 1740 and 1759 editions of the GDH. For each of the articles in which travel accounts are mentioned or quoted in the DHC, or in which their influence is discernable, we have

checked the corresponding article in the *Moréri*, the aim being to establish whether or not there is a clear difference in the way the *récits* are treated and the frequency with which they occur in the two works. In the majority of cases the article either does not appear in the *Moréri* or else appears without any reference to *récits*. Out of a total of 58 articles in the *DHC*, 16 occur in the *Moréri* with references to travel or travel-writers - nine refer to travellers, translators and travel-writers and seven deal with religions and foreign countries.<sup>4</sup> This would seem to suggest that in the *Moréri* *récits* appear more often in articles where they would be expected, whereas Bayle not only refers to *récits* more frequently, but does so in articles which have no obvious link with travel. Bayle's discursive style means that he is able to develop arguments in unexpected directions, making the most of opportunities to draw comparisons with other nations based on information from *récits*. In articles such as *Combabus*, *Lucrece* and *Milton* for instance the *récits* play an important role in the *DHC* but in the *Moréri* these articles either do not appear or contain no references to travel literature. Bayle integrates his comments into articles which are not obviously about travel, and his remarks are thus less predictable than *Moréri*'s, occurring in articles whose titles are the names of places or travellers. Later editions of the *Moréri* were certainly influenced by the *DHC* - for instance the appearance of articles such as *Abudhaheer*, *Acuña*, *Léri* and *Nephes Ogli* after 1702 and the addition of references to *récits* in articles where no such references previously occurred, for example *Mahomet*. Eighteenth-century editions of the *GDH* refer to Bayle (see Appendix D) but even in the final, greatly expanded ten-volume edition of 1759, whose editors knew and used Bayle's work, the differences are clearly evident. Even in articles which appear in the *GDH* but not in the *DHC* (*Chine*, *Inde*, *Siam*, *Tonquin*, all present in the 1694 edition) a different treatment of the *récits* is noticeable.

In the *Moréri* the articles are on the whole shorter than in Bayle, with fewer quotations, and a smaller number of sources. For example, Bayle's article *Leon* is long and important, developing ideas on vice and virtue and quoting abundantly from the work in question to illustrate different points. The corresponding article in *Moréri* (in 1731) is short with few quotations, although as in eight more of these articles the reader is also referred to the *DHC* in later editions. Similarly in *Fatime* (1731) Bayle refers to five

authors where Moréri gives two and in Mahomet Bayle refers to ten authors against two in the 1731 Moréri. Although in a few articles Moréri has more sources than Bayle (Brachmanes, Japon) in the DHC récits are consistently quoted at greater length and in more articles, playing the important role of serving to draw comparisons between different nations and religions. The récits are not integrated into the GDH in this way, there they appear more to be additions, appended for completeness rather than playing a major role, and they do not serve to develop important arguments, as is the case in the Dictionnaire. Bayle not only constructs whole articles around récits but also introduces them unexpectedly in order to expand his arguments into comparisons between Biblical and modern times or between Europe and other continents. This is not the case in the Moréri, where, as we have already remarked, the articles are more purely factual. Whereas in the GDH the article Milton contains no comments on Milton's views on tolerance and only mentions in passing his religious beliefs, Bayle takes the opportunity to discuss tolerance and persecution. Having talked about the life and works of this English Protestant, Bayle develops his ideas on tolerance by introducing the example of China and the Chinese reaction to this problem, establishing comparisons between England and France, Europe and China. Bayle, then, is consistently going further in his exploitation of the potential of the récits for provoking debate and opening up the mind to new ideas. In addition, in articles where direct parallels with Christianity suggest themselves, comments in the Moréri are on the whole more critical of other religions and more defensive. In Nephes Ogli for instance, which discusses 'virgin births' in Turkey, the GDH (1731 edition, this article did not appear in 1694 or 1702) makes a point of stressing that only Christ's virgin birth is genuine, all others being fakes copied from the Christian model. Since this article only appears in post-DHC editions it may well have been suggested by this work, but again the tone is very different.

We can sum up by saying that Bayle's attitude is generally more open - he is willing to accept information from all sorts of sources, as long as they are reliable, and is clearly aware of the important contribution which could be made by travel literature to debates on tolerance and cultural relativity. This attitude on the part of Bayle is shown particularly well in Appendix D (cf. Appendices B and C), which indicates how much

more central and important the récits are in the DHC than in the GDH. Set alongside a similar work which also aimed to record and disseminate information, we consistently find Bayle referring to travel literature more frequently, at greater length, with greater precision and in more articles. In doing so he accords more importance to the said literature and sets himself apart from other writers in his use of it.

On various occasions Bayle uses La Mothe le Vayer as a source for information on récits which he had not himself read and his respect for and links with this writer have been commented upon by others.<sup>5</sup> It would perhaps be interesting, then, to look in a little more detail at La Mothe's use of récits in his writing. His works are in fact dotted with references to travel and travel literature which contribute to the undermining of European traditions and prejudices. Precise indications of author, title and page are not always given, unlike in Bayle, although La Mothe does sometimes indicate that a particular idea comes from a certain writer. He tends mostly to paraphrase or exploit general ideas rather than quote directly, and seems to prefer to make brief passing references to travel and other lands, not developing these ideas at length. However, as with so many other writers, it is the cumulative effect of all these comments which finally has such an important impact, lending weight to La Mothe's contention that when considering the world, its diversity and the relativity of everything should never be forgotten, and generalisations should be avoided. The multitude of different ideas and ways of life in the world should prevent us, says La Mothe, from falling into the trap of categorisation and the acceptance of assumptions and preconceptions, and it is by citing the examples of other peoples, of which he has become aware through his reading of travel literature, that he intends to convince us of this.

The Americas and China are referred to quite frequently by La Mothe, and in De la Vertu des Payens he uses the discovery of previously unknown lands as an argument against the universality of Christianity. According to Trigault and Ricci, Jesuit missionaries in China, it is quite possible that many Chinese live very morally by following their traditional beliefs:

Le Pere Trigault suivant les memoires du Pere Ricius l'un des Apostres de la Chine, ne doute point que beaucoup de vertueus Chinois n'ayent peu se sauver en observant la simple Loy de nature, et avec le secours special du seul Dieu qu'ils reconnoissoient pour Autheur du Ciel et de la terre.

pp.33-34

He develops this line of argument by introducing the examples of Japan and America, which not only invalidate Christianity's claim to universality but also indicate that these peoples have got along perfectly well without it for some time and surely cannot all have been damned, despite their ignorance (cf. Rimini A):

Que pouvons-nous dire aujourdhuy apres la descouverte de l'une et de l'autre Inde, et la certitude que nous avons d'une terre Australe iusques icy inconnuë...

p.48

...la Foy n'a pas esté publiée par tout le monde dés les premiers temps du Christianisme, puis qu'il n'y a pas plus d'un siecle et demy que les voyages de long cours l'ont portée aus Indes...Comment peut-on donc s'imaginer qu'un pauvre Americain qui n'avoit iamais oüy parler de la vraye religion il y a deus cens ans, ne peust deslors en nulle façon esviter les peines eternelles, encore qu'il vescu moralement bien...

pp.50-51

The Japanese Christians too, he says, complained to François Xavier that 'Dieu les avoit traittez avec tant de desavantages, qu'ils ne recevoient son Evangile qu'apres tous les autres' (p.49) and La Mothe, perhaps slightly tongue in cheek, declares that it is only because 'la Foy nous y oblige' (p.49) that one continues to 'croire pieusement' that 'les hommes qu'on a trouvez dans cet autre Hemisphere soient venus d'Adam, et n'ayent eu qu'une mesme origine avecque nous'. This seems to be a nod in the direction of La Peyrère, who formed a theory about the 'pre-adamites' which was condemned by the Church. Bayle mentions his works in Jonas(Arn), this being the name of the Icelandic

writer from whom La Peyrère says he obtained information for his Relation de l'Islande.<sup>6</sup> La Mothe thus exploits the information provided by travel literature by obliquely attacking or criticising official theses in this way, making a point without going so far as to mount a full-scale attack or get into dangerous waters.

Having expressed his doubts about the universality of Christianity and the need to be Christian in order to be saved, La Mothe goes on in De la Vertu des Payens to affirm that some people do not believe in God and yet neither are they idolatrous. Despite not being Christian, they are perfectly capable of living virtuous lives:

...il peut y avoir des hommes...qui vivent reglement et vertueusement dans la loy de Nature.

pp.53-54

Indeed, the 'Bramins' believed themselves to have reached such a degree of perfection that they became incapable of sin (p.183) and 'Iean Leon nous fait voir dans son Affrique une espece de Religieus, qui croyent parvenir par cinquante degrez d'austerité à une nature si Angelique...qu'ils ne sçauoient plus pecher' (pp.183-4). These people believe themselves to be virtuous, and La Mothe seems to think this is quite reasonable. Chinese annals which go back 4000 years indicate that this nation is not guilty of idolatry (p.280) and both missionaries and 'relations de Chine' attest to their virtue:

...plusieurs Chinois ayant moralement bien vescu dans la simple observation du Doict [sic] de Nature, ont peu faire leur salut eternel, par une bonté et une assistance particuliere de leur Createur.

p.279

La Mothe stresses the importance of recognising the qualities of other religions, which whilst not agreeing entirely with Christianity have essential tenets of virtue which should be respected:

...elles [les religions orientales] ont neantmoins de tres bonnes maximes, et la pluspart de leurs preceptes...sont tres-conformes à la lumiere naturelle, et aus veritez du Christianisme.

p.289

Perhaps in order to balance out his previous comments, and indicate that he does not accept absolutely all systems and beliefs, La Mothe declares towards the end of De la Vertu des Payens that of course idolatry is still practised in the world and should be condemned. These comments are aimed perhaps at preventing him from being accused of heterodoxy or else at proving how objective he aims to be. Although prepared to recognise virtue in religions other than Christianity, he does not intend to sanction all forms of behaviour and regard them all as equally acceptable.

Je sçay bien qu'il y a encore des Idolatres dans le monde, et qu'il se trouve en nos iours des hommes qui adorent dans l'une et dans l'autre Inde les animaux, et les choses mesmes inanimées, qu'ils craignent, où qui leur proffitent. La damnable Secte de Mahomet s'estend par toutes les trois parties de l'ancien hemisphere. Et le nombre des Athées y est paravanture plus grand qu'il ne fut iamais.

p.346

So throughout De la Vertu des Payens La Mothe exploits the possibilities of travel literature, using examples drawn from the Chinese, the Arabs and the Americans to throw light on particular European beliefs or practices. His comments are not usually very lengthy but provide an element of criticism which encourages the reader to relativise and think objectively.

This method which consists of dotting references to other countries throughout a text is continued in the shorter pieces on a variety of subjects which are contained in the Oeuvres de François de la Mothe le Vayer. The examples of other peoples are particularly useful to La Mothe when he talks about religion - he illustrates his comments with

examples of societies where people do not believe in the immortality of the soul and recounts bizarre religious practices, all of this supporting his contention that any attempt to generalise or establish universal truths should be rejected. In one country life-after-death is accepted without question, in another it is rejected as absurd. What plan or system is there in all this, La Mothe seems to be asking. He subtly undermines assumptions and preconceptions, rejecting simplistic solutions which do not take account of the multitude of possibilities which exist in the world. In the Petit Discours Chrestien de l'immortalité de l'ame La Mothe illustrates the fact that all over the world there are different beliefs about death. In China and Japan for instance, the immortality of the soul is not admitted by everyone:

Encore aujourd'hui la plupart des Mandarins de la Chine vivent en cette erreur...Les Relations du Japon disent le mesme de quelques-uns de leurs Bonzes...il y a une Secte de Prestres Chinois...qui preschent cette detestable doctrine, et d'autres qui veulent que le Ciel ne soit que pour les bestes brutes qui ont tant souffert en ce monde...

V.1 p.501

However, there are other examples which show opposite beliefs, since some Chinese and Japanese priests 'donnent communément des Lettres de change pour l'autre monde, qui doivent estres exigibles au Royaume de la Lune' (p.503) and elsewhere in the world belief in the immortality of the soul can be observed:

...au lieu que quelques Africains...veulent qu'elles s'aillent placer au sortir du corps dans le Ciel du Soleil...Quant à l'Amerique, tant Australe que Septentrionale, par toute l'estenduë de ces deux grands Empires de Cusco et de Mexique, on ne doutoit point de l'Immortalité de l'Ame; et les Peuples mesmes vagabonds en estoient si persuadez, qu'ils l'attribuoient aux bestes, et jusques aux choses inanimées. Nos Sauvages de Canada philosophent tous les jours de la sorte parmi les bois; et les Relations des Hurons leurs proches voisins, portent qu'ils se promettent de monter là haut après leur mort...

p.503

References to Trigault on China and Sagard on Canada add weight to La Mothe's comments here, indicating an awareness of a number of récits, and a desire to provide his reader with this kind of supplementary information. He underlines the fact that his remarks are not based on hypotheses or mere suggestions, but on accounts from travellers. The subject of death and the immortality of the soul lends itself very well to the comparative approach through the use of travel literature, as we see again in De la Vie et de la Mort where different attitudes to death are discussed:

...les Hurons tout barbares qu'ils sont, n'ont nulle apprehension de la mort, parce qu'ils la tiennent pour un passage à une vie fort peu differente de celle-ci, où ils doivent posseder les mesmes choses qui leur ont esté cheres, et qu'on enterre avec eux pour cet effect.

V.2 p.163

Apart from topics such as this where the use of récits is perhaps a fairly obvious choice, La Mothe regularly refers to them in less predictable contexts. For instance in Des Habits et de leurs modes differentes he uses the example of the Jesuits in China to show how necessary it is to dress according to the country where you are living (V.2 p.49). In De la bonne chere he refers to an account of Tibet, where, it is said, the priests drink wine in order to say their prayers better (V.2 p.220). In De l'ingratitude he mentions having read about animal hospitals in China, animals being considered more helpless and vulnerable than humans and hence more in need of hospitals (V.2 p.277). In Des Couleurs he shows how colours symbolise different things in each country - white for mourning in China, p.298; black considered very highly by the Incas, p.299. Even in La Physique du Prince he gives examples of how different nations have reacted towards thunder:

Il n'y a eu que les Ethiopiens, si l'on en croit Plutarque, qui n'ont jamais apprehendé le Tonnerre. Nos Hurons de Canada ne sont pas de mesme, ils se le figurent comme un dangereux oiseau, qu'ils prient les François d'aller tuer.

V.1 pp.967-8

Again, in Des Monstres both Africa and Siam are referred to (V.2 p.325), in De la Maladie du Roy Chinese medicine is mentioned (V.2 p.816) and in Des Voyages he suggests punishing criminals by sending them to the Terre Australe (V.2 p.43)! The comments are sometimes accompanied in the margin by an indication of the author who provided the information (Sagard and Belon in De la Physique du Prince, Champlain and the Jesuits in Des Voyages, Trigault in Des Couleurs) but direct quotations are fairly rare. Unlike Bayle, La Mothe mostly paraphrases his sources, using their ideas and weaving their arguments into his texts but not always quoting them or giving precise page and chapter references (although on occasions he gives careful references, as in the Petit Discours). Most of the time he makes fairly general use of travel literature as in the following passage:

Seroient-ce point de semblables actions qui auroient mis le nom des femmes parmi les Tartares entre les choses sales, et qui ne se doivent jamais prononcer, ni écrire? Au lieu de dire une fille, ou une femme, ils emploient d'autres diction, et disent une voilée, et une mere de famille. Je l'apprens de la veritable histoire de Tamerlan, traduite depuis peu d'Arabe en nostre langue, et qui porte que ce Prince belliqueux protesta que Bajazet devoit avoir perdu le sens, et estre un fou parfait, de luy avoir écrit le mot de femme dans une de ses lettres.

Des Femmes (V.2 p.979)

Thus we see La Mothe making extensive use of travel literature to combat tradition, fuel doubt and advance the cause of free-thinking. He encourages critical observation and constantly underlines the mistakes and contradictions which exist in all philosophical systems and the gulf between reason and religion. His attacks are not always frontal, for he tends to resort more to irony and insinuation to make a point, but certain of his ideas were considered dangerous and provocative (for example the possibility of virtuous pagans and the logicity of accepting contemporary pagans just as Classical writers are accepted). Libertins such as La Mothe definitely influenced Bayle, and a similar use of récits de voyages can be discerned in them. For both of them travel literature is a tool which they can use to demolish the arguments of those who would like

to establish a single monolithic truth which would hold true everywhere. Constant examples gleaned from the vast quantities of récits produced show time and again how this is just not possible, and how necessary scepticism is. However, Bayle differs from La Mothe in his careful and systematic documenting of sources, precise references always being provided in the margin, which is sometimes but not always the case with La Mothe. La Mothe on the whole contents himself with referring to récits and using the ideas which they contain without bothering to note exactly where he found these ideas, and most often without quoting directly. With his concern for historical accuracy, however, Bayle is scrupulous with details and cannot allow himself to be careless when it comes to recording sources. Also, he is much keener to quote from authors he refers to, wishing to remain as close as possible to the original text and avoid inaccuracy. In addition, it would seem that Bayle allows his mind to wander more often, jumping from the most unlikely of subjects to a comparison with another country, and from there introducing more countries or more examples from his reading. He moves a long way from the initial topic which sparked his inspiration, developing in all sorts of directions in an apparently haphazard way. An initial idea, provided by the example of another country, can lead to quite a long passage in the DHC but La Mothe seems to work differently. He makes good and effective use of the récits, but their appearance and the discussion around them is always fairly punctual, in relatively short passages, and the long developments of the DHC are rare. We can perhaps say then, once again, that the récits in Bayle seem to be more integrated into the whole than in writers such as La Mothe, and also appear to motivate him to introduce many other ideas in their wake. Bayle seems to see the récits as an integral part of his writing, with a role and importance which go beyond that of simple 'figurants.' Having introduced the récits into a text, Bayle does not stop there but goes on to say more, bringing in example after example from all sorts of domains to build up a complex piece of writing. Récits are quoted in connection with many different subjects, so much so, that the reader feels that no topic is free from this type of reference, just as no detail, however small, is unimportant.

If we look towards the works of Fontenelle we find once more a certain interest in the récits de voyages, although expressed in a different form. Fontenelle aimed to popularise science and disseminate certain ideas rather than produce heavily footnoted, 'savant' works. There are few page-references but we can discern in his writings a certain influence, the 'esprit' of the récits, an awareness of their existence and considerable use of references to other cultures, other countries. Thus we see here the récits being adapted to quite a different literary form and performing a useful function.

Fontenelle's interest in travel literature can be traced back at least as far as 1686 when Bayle published in the January issue of the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres the 'Extrait d'une lettre écrite de Batavia dans les Indes Orientales' (pp.87-91) by Fontenelle, an account of a war between two rival queens, Mréo and Eénegu. Bayle says that 'les raretez des Indes sont du ressort de ces Nouvelles'(p.86) and praises Fontenelle's account, which he apparently took to be genuine whereas in fact it was a satirical account of Catholic/Protestant rivalry.<sup>7</sup> The names of the two queens are anagrams, Mréo symbolising Rome and Eénegu Genève - Mréo's descent from the former queen is in no doubt, but her rival bears a closer physical resemblance to her. Mréo is predicted to be the winner, even if her troops are less keen, and Fontenelle comments ironically on 'ces Pais barbares, dont les moeurs et les coûtumes sont si étranges'! This use of a fictional situation on a faraway land to make a point about contemporary affairs, is an approach which was often used by writers, permitting as it does to get very close to one's subject and make a point very directly, whilst at the same time maintaining the possibility of denying any hidden intent.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting then to note Fontenelle's use of récits already in the 1680s, Bayle's desire to talk about this kind of literature and his tendency to accept accounts at face value.

Rather than quoting specific writers and entering into long analyses or commentaries, Fontenelle tends to sprinkle references to foreign countries throughout his work, in such a way that the reader is left with a general impression of a certain debt to récits rather than definite references. This is in contrast to Bayle, who although he uses such passing references in his work does not rely on them exclusively and also gives exact quotations from travel literature. In De l'Origine des Fables where Fontenelle

attacks fables and superstitions, we see him comparing different nations and different epochs, coming to the conclusion that superstition is universal and has always existed. Fontenelle declares that humans have always been taken in by fables, which are in no way restricted to 'peuples barbares', Europeans also having their own forms of superstition. Indeed, he argues, there are often surprising similarities between stories told by the Ancient Greeks and the Americans, and the Chinese too have sought to explain natural phenomena with all sorts of stories. The universality of human 'sottise' is Fontenelle's basic idea, he says that 'la même ignorance a produit à peu près les mêmes effets chez tous les Peuples' (p.377) and 'tous les hommes se ressemblent si fort, qu'il n'y a point de Peuple dont les sottises ne nous doivent faire trembler' (p.385). This idea is pursued in the Dialogues des Morts Modernes especially in the dialogue between Fernand Cortez and Montézume (Dialogue VI), where Montézume defends the Americans against accusations of barbarity. He declares that they were certainly no more barbarous than the Greeks, and probably less prone to believing silly superstitions, for, he says, 'les Athéniens étaient un peu plus dupes que nous' (p.266). All peoples have at one time or another been victims of such tricks and false beliefs, and in this the Americans are not exceptional, they resemble the Greeks and Romans:

...vous ne sauriez me reprocher une sottise de nos peuples d'Amérique, que je ne vous en fournisse une plus grande de vos contrées...

pp.269-70

Montézume rejects claims to European superiority, which have never been proved as far as he is concerned. In addition the Americans never asked to be colonised by the Spanish - they had their own forms of art and history and were capable of producing objects which the Spanish did not understand. Once again Fontenelle expresses through Montézume the idea that European claims to superiority are unfounded, for in both the 'old' and the 'new' worlds human beings are more alike than they often realise. An awareness of other nations, and of the universality of human weakness, themes present in

Bayle, can also be observed in Fontenelle, as can an interest in the effects of climate. In the Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes Fontenelle suggests that climate in some way contributes to the formation of each individual, as well as affecting social organisation:

..la différence des climats ne doit être comptée pour rien...on pourroit croire que la Zone torride et les deux Glaciales ne sont pas fort propres pour les Sciences...on ne sçait...si l'on peut espérer de voir jamais de grands Auteurs Lapons ou Nègres.

pp.212-213

These few examples serve to illustrate the fact that Fontenelle was very clearly aware of and interested in récits de voyages and keen to exploit the possibilities provided by such literature. Without quoting from specific works he uses a certain awareness of travel literature to discuss a number of ideas.

A similar approach is evident in the Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes where examples drawn from other nations fit into Fontenelle's plan to prove to his companion, la Marquise, the existence of a multiplicity of worlds - just as there are many different countries on earth he attempts to show that there may be other inhabited planets in the universe. If one could 'faire le tour du monde' in 24 hours, its diversity would become even clearer:

...des Iroquois, qui mangeront tout vif quelque prisonnier de guerre...des Femmes de la Terre de Jesso, qui n'employeront tout leur temps qu'à préparer le Repas de leurs Maris, et à se peindre de bleu...des Tartares, qui iront fort dévotement en Pelerinage.

Premier Soir pp.53-4

Difference is the key idea - appearance, beliefs, way of life, all are different as one moves around the world. In India, it is said that the world is held up by four elephants, which the Marquise finds most reassuring:

Du moins j'aime ces Gens-là d'avoir pourvû à leur seûreté, et fait de bons fondemens...Je gage que si les Indiens sçavoient que la Terre fût le moins du monde en peril de se mouvoir, ils doubleroit les Elephans.

Premier Soir pp.49-50

In Europe scientists have begun to understand how and why eclipses occur, but 'dans toutes les Indes Orientales on croit que quand le Soleil et la Lune s'eclipsent, c'est qu'un certain Demon, qui a les Griffes fort noires, les étend sur ces Astres, dont il veut se saisir' (Second Soir p.81). Such marked differences from one country to another, one continent to the next, lead him to suggest that if the Moon is inhabited, the people there are unlikely to resemble human beings in any respect whatsoever:

Voyez combien la face de la Nature est changée d'ici à la Chine; d'autres Visages, d'autres Figures, d'autres Moeurs, et presque d'autres principes de raisonnement...Quand on va vers de certaines Terres nouvellement découvertes, à peine sont-ce des hommes que les habitans qu'on y trouve...

Second Soir p.96

So, starting from the knowledge that countries can be very different from one another, Fontenelle expands the argument to show that inhabitants of another planet will necessarily be even more different. He amuses himself by comparing inhabitants of Earth and those of other planets. The Moors, for example, considered on Earth to be 'hot Southerners' would, in comparison with the inhabitants of Venus, appear more like 'cold Northerners' (Quatrième Soir p.160). This sliding scale reminds us of the importance which Fontenelle accords to relativity and his emphasis upon scepticism:

...il faut ne donner que la moitié de son esprit aux choses de cette espece que l'on croit, et en reserver une autre moitié libre, où le contraire puisse être admis, s'il en est besoin.

Troisième Soir pp.113-4

The exercise of this scepticism and willingness to disbelieve what one previously believed, proves however somewhat upsetting to the Marquise, who, convinced after the first two discussions that the Moon is inhabited, is mortified at the beginning of the Troisième Soir to hear her 'teacher' inform her that he has since reflected more on the question and come to the conclusion that he may be wrong!

Hier vous m'aviez préparée à voir ces Gens-là venir icy au premier jour, et aujourd'huy ils ne seroient seulement pas au monde? Vous ne vous jouerez point ainsi de moy...

p.113

Fontenelle is clearly attached to this sceptical approach, and even comments in the Troisième Soir that it can be invaluable when reading récits de voyages, since travellers are not always strictly accurate in their accounts!

It is in the sixth and final discussion with the Marquise that we return to a criticism of supposed European knowledge and superiority. Here information gleaned from the Annales de la Chine concerning 'des mille étoiles à la fois qui tombent du ciel dans la mer...ou qui se dissolvent et s'en vont en pluye' (p.295) gives the lie to scientists who believed in the fixed state of the heavens:

Il n'y a pas long-temps que tous nos Philosophes se croyoient fondez en experience, pour soutenir que les Cieux et tous les Corps Celestes estoient incorruptibles, et incapables de changement; et pendant ce temps-là d'autres hommes à l'autre bout de la Terre voyoient des Etoiles se dissoudre par milliers, cela est assez different.

Sixième Soir pp.295-6

So récits de voyages and knowledge about other countries are here used to show how partial and misleading our information is. Although they often believe themselves to be in possession of truth and knowledge, human beings are frequently mistaken in their vision of the universe. Which is why Fontenelle encourages scepticism, a willingness to accept new ideas and an awareness of the fact that despite resemblances between different

countries there are also important divergences. It is essential to remember relativity and not judge everyone according to one's own experience.

Attracted and fascinated by other cultures, Fontenelle not only refers to them in his scientific and philosophical works but also uses them in order to satirise Europe and propose something new and different. Evidence that other societies with different ways of thinking and living existed, and had done so for many centuries, in ignorance of Europe and Christianity, encouraged writers such as Fontenelle to think along new lines, oppose eurocentrism and open up new horizons. His use of récits is however less daring than Bayle's, less systematic, less documented and less developed. His remarks tend to be more predictable, occurring in contexts where such comments may be expected, and he limits himself to short references, not expanding in different directions as Bayle generally does. The presence of the récits is less strong in his works, but we feel constantly a certain awareness of the size of the universe and its diversity - in the Entretiens he says that before 'je m'y sentois comme oppressé' but now he knows just how vast the world is 'je respire avec plus de liberté' (Cinquième Soir p.213). Unlike Bayle Fontenelle seems to be interested in the récits for the scientific precisions which they may provide, and we do not find him quoting funny anecdotes quite as often as Bayle - he sticks to a fairly 'serious' use of this material. To sum up we can perhaps quote Hazard, who lists a certain number of similarities between these two writers which perhaps led them both to be attracted by the récits:

Comme Bayle, Fontenelle déteste l'autorité; le consentement universel lui paraît particulièrement absurde, si on l'invoque comme une preuve de vérité: qu'une fable soit acceptée par cent personnes ou par cent millions, pendant une année ou pendant des siècles, elle reste toujours une fable. Comme Bayle, il répugne au miracle; et comme Bayle enfin, il se refuse à trouver une différence spécifique entre les païens et les Chrétiens....

T.1 pp.222-3

Journals published during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can also inform us about general awareness of travel literature - the types of books published and reviewed, the percentages devoted to different continents and so on. We have looked at

five periodicals which together cover the period 1665-1727 (see list above) and list 185 récits or other works connected to travel. Twenty-eight of these titles were published after Bayle's death in 1706. The distribution of these récits is as follows:

<u>Africa</u>	11
<u>Americas</u>	36
<u>Far East</u>	72
<u>Middle East</u>	62
<u>General</u>	4
<u>Total</u>	185

Out of the 52 titles to which Bayle refers throughout his work, 30 are reviewed in one or more of these journals:

	<u>In Bayle</u>	<u>No of these in journals</u>
<u>Africa</u>	4	4
<u>Americas</u>	10	4
<u>Middle East</u>	23	11
<u>Far East</u>	15	11

This is an indication that the récits to which Bayle referred were often well-known, sufficiently important and popular to be reviewed in various periodicals and at length. On the Far East he seems to have read or known most of the major récits, including those of Choisy (ten pages in the JdS), Le Comte (25 pages in the JdS), Le Gobien (18 pages in the JdS), La Loubère (15 pages in the JdS, 24 pages in the BUH). On the Near and Middle East Bayle's sources (Ricaud, Chardin, Tavernier, Spon...) are reviewed in various journals, as are some writers on the Americas (Acuña, La Hontan). Just like

other readers, Bayle would have kept informed through periodicals of new books, sometimes using reviews in journals as the basis of his comments when he did not have access to a certain book.

The figures given above and the tables in Appendix D give us information about the types of récits published and reviewed. Africa is in each case the least represented continent - in the HOS three works out of a total of 32 récits; in the JdS nine out of 131; in the BUH two out of 29; in the BC/BAM zero. This reflects the total lack of any African récits in the DHC, only four being mentioned in the whole of Bayle. There seems to have been less interest in Africa at this time than in other parts of the world, hence fewer expeditions there and less motivation on the part of travellers to publish accounts.<sup>9</sup> We also note the relatively low representation of the Americas, consistently in third place, less popular with writers of récits than the East, but more written-about than Africa - the 'sauvage' of America seems during the seventeenth-century to have had a better image in Europe than the Africans. In the journals récits on Africa and the Americas are spread sparsely over the period, rarely more than one a year, often none. From the early 1690s until 1702 the HOS records no récits on these two areas, and the JdS a very small number. The East, on the other hand, is consistently well-represented - for the Far East sixty récits mentioned in the JdS, sixteen in the HOS, nine in the BUH and three in the BC/BAM. Récits on the Middle East occur 39 times in the JdS, nine times in the HOS, twelve times in the BUH and thirteen in the BC/BAM. For each periodical it is thus either the Far or Middle East which tops the lists.

Numbers recorded for the Far East increase considerably during the 1680s and 1690s as the major Jesuit récits appear, opening up China and Siam to Westerners. This is noticeable in the JdS where in 1688 there were five reviews of books dealing with the Far East, and from then on until 1693 one or two a year. Then from 1697 until 1710 there are reviews every year except 1704, sometimes as many as three or four, even five in 1707. It is a similar story in the HOS - three reviews in 1688, then a small trickle until 1698 when numbers begin to increase, reaching three reviews in 1702. These numbers and this level of concentration were due to the quarrel over Chinese rites and the flurry of books and pamphlets caused by the Sorbonne's condemnation of the Jesuits in China.

As for the Near and Middle East, the JdS shows its high point to have been earlier in the century, steady numbers of reviews being recorded from 1675 until 1686, and from then on becoming more spaced out, as the Far East comes more to the fore.<sup>10</sup> In the HOS, which only began to appear in 1687, it seems that the high point for the Middle East is already past, although this is not confirmed by the BUH which from 1686 to 1693 records a larger number of récits on the 'Levant' than on the Far East. Leclerc includes a number of important récits in his BUH but also quite a few minor ones, perhaps in an attempt not to repeat information given in the HOS, with which there is indeed very little overlap. On the Far East he discusses major récits such as those of Chaumont, Tachard, Choisy and La Loubère, but ceased production of his periodical from 1693 to 1703, when so much was published on China. Hence, perhaps, the greater importance of the Middle East. The BC/BAM, covering the period 1703-1727, indicate that the low representation of Africa continues in the eighteenth century - there are no reviews at all for this continent, compared with eight (out of 28) for the Americas and thirteen for the Middle East. The BC is not very rich in travel literature, but from 1710 at least there seems to have been a certain 'regain d'intérêt', in any case for the Middle East - perhaps on the part of Leclerc, or perhaps more generally? Or perhaps Leclerc is here reporting on books which would otherwise have appeared in the JdS and the HOS (which stopped publication in 1708)?

This information provided by the récits confirms the low importance of Africa in Bayle's works - this does not appear to have been particular to him, it would indeed seem that fewer books were in fact published. The slightly higher profile of the Americas remarked in Bayle is borne out, but it is clear that he did not fully exploit the available literature since many titles listed in the periodicals are not referred to by him. The journals confirm the rising importance of the Far East, slightly ahead of the Middle East when all periodicals are taken into account. Towards the end of the century publications on the Middle East seem to trail off, although the region remains more consistently present across a long period, the Far East being more subject to jumps in popularity. This fits in with what we have observed about the modernity and homogeneity of the Far Eastern sources, as compared with Bayle's sources on the Middle East, more varied in type and date of publication.

Additional information about seventeenth-century récits is provided by Bourgeois and André's Sources de l'histoire de France - XVIIe siècle (1610-1715) from which we give a breakdown of the récits they list. In the first set of tables we group the récits as given in this work and in the second we divide them according to our own categories.

	<u>No of titles</u>	<u>No of these in Bayle</u>
	(in brackets no pub after 1706)	
<u>France et L'Europe</u>	20(4)	3 (all in <u>DHC</u> )
(only 'le Levant' included)		
<u>Asie/Afrique</u>	94(23)	7(6 in <u>DHC</u> )
<u>Amérique</u>	53(22+1 MS)	3(1 in <u>DHC</u> )
<u>Terres Polaires du Nord</u>	4(1)	2(in <u>DHC</u> )
<u>Total</u>	171	
<u>Total post-1706</u>	51	

	<u>No of titles</u>	<u>No of these in Bayle</u>
	(in brackets no pub after 1706)	
<u>Africa</u>	18(5)	0
<u>Americas</u>	53(22+1 MS)	3
<u>N/M East</u>	58(12)	7
<u>Far East</u>	28(4)	3
<u>General</u>	10(6)	0
<u>Total</u>	167 (Terres Polaires not included)	
<u>Total post-1706</u>	50	

The following percentages of works listed in Les Sources de l'histoire de France are referred to by Bayle (post-1706 works excluded)

Africa 0/13 = 0%

Americas 3/30 = 10%

N/M East 7/46 = 15.2%

Far East 3/24 = 12.5%

Although no fewer than 39 works mentioned in Bayle do not figure in Bourgeois and André,<sup>11</sup> the information provided by this work backs up to some extent the results obtained from Bayle and the journals:

<u>Africa</u>	18/171 = c.10.5%
	Before 1706: 13/120 = c.10.8%
<u>Americas</u>	53/171 = 31%
	Before 1706: 30/120 = 25%
<u>Near/Middle East</u>	58/171 = c.34%
	Before 1706: 46/120 = 38.3%
<u>Far East</u>	28/171 = 16.4%
	Before 1706: 24/120 = 20%

So once again Africa is at the bottom of the list, confirming our previous observation that this continent was less popular and fewer récits concerning it were published. The Americas are slightly better represented, but still come behind the East as a whole - here, however, we see the Middle East outstripping the Far East, a situation not observed in all

the journals. In Bayle, though, it is true that récits on the Middle East are more numerous.

This study of other writers and sources of the seventeenth century can help us to put Bayle's use of the récits into a wider context, showing how he often differed from others. His use of the travel literature is more rigorous, more developed, more widespread than that of the writers we have discussed here - he frequently refers to récits, quoting extensively from them and making them an important part of his texts. He exploits the potential of récits to a considerable degree, quoting them on all sorts of subjects, predictable and unpredictable, and integrating them into his writing in a way which we have not observed elsewhere. Others do not make such extensive and systematic use of the récits to such good effect and in so many different arguments. In addition, our study of journals and other sources would seem to indicate that Bayle's use of travel literature is to a certain extent an accurate reflection of the types of récits published and read at the time - he thus reflects the attitudes and interests of the period whilst at the same time indicating his personal opinions of this literature and his highly individual way of dipping into it.

(1) For the eighteenth century information is provided by Sommervogel's Table Méthodique des Mémoires de Trévoux (1701-1775), tome II (Paris, 1865). See Appendix E.

(2) In the DHC Bayle refers to the 1688 edition of the Moréri. He seems to have had a certain respect for Moréri and recognised his work as an important forerunner. Rather than wanting to diminish the Moréri he sought to improve and complete it (Préface p.10). In an early letter we even find Bayle recommending the Moréri to his brother Jacob:

...puisque vous achetez quelquefois des Livres, Je vous conseille d'acheter un gros dictionnaire historique...L'Auteur se nomme Mr Moréri.

15 juin 1675

(3) In La Crise de la conscience européenne (1680-1715)

(4) The articles in question are: Acuña, Hali-Beigh, Leon, Leonclavius, Leri, Lescarbot, Richer, Tavernier, Villegaignon (9)

Brachmanes, Fatime, Japon, Mahomet, Nephes-Ogli, Sommono khodom, Tenedos (7)

(5) For example by André in La Jeunesse de Bayle, tribun de la tolérance, where he mentions Bayle's reading of both La Mothe (pp.131-134) and Naudé (pp.134-139).

See also Labrousse, 'La Méthode Critique chez Bayle et l'histoire', p.452 note 3.

In La Crise de la conscience européenne (II pp.290-291) Hazard says:

Pierre Bayle est l'héritier des épigones libertins qui prolongent le seizième siècle jusque dans le dix-septième: il aime La Mothe le Vayer... il cite Lucilio Vanini comme le martyr glorieux de l'incrédulité...il connaît Jean Bodin, Charron, Michel de l'Hospital...Montaigne...il connaît, d'une façon générale, tous ceux qui n'ont voulu avouer d'autre loi que celle de la raison humaine.

Bayle himself says in a letter to his brother Jacob:

Je tiens M. de la Mothe le Vayer et M. Naudé pour les deux Savans de ce Siècle qui avoient le plus de lecture et l'esprit le plus épuré des sentimens populaires, mais parce qu'ils font trop les esprits forts, ils nous débitent bien souvent des doctrines qui ont de périlleuses conséquences.

21 juillet 1675 (in the Nouvelles lettres..., La Haye 1739)

In the DHC we read:

Il est sûr qu'il y a beaucoup de libertinage dans les Dialogues d'Orasius Tubero: mais qui en voudroit conclure, que l'Auteur n'avoit point de Religion se rendroit coupable d'un jugement téméraire; car il y a une grande différence entre écrire librement ce qui se peut dire contre la foi, et le croire très véritable.

Vayer

(6) In the Praeadamitae, published in Holland in 1655, La Peyrère declared that Adam was not the first man, and that Africans, for example, were not descended from Adam and

Eve. This theory of polygenism was contrary to official Church teaching at the time, and La Peyrère was imprisoned. He subsequently converted to Catholicism but according to witnesses (Peyrère G) continued to believe in and write about the Preadamites until his death.

La Peyrère said that his Relation de l'Islande (1644) had been written at the request of La Mothe le Vayer (p.l). He recounts the behaviour and customs of the Icelanders, including the prostitution of women to visiting sailors, discussed by Bayle in Jonas (Arngrimus) C:

...les Libertins tirent un grand avantage de ce qu'il y a, dit-on, certaines nations qui n'attachent aucune infamie à la prostitution des femmes. Les Islandois seroient dans le cas...et ils iroient même plus loin, car ils regarderoient comme une gloire la grossesse d'une fille qui se seroit abandonnée à des étrangers, et les peres s'estimeroient très heureux que l'on acceptât l'offre qu'ils feroient du pucelage de leurs filles à des gens d'un autre país...Voilà des Nations Chrétiennes, qui non seulement ne font aucun compte de la chasteté dans la pratique, mais qui en ont même perdu la théorie...N'est-ce-pas une marque que les idées de la vertu dépendent de l'éducation et de la coutume, et non pas d'une impression naturelle?

In 1647 La Peyrère produced a second account, the Relation du Groenland (Paris, Courbe, 1647), also addressed to La Mothe, where he refutes the idea that there may be geographical or linguistic links between Greenland, America and Norway.

(7) In a letter written to des Maizeaux (17 octobre 1704) Bayle declares that 'j'ignorois absolument le sens caché de la Lettre écrite de Bornéo, que j'insérai dans ma République des Lettres; et personne, non pas même M. Jurieu, ni sa femme, ne devina en ce país-ci ce que cela vouloit dire. Nous ne le sumes que lors que M.Basnage et d'autres personnes de Rouën, se furent réfugiées, et nous apprirent la chose. Alors nous connumes combien il eût été facile de découvrir le mystere: mais quand on ne soupçonne point qu'il y en ait dans une chose, on n'y en cherche point; et par conséquent, quelque facile qu'il soit à trouver, on ne le trouve point.' In Lettres Choiesies de M. Bayle, 3 vols (Rotterdam, Fritsch et Böhm, 1714) II.

(8) It was again adopted by Fontenelle in a work published posthumously in 1768, La République des Philosophes, ou Histoire des Ajaoiens, which tells of a utopian society which is happy, virtuous and wisely governed. This work purports to be the Relation

d'un voyage de Mr S. van Doelvelt en Orient, en 1674...Traduits sur l'original Flamand,  
but in it Fontenelle uses this literary form to criticise and improve upon contemporary French society and Europe.

See the critical edition of this work by Hans-Günter Funke (Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1982).

See also Claude Gilbert's Histoire de Calejava, ou de l'Isle des hommes raisonnables (Dijon, 1700), said to have influenced Fontenelle's work, and of which the only known copy is at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

(9) See Cohen, The French encounter with Africans. White response to blacks 1530-1880 (Indiana University Press, 1980).

(10) Martino, p.173.

(11) On the Americas seven, on Africa four, on the Far East twelve and on the Middle East sixteen.

## Conclusion

Our study of Bayle shows clearly that *récits de voyages* played a major role in his writing. Despite the apparently small percentage of articles involved in the Dictionnaire (and one could perhaps suggest that on any given subject the percentage is likely to be fairly low), we have established that the importance of travel literature in these articles is greater than the statistics would appear to indicate. Bayle exploits *récits* more frequently, at greater length and to better effect than any other writer studied, as the comparison with Moréri so clearly demonstrates. In these two works of a similar nature and format, the differences are particularly striking. Equally striking, though, is the way in which Moréri's Grand Dictionnaire Historique, continued after his death by a series of editors, was heavily influenced by Bayle's dictionary and his use of travelogues - in later editions, there are abundant references to the DHC, often referring the reader back to passages or articles where Bayle draws on *récits*. Thus, not only does Bayle stand apart from his contemporaries in his exceptionally extensive use of this literature, but it is evident that he continued to exert a profound and subtle influence on subsequent writers, for whom he prepared the way. In spite of the many differences which we have pointed out between Bayle and the philosophes of the eighteenth century, they are clearly in some way his direct descendants, continuing a tradition of scepticism and criticism. With them, too, an interest in other cultures and societies was to be developed to a greater degree, knowledge increased and used to philosophical ends. Bayle had realised already in the seventeenth century the immense potential of the *récits de voyages* and the information they contained, and in the following century this potential was to be more fully and more generally tapped by writers. In a sense, Bayle's approach served to set his successors on a certain path, a path which ultimately they were to follow further than him.

Our study of seventeenth century journals aims to put Bayle's knowledge of *récits* in perspective, showing to what extent his reading reflects the amount of literature actually published, and demonstrating that very often the percentages recorded for

different parts of the world are a relatively faithful reflection of the number of récits available. Apart from this, Bayle's use of récits naturally betrays his own interests, his choice most often going towards religion, the study of moeurs or historical details, whilst at the same time taking account of his readers' interests. Different récits, by ambassadors, traders, missionaries or savants provided very different versions of journeys to foreign lands, with the accent placed on those subjects deemed of interest by the writer, and these dissimilarities are clear when Bayle quotes one or another of these récits. Hence, writers such as Spon provide information about books and inscriptions whereas traders like Chardin and Tavernier are more concerned with trade-routes, prices, customs difficulties and so on. Nevertheless, Bayle's selection process is always clearly in action - he picks and chooses, leaving aside any information which he thinks unimportant or uninteresting. Hence, when comparing Bayle's use of a récit with the original text, we are sometimes surprised to find a wealth of information on other subjects, totally ignored by Bayle because outside the sphere of his interests or irrelevant to the specific areas he is dealing with. As we have pointed out, certain areas of the world are referred to more often than others - for instance, Africa is very under-represented, a tendency which would appear to be confirmed by the journals and bibliographies, from which it seems that less was actually published on this continent. Again, much of the literature on the Americas which Bayle uses is relatively dated, whereas on the Middle East it is spread over the century (although concentrated in the 1660s and 1670s), and on the Far East it consists of very recent works. This is perhaps a reflection of fashions and interests, certain types of travel literature being more popular at certain moments, some areas of the world coming more to the fore at the expense of others (for example publications on the Middle East seem to decrease in the 1680s as the Far East becomes more popular). We have also noted that on the Far East the travellers drawn on tend to be connected to the Church in some way, whereas those quoted on the Middle East are more varied. Once more it is clear that Bayle is dependent upon available literature, and his use of it reflects to a certain extent publications.

Bayle's interest in récits thus stretched from the sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century and extended across language boundaries - he read accounts by

English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch travellers, sometimes in the original, sometimes in translation. As his awareness of the importance and potential of this literature increased, so did his use of it in his writing, and we have noted a certain evolution from the early works, Ce que c'est and the Commentaire Philosophique, where the role of récits is still fairly minor, to the Dictionnaire and Continuation des Pensées Diverses, where they are central. He was very eclectic, an immense reader, continuing to read and collect references and examples right up until the final years of his life, as attested by the late appearance in Bayle of works such as La Hontan's, only published in 1704, or Bosman's, translated into French in 1705.

Through Bayle these récits thus played a part in attacking prejudice and inexactitude, eroding certitude and encouraging doubt. Examples of other countries were used by Bayle to criticise eurocentrism, belief in universal consent and the superiority of Christianity. Not only did he use this literature to attack Europe, but it also helped him to highlight very well the ridiculous beliefs and customs of other nations. Récits also enabled him to move from a theoretical, sceptical stance in his earlier works to one based on fact and concrete examples later on - thanks to them he was able not only to suggest the possibility of another kind of society (atheist for example), but show that such a society really existed. Information from récits fitted in extremely well with Bayle's generally sceptical approach, since it encouraged readers to question authority, doubt previously held ideas and review attitudes which had always been taken for granted by facing them with ~~with~~ evidence of radically different societies. Reading Bayle we are constantly struck by the astonishingly modern tone of many of his remarks on non-European nations. In the CPD he sympathises with indigenous peoples who protest at having been invaded by Europeans who consider it normal to take possession of a country which they suppose to be empty because they see none of the usual outward signs of a society 'à l'europpéenne.'<sup>1</sup> Bayle equally condemns the argument that land gained by force of arms is the legitimate property of the coloniser. His remarks on the injustice and arrogance of such behaviour, his acceptance of the right to be different and recognition of much that is good and valuable in these countries, put us in mind of more recent writers, historians and ethnologists, and remind us of modern arguments against

colonisation. In this way Bayle still speaks to us very forcefully down the ages on this important subject, consistently ranging himself on the side of justice and reason.

Whether he became a 'philosophe' through reading such récits, or on the other hand read them precisely because he was a philosopher, is difficult to say, but what is clear is that he owed travel literature a considerable debt for the ideas it threw up and the directions it suggested. We too, consequently, owe much to this important body of literature which contributed so largely to making Bayle's writings what they are.

(1) Chapter CXLV pp.728-732, where Bayle quotes Dapper at length, showing that atheism is not necessarily synonymous with wickedness. Having quoted a passage in which Dapper reports the protestation of an African against the Dutch, Bayle remarks 'se peut-il rien voir de plus sensé que ce discours?' (p.731), and after citing the Dutch response (that these lands had been conquered by the Dutch and therefore no longer belonged to the Africans), Bayle explodes:

Quel sophisme! quel mepris de l'état de la question! étoit-ce soudre la difficulté? N'étoit-ce point s'en écarter de mille lieuës, et alleguer pour toute raison la loi du plus fort? Si l'on ne jugeoit que par là des lumieres de ceux qui ont part dans ce dialogue, on concluroit que les Chretiens n'avoient nulle idée de l'équité, et que les Athées en étoient tout penetrez.

pp.731-732

## Appendix A: Biographies

### List of travellers and travel writers used by Bayle

ACUNA (Christoval de) 1597 - sometime after 1675

Became a Jesuit at 15. Travelled to Chili and Peru.

1639 - trip up the Amazon with the Portuguese General Texiera. His account of this journey became very rare because the Spanish feared it would be too useful to the Portuguese. Died in Lima.

BAUDIER (Michel) c.1589 - c.1645

Collected medals, manuscripts and antiques, became Historiographe de France. Works often not sufficiently critical. Ended life financially ruined.

BELON (Pierre) 1517-1564

Botanist and doctor. Various protectors enabled him to travel and publish.

Assassinated in 1564 near Paris, possibly by political rivals.

BERNIER (François) 1620-1688

Orphaned at an early age.

1647 travelled to Poland and Germany. Learnt sciences with Gassendi.

1652 became a doctor.

1656 travelled to Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, India (arrived 1659). Worked in India as the Royal doctor before returning to Paris in 1669 to study philosophy.

BOBOVIUS (Albertus) d.1675

Also known as Hali-Beigh. Born in Poland. Sold to the Turks by the Tartars. Lived at Turkish court and eventually regained his freedom. Went to Constantinople and became the Grand Seigneur's interpreter. Said to have given notes to Ricaut for his Etat Présent.

BOSMAN (Guillaume)

Worked for Dutch East India Company in Guinea and Côte d'Or for 14 years. Returned to Europe c.1702. Published Naauwkeurige Beschrywing van de Guinese goud, tand en slaven Kust (Utrecht, 1704).

de BREVES (François Savary de) 1560 - 1628

Travelled to La Porte in 1582 with the French ambassador, whom he succeeded in 1591. Gained the confidence of Amurath III, in 1604 negotiated a treaty favourable to France. Spoke Turkish very well.

Returned to France in 1605, in 1607 became Conseiller d'Etat and Gentilhomme de la Chambre. 1608-1614 Ambassador in Rome, then Gouverneur of the King's brother until 1618. In 1625 became Premier Ecuyer de la Reine and in 1626 a member of the Assemblée des Notables.

BUSBECO (Ogier Ghislain de) 1522-1592

Born illegitimate in Flanders.

In 1555 became Ferdinand's ambassador to Constantinople. Stayed 7 years.

In 1570 travelled to France to accompany the future wife of Charles IX. Remained there until 1592. On way back to Flanders was attacked, probably by the Ligue, and died near Rouen. Works published first in Latin, and translated into several languages - German 1596, French 1646.

CHARDIN (Jean) 1643-1713

Began travelling at the age of 22. Returned to France in 1670, but because of the difficulties faced by Protestants, he set out again, and travelled in Persia from 1671-1677,

then India. He learnt Arabic, Persian and Turkish and travelled for some time with the artist Grelot.

Arrived in London 1681, made Chevalier by Charles II, then from 1683 to 1712 represented England in the United Provinces and worked for the English East India Company.

CHOISI (François-Timoléon, Abbé de) 1644-1724

When young often dressed as a girl and then woman. Tonsure in 1657. Theology studies, occupied several positions in the Church.

Led a fairly scandalous life - wrote his lifestory in Histoire de Mme la Comtesse des Barres.

Travelled to Italy to escape scandal, and in 1683 after a serious illness resolved to reform. In 1685 joined the expedition to Siam with Chaumont. Had to be ordained rapidly in order to be able to go as an 'abbé'.

His Journal du Voyage de Siam is a little superficial, but he was nonetheless admitted to the Académie Française.

CIEZA de LEON (Pedro de) c.1518 - ?

Travelled to South America at the age of 13 and was a soldier there for 17 years. Planned to write a four-part account of his travels, but only one part was published.

CRASSET (Jean) 1618-1692

Posed as the 'Abbé de T.'

Became a Jesuit in 1638. Taught humanities and philosophy. Gained a reputation with his spiritual works.

DAPPER (Olfert) d.1690

Dutch doctor. Gathered information from his reading.

Naukeurige Beschryving der Afrikaenschen gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Lybien... (1668) and also many other collections on Asia, Africa, America.

DOS SANTOS (João) d.1622

Portuguese Dominican. Travelled to Africa in 1596, visiting Natal, Sofala, Mozambique.

Returned to Europe in 1607. In 1617 set off again for Goa, where he died.

Published Ethiopia oriental e varia historia de cousas notaveis do Oriente (Evora, 1609).

DU VERDIER (Gilbert Saulnier) d.1686

Historiographe de France. Wrote many historical works. From 1676 lived with his wife in La Salpêtrière, where he died.

GUILLET de SAINT GEORGE (Georges) 1625-1705

Worked from books about Greece, but was criticised for not actually having travelled himself, and for working too much from secondary sources. Also published under the name of his brother, la Guilletière.

1682 became Premier Historiographe de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture de Paris.

HERBELOT de MOLAINVILLE (Barthelemy de) 1625-1695

Learnt Arabic, Hebrew and Persian dialects. For some time received an allowance from Fouquet, then became secretary/interpreter to the King.

1692 became professor of 'langue syriaque' at the Collège Royal. Spent his life assembling material for the Bibliothèque Orientale but died before it was published.

HERBERT (Sir Thomas) 1606-1682

1627 travelled to Persia with English ambassador. Returned to England 1629. On the side of the Parliament during the Civil War, and was appointed to look after the King during his imprisonment.

1660 awarded baronetcy.

1634 published A Description of the Persian Monarchy now being: the Orientall Indyes Iles and other parts of the Greater Asia and Africk.

HONTAN (Louis Armand, Baron de la) c.1666-1715

Father died 1674 - long wrangle over his inheritance.

At 16 travelled to Canada, where he was first a soldier then put in charge of forts (1687).

1693 became Lieutenant du Roi at Terre Neuve, but quarrelled with the Governor so returned to Europe in 1694. Unable to justify his behaviour and fled to Spain then Hanover.

LE COMTE (Louis) d.1729

Jesuit. 1685 travelled to Siam with Chaumont - stayed there 2 years, then went on to Peking, arriving 1688.

1692 returned to France to give the Jesuit point of view in the Querelle des Rites.

1700-1702 went to Rome to plead his cause, but the Jesuits were defeated and in 1762 his Nouveaux Mémoires were condemned to be burnt.

LE GOBIEN (Charles) 1653-1708

1671 became a Jesuit. Travelled with Le Comte to Siam and China.

Wrote an account of China and began the first Lettres Edifiantes in 1702.

LERY (Jean de) 1534-1611

Studied theology in Geneva, and became a member of Villegagnon's expedition in 1555.

Following disastrous attempt to establish a Protestant colony in Brazil, he returned to Europe and became a pastor in France.

His récit first published in La Rochelle in 1578.

LESCARBOT (Marc) d.c.1630

Lawyer at the Parlement de Paris. Travelled to Nouvelle France and helped to establish early settlements there. Later lived in Switzerland.

LEUNCLAVIUS (Johann) 1533-1593

= Loewenklaue.

Travelled in Turkey and learnt the language. Became well known as a translator and law expert. Spent his life travelling and working at court. Died in Vienna.

Annales sultanorum (1596) - Latin translation based on a German translation of the original Turkish.

LORD (Henry) 1563-?

Curate. Became Chaplain in an English factory in Surat. Stayed 18 years.

1630 published A Display of two forraigne sects in the East Indies...the sect of the Banians...and the sect of the Persees.

De la LOUBERE (Simon) 1642-1729

Studied with the Jesuits in Toulouse, then went to Paris to study law. Entered diplomatic circles and became secretary to the French ambassador in Switzerland.

Travelled to Siam in 1687, remaining there from September 1687 until January 1688.

Subsequently was sent to Madrid to work against the Anglo-Spanish alliance.

1693 entered the Académie Française and returned to Toulouse. At 60 married a young relative.

LUDOLF (Job) 1624-1704

Dutch. Studied law, medicine, languages. Travelled to France and Rome.

1652 - employed as a teacher by the Duc de Saxe-Gotha, and remained in his service for 26 years. Retired to Frankfurt. Said to have known 25 languages.

1681 published Historia aethiopica translated into French as the Nouvelle Histoire d'Abyssinie.

MONCONYS (Balthasar de) 1611-1665

Studied in Spain. 1645-1649 travelled in Egypt, Palestine, Syria. Was very interested in the occult.

1663-4 travelled in Europe. His son published his account of his travels.

PIDOU de SAINT OLON (François) c.1640-1720

1672 Gentilhomme ordinaire du Roi. Assumed diplomatic missions from 1673. Travelled to Morocco in 1693 in the hope of making a trade agreement, but failed.

1714-5 received and accompanied the Persian ambassador.

1694 Etat Présent du Maroc.

ROCHEFORT (César de)

According to the Dictionnaire des Anonymes his real name was Louis de Poincy (or perhaps Jean-Baptiste du Tertre).

Author of Histoire des Iles Antilles (first published in 1658).

RYCAUT (Sir Paul) 1628-1700

Travelled during the 1650s, then in 1661 joined the embassy in La Porte.

1667-1678 went to Smyrna for the Levant Company. Returned to England in 1679.

1685 became secretary to the Earl of Clarendon and was knighted.

1689-1700 Resident in Hamburg and the Hanse towns.

1668 Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Went through several editions and translations.

SAGARD-THEODAT (Gabriel)

'Récollet' - went to Canada in 1624, stayed two years. Wrote accounts of his travels, but was credulous and not very educated.

Grand voyage du pays des Hurons (1632)

Histoire du Canada (1636)

SIMON (Richard) 1638-1712

Taught philosophy. Drew up a bibliography of oriental books. Prolific writer. Caused scandal with his Histoire critique du vieux Testament and Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du nouveau Testament.

SPON (Jacob) 1647-1685

Studied medicine in Lyon and Montpellier.

1675-7 travelled in Italy, Dalmatia, Greece, Constantinople. Interested in archaeology and antiquities.

Was Protestant, so decided to leave France for Zurich, but on the way fell ill and died at Vevey.

TACHARD (Guy) d.1711?

Jesuit. c.1680-1684 travelled in South America.

1685 joined expedition for Siam/China. Returned to France to fetch more missionaries and set out again in 1687, accompanied by La Loubère and 12 priests.

1688 visited Paris and Rome with Siamese ambassadors.

1689 went to Pondichéry, but when it was taken by the Dutch in 1693 he travelled on to Bengal, where he died.

TAVERNIER (Jean-Baptiste) 1605-1686 or 1689

Son of a Protestant map-seller, established in Paris. Travelled in Europe when young.

Set out for Asia Minor with two Frenchmen, left them in Constantinople and continued on to Ispahan. Returned with cloth and jewels to sell. Later established successful trade with Persia and India. Retired to Switzerland then Berlin.

1685 set out on a final journey, this time via Russia, but died en route.

THEVENOT (Jean de) 1633-1667

Nephew of Melchisédech Thévenot (1620-1692). Inherited a fortune from his father, so was rich enough to travel.

1652 - travelled in Europe, then in 1655 to Malta, Constantinople, Anatolia, Egypt.

Travelled for 7 years, then returned briefly to Europe before setting out again in 1663.

Visited Persia, planned to return via Asia Minor, but fell ill and died at Miana.

Voyages de M. Thevenot (1689)THEVET (André) c.1502-1590

Studied theology, became a 'cordelier'.

1549-1554 travelled in Italy, Constantinople, Athens, Rhodes, Alexandria, Palestine.

1555 travelled to Brazil with Villegagnon, stayed two and a half months. Published a récit of the journey on his return.

1558 was secularised. Became Aumônier to Catherine de Médicis and Historiographe et Cosmographe du Roi.

Somewhat credulous writer, and not entirely reliable.

de TORRES (Diego) c.1526-?

1546 went to Fez as a 'racheteur' of slaves.

His récit published after his death by his wife (Seville, 1585) and translated into French in 1636.

della VALLE (Pietro) 1586-1652

Became a member of the Académie des Umoristi and was in the service of the Pope.

1614 after an unsuccessful love affair left for Constantinople where he remained 13

months. Then travelled on to Alexandria and Cairo, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Damas, Alep.

Married, and continued on to Persia, stayed for 4 years.

1621 left Ispahan. His wife died en route.

Returned to Italy in 1626.

VERBIEST (Ferdinand) c.1630-1688

Jesuit. Went with Couplet to China. Worked on astronomy with Adam Schall in Peking. Was imprisoned during the persecution of Christians. Later gave the Emperor mathematics lessons and helped to revise the Chinese calendar. Helped Le Comte and others to gain admission to Peking, but died before their arrival.

Relations des deux voyages (1685)

WHEELER (Sir George) 1650-1723

Born in Holland of exiled Royalist parents.

Travelled with Spon in 1675 and 1676.

Knighthood in 1682, took holy orders in 1683. Canon of Durham Cathedral in 1684, 1685-1702 Vicar of Basingstoke, 1706 Rector at Winston, 1709 in Houghton-le-Spring. Account published in 1682, translated into French in 1689.

List of French Protestants

ABBADIE (Jacques) 1654-1727

Theologian/apologist. 1680s travelled to Berlin and Holland. In contact with exiles. Supported the English revolution of 1688 and popular sovereignty. Believed in moderation and compromise.

Polemic with Bayle over the Avis aux Réfugiés.

1690 became a minister in London at the Eglise française de la Savoie.

ALLIX (Pierre) 1641-1717

Went to London in 1685, where he founded a French church with Anglican rites. Was interested in uniting the different Protestant churches.

BASNAGE(Jacques) 1653-1723

Studied under Lefèvre at Saumur, later at Geneva and Sedan.

1676 became a pastor in Rouen.

1684 married Suzanne du Moulin, becoming Jurieu's brother-in-law.

1685 went to Rotterdam then the Hague as a pastor. Conciliator/tolerant, opposed to armed revolt. Wrote histories of the protestant church in reply to Bossuet.

Histoire de la religion des Eglises réformées (1690)

Histoire de l'Eglise depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent (1699)

BASNAGE de BEAUVAL (Henri) 1656-1710

1685 went into exile in Holland.

Defended the cause of tolerance against Jurieu.

1687-1709 edited the Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans

Tolerance des Religions (1684)

M.Jurieu convaincu de calomnie et d'imposture (1694)

BENOIT (Elie) 1640-1728

Minister. Went into exile in Holland in 1685.

Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes (1693-1695).

CHAUVIN (Etienne) 1640-1725

Exiled in Rotterdam. Friendly with Bayle.

1694-1698 produced the Nouveau journal des Savants

CLAUDE (Jean) 1619-1687

Formidable defender of Protestantism and enemy of persecution.

La Défense de la Réformation (1673)

Plaintes des protestants cruellement opprimés dans le royaume de France (1686).

DU BOSC (Pierre Thomine) 1613/1623-1692

1685 became minister of the Eglise Wallonne in Rotterdam.

Often attacked by other Protestants, but according to Bayle was the most gifted of the Protestant preachers.

DESMAISEAUX (Pierre) 1666-1745

Moved to London, where he became a writer, translator and editor.

Published lives of Bayle, Boileau and St Evremond and edited journals in London and Holland.

HUET (Gédéon) 1650-1718

Pastor. Went into exile in 1685.

Defended the cause of tolerance against Jurieu.

Apologie pour les vrais tolerants (1690).

JACQUELOT (Isaac) 1647-1708

Exiled in the Hague then Basel.

Opposed Bayle (on scepticism) and Jurieu (on intolerance).

JURIEU (Pierre) 1637-1713

Minister. 1674 taught at the Académie Protestante de Sedan.

1682 became minister at the Eglise Wallonne in Rotterdam.

Violent and passionate in his defence of Protestantism.

Lettres Pastorales (1686)

Le vrai système de l'Eglise (1686)

Tableau du Socinianisme (1691)

Le Philosophe de Rotterdam accusé, atteint et convaincu (1707)

LABADIE (Jean de) 1610-1674

Studied with the Jesuits. Converted to Protestantism in 1650. Became a minister, was forced into exile by his enemies in 1656.

1659 moved to Geneva. Attempts to prove he was unorthodox resulted in his suspension.

De LARROQUE (Daniel) 1660-1731

Converted to Catholicism, went to Paris in 1694.

LECLERC (Jean) 1657-1736

Minister - first in Geneva, then in Amsterdam.

Produced journals and edited Moréri's dictionary.

His orthodoxy was placed in doubt.

PAJON (Claude) 1626-1685

Theologian.

Played down the importance of grace and predestination.

SAURIN (Elie) 1639-1703

1664 banished for failing to show respect for Catholic rites.

1665 became a pastor in Delft.

Violent controversy with Jurieu.

## Appendix B: Récits de voyages in the Dictionnaire

Articles in the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique containing references to récits de voyages, or apparently influenced by them.

On y distingue par une main celles [les additions] de la seconde Edition, et par un gland les nouvelles...

Avertissement du Libraire au Lecteur, 1720, p.xviii

<u>Abaris</u> - 1697	<u>Jonas</u> - 1702
<u>Abdas</u> - 1697	<u>Jonas (Arn)</u> - 1697
<u>Abudhafer</u> - 1697 (Herbelot 1702)	<u>Lemnos</u> - 1702
<u>Abumuslimus</u> - 1697	<u>Leon</u> - 1702
<u>Acuña</u> - 1697	<u>Leonclavius</u> - 1697
<u>Adam</u> - 1697	<u>Leri</u> - 1702
<u>Apafi</u> - 1697	<u>Lescarbot</u> - 1702
<u>Blomberg</u> - 1697	<u>Lucrèce</u> - 1697
<u>Bourgogne</u> - 1702	<u>Macedoine</u> - 1697
<u>Brachmanes</u> - 1697 (Tachard 1702)	<u>Mahomet</u> - 1697
<u>Braunbom</u> - 1720	<u>Majus</u> - 1697
<u>Busbec</u> - 1697	<u>Maldonat (Jean)</u> - 1697
<u>Claude (Emp)</u> - 1702	<u>Manichéens</u> - 1697
<u>Combabus</u> - 1697	<u>Des Marets</u> - 1697
<u>David</u> - 1697	<u>Mariana</u> - 1697
<u>Fatime</u> - 1697	<u>La Mecque</u> - 1702
<u>Gymnosophistes</u> - 1697	<u>Milton</u> - 1697
<u>Golius</u> - 1697	<u>Nephes Ogli</u> - 1697
<u>Hali Beigh</u> - 1697	<u>Osman</u> - 1697
<u>Hercule</u> - 1697	<u>Patin</u> - 1697
<u>Hipparchia</u> - 1697	<u>Rapin</u> - 1697
<u>Japon</u> - 1702	<u>Richer</u> - 1702
<u>Job</u> - 1697	<u>Rimini</u> - 1702

Rorarius - 1697Ruggeri - 1697Ste-Maure - 1697Somma-Codom - 1697 (Tachard 1702)Spinoza - 1697 (additions 1702)Tavernier - 1697Taulerus - 1702Tenedos - 1697Torquato - 1697Villegaignon - 1702 (additions 1720)Xenocrate - 1702Zoroastre - 1702

Total number of articles: 58

Total number of articles in 1720 DHC : 2003

Approximate % with references to/influence of récits: 3%

	No. of articles in which appears	Total no. of 'mentions'	Articles with 'influence'
<u>Americas</u>	6	7	6
<u>N/M East</u>	24	58	12
<u>Far East</u>	14	21	8

1702 additions

<u>Americas</u>	5	Major: <u>Richer</u> , <u>Villegaignon</u> Minor: <u>Leri</u> , <u>Lescarbot</u> , <u>Rimini</u>
<u>Middle East</u>	8	Major: <u>Leon</u> , <u>La Mecque</u> , <u>Spinoza</u> Minor: <u>Abudhaheer</u> , <u>Bourgogne</u> , <u>Claude</u> , <u>Jonas</u> , <u>Lemnos</u>
<u>Far East</u>	8	Major: <u>Brachmanes</u> , <u>Japon</u> , <u>Sommona-Codom</u> , <u>Spinoza</u> , <u>Zoroastre</u> Minor: <u>Braunbom</u> , <u>Taulerus</u> , <u>Xenocrate</u>

1720 additions

<u>Americas</u>	1	<u>Villegaignon</u>
<u>Far East</u>	1	<u>Braunbom</u>

Other articles, such as Hottinger and Wilhem, give details of 'savants' who learnt 'langues orientales' and Sadeur discusses a utopian récit.

Articles in the Dictionnaire containing information drawn from récits -  
principal subjects covered

Near/Middle East

HISTORICAL/GEOGRAPHICAL PRECISION, INFORMATION

Baudier: Mahomet S

Belon: Lemnos A, Lemnos C, Lemnos D

Bobovius: Hali-beigh

Bespier: Fatime A

Busbecq: Busbec, Job B

Chardin: Fatime D, Fatime E

della Valle: Fatime C

Gemelli Careri: Tavernier

Herbert: Fatime A

Leunclavius: Leonclavius A

Monconys: Adam I

Rycaut: Apafi A, Apafi D, Hali-beigh A, Job B

Spon: Golius D, Sainte-Maure B, Tenedos D

Tavernier: Fatime C, Tavernier C

Thévenot: Claude (Emp) A

de Torres: Fatime B

Wheler: Golius D, Tenedos D

RELIGION

Belon: Mahomet Q

Bespier: Job A, Mahomet II, Mahomet S, Spinoza A

della Valle: Abumuslimus A, Spinoza A

Herbelot: Zoroastre

Il Giornale: Marets I

Rycaut: Hali -beigh C, Job A, Mahomet Q, Mahomet S, Mahomet AA, Mahomet CC,  
Mahomet DD, Mahomet II

Spon: Mahomet DD

### GOVERNMENT

Il Giornale: Osman B

Rycaut: Osman B

Simon: Mahomet L

### MOEURS

de Brèves: Combabus B, Mahomet DD

Busbecq: Combabus B

Chardin: Mahomet P

du Verdier: Claude (Emp) A

Guillet: Hali -beigh B

Rycaut: Mahomet DD

Simon: Mahomet L

### CEREMONIES/SUPERSTITIONS

Belon: Lemnos D

Guillet: Hercule I

Monconys: Mahomet EE

Spon: Hercule I, Mahomet GG

Far EastRELIGION

Bernier: Rorarius H, Spinoza A

Crasset/Abbé de T.: Japon, Japon A, Japon B, Japon E

Froës: Mahomet O

Il Giornale: Manichéens C, Mariana C

La Loubère: Ruggeri D, Sommona-Codom, Sommona -Codom A, Spinoza X

Le Comte: Spinoza B

Le Gobien: Brachmanes K, Maldonat L, Milton O

Lord: Zoroastre

Tachard: Brachmanes, Sommona -Codom B, Sommona -Codom C

AmericasHISTORICAL/GEOGRAPHICAL PRECISION, INFORMATION

Acuña: Acuña

Cieza de Leon: Leon

Léry: Leri, Richer, Villegaignon

Lescarbot: Lescarbot

Thevet: Villegaignon

RELIGION

Cieza de Leon: Leon

Léry: Leri

MOEURS

Cieza de Leon: Leon

Léry: Villegaignon

Articles in the Dictionnaire containing information drawn from recits -

major/minor sources

Near/Middle East

MAJOR USE OF RECITS

Busbecq: Busbec

Rycaut: Mahomet

QUOTATIONS FROM RECITS USED

Belon: Mahomet Q, Mahomet S, Lemnos A, Lemnos C, Lemnos D

Bespier: Job A, Mahomet II,S, Spinoza A

Chardin: Fatime D, Fatime E, Mahomet P

du Verdier: Claude (Emp) A

Guillet: Hali-Beigh B, Hercule I

Herbelot: Zoroastre

Herbert: Fatime A

Il Giornale: Marets I, Osman B

Leunclavius: Leonclavius

Monconys: Mahomet EE, Adam I

Rycaut: Apafi A, Apafi D, Job A, Job B, Hali-Beigh C

Simon: Mahomet H, Mahomet L

Spon: Hercule I, Mahomet GG, Sainte-Maure B, Tenedos D

Tavernier: Fatime C, Tavernier C

Thévenot: Claude (Emp) A

de Torres: Fatime B

della Valle: Abumuslimus A, Fatime C, Spinoza A

Wheler: Tenedos D

TITLES OF RECITS MENTIONED

Baudier: Baudier, Mahomet S

Bobovius: Hali-Beigh

Busbecq: Combabus B, Job B

de Brèves: Combabus B, Mahomet DD

Gemelli Careri: Tavernier

Herbelot: Abudhaher, La Mecque

Pidou de St Olon: Leon A

Rycaut: Hali-Beigh A, Osman B

Spon: Golius D, Mahomet DD

Wheler: Golius D

ARTICLES POSSIBLY INFLUENCED BY RECITS

Abaris H

Blomberg A

Bourgogne (Philippe) D

David H

Jonas B

Macedoine I

Mahomet P

Nephes Ogli

Patin D

Rorarius H

Zoroastre F

Far EastMAJOR USE OF RECITS

Crasset/Abbé de T.: Japon

La Loubère: Ruggeri D, Sommona-Codom A

Tachard: Sommona-Codom C

QUOTATIONS FROM RECITS USED

Bernier: Spinoza A

Froës: Mahomet O

Il Giornale: Manichéens C, Mariana C

La Loubère: Spinoza X

Le Gobien: Brachmanes K

Tachard: Sommona-Codom B

TITLES OF RECITS MENTIONED

Bernier: Rorarius H

Le Comte: Spinoza B

Le Gobien: Maldonat L, Milton O

Lord: Zoroastre

Tachard: Brachmanes

ARTICLES POSSIBLY INFLUENCED BY RECITS

Abdas B

Braunbom C

Combabus E

Golius F

Mahomet O

Mahomet AA

Majus D

Rapin C

Taulerus F

Americas

MAJOR USE OF RECITS

Cieza de Leon: Leon

Léri: Leri, Richer, Villegaignon

QUOTATIONS FROM RECITS USED

Thevet: Villegaignon

TITLES OF RECITS MENTIONED

Acuña: Acuña

Lescarbot: Lescarbot

ARTICLES POSSIBLY INFLUENCED BY RECITS

Gymnosophistes A

Hipparchia D

Jonas (Arn) C

Patin C

Rimini A

	No of authors referred to	Total no of articles containing references	Articles with possible influence
<u>Americas</u>	5	6	5
<u>Near/Middle East</u>	24	26	11
<u>Far East</u>	9	12	9

### Appendix C: Bayle's other works

#### Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique sous le Règne de Louis le Grand

(St Omer, Jean Pierre, 1686).

<u>Reference to...</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Subject</u>
(No source)		
<u>Americas</u>	77	Horrific behaviour of Europeans
<u>Far East</u>	99-100	Tricks used by Catholics to gain converts. Force used to establish Christianity.
	98	Dutch denied they were Christians.
	102-4	Jesuits in China will cause civil war
	104-5	Religious orders should never have been sent

Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ , "Contrain-les d'entrer";  
ou Traité de la Tolérance Universelle (Rotterdam, Fritsch et Böhm, 1713).

<u>Area</u>	<u>Reference to/source</u>	<u>Pages</u>	<u>Subject</u>
<u>China</u>	Patin, <u>Les Jesuites</u>	114	'cette forte et noire Machine, qui étend ses bras jusques à la Chine'
<u>Indes</u>	Gasp.Scioppi, <u>Infamia Famiani</u> (Amsterdam, 1663)	114-5	No universal church. Force used by Jesuits.
<u>China</u>		119	Diroys says Christianity superior to Islam, because no force used - this is clearly untrue.
<u>China/Japan</u>		123	On basis that newness should be opposed, Chinese and Japanese must oppose Christianity.
<u>China</u>		181 183-6	If missionaries were honest, they would admit they planned to use force, and the Emperor would ban them.

<u>China</u>	187, 188	Emperor may be overthrown - should find out about Christianity as soon as missionaries arrive.
<u>China</u>	194	Missionaries should give full information - wrong to convert Chinese on half- knowledge.
<u>China</u>	346	If missionaries were honest about their violent methods, the Emperor would be right to reject Christianity. Parallel with the Protestants - also have reasons for seeing Catholicism as dangerous.
<u>Turkey/Japan</u>	378	If Turks came to Europe to convert people to Islam, it would be ridiculous to punish them, since missionaries do the same in Japan and find it normal.
<u>Turkey</u>	380	Christians allowed their religion

<u>China</u>	382	Advises immediate expulsion of missionaries - otherwise chaos will ensue.
<u>Far East</u>	T.II p.101	Missionaries: 'des Espions, qui viennent fraier le chemin à l'Invasion du Temporel'
<u>Persia/Far East</u>	187	Should continually be reminded of what can be expected from missionaries: 'Souvenez-vous de ce qui vient d'être fait en France.'
<u>China</u>	268-76	'Supposition d'une Conférence entre des Ministres, et des Missionnaires, devant des Philosophes Chinois'. Shows how ridiculous the missionaries would appear to the Chinese. 'Messieurs les Convertisseurs Chrétiens...qui venez de si loin, pour nous apprendre, que vous n'êtes pas d'accord entre vous...'

Nouvelles de la République des Lettres (1684-1687)

March 1684 pp.66-72

Gasophylacium Linguae Persarum...Authore P.Angelo...Missionario Apostolico...

April 1684 pp.206-207

May 1684 pp.228-243

Histoire Critique de la créance, et des coûtumes des Nations du Levant, publiée par le  
Sieur de Moni

Il montre que les Chrétiens du Levant ne sont pas aussi blâmables que les Missionnaires le débitent, afin de mieux faire valoir leur emploi.

July 1684 p.481

A work by Fabrice, in which are recorded 'tous les témoignages des Voyageurs qui semblent dire qu'il y a des Peuples destituez de toute connoissance de Dieu...il montre que leur témoignage n'est d'aucune force'. See also Continuation... XIII, p.55

August 1684 pp.87-89

Nouvelle Histoire d'Abissinie, ou d'Ethiopie, tirée de l'Histoire Latine de M.Ludolf...

October 1684 pp.247-253

Lettre de la Tartarie (in Latin).

November 1684 p.434

Refers to a letter from Verbiest regarding the Chinese Emperor's visit to Tartary.

January 1685 pp.95-96

Praise of the Chinese:

Ils ne reconnoissent point d'autres Gentilshommes que les gens de Lettres, et c'est déroger parmi eux et retomber dans la roture, que de quitter cette profession.

February 1685 pp.199-203

Lettre du Pere Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jesus...

Bayle says:

Je ne sçai pourquoi les Chrêtiens font si peu de réflexion sur l'esprit de tolerance qui régne dans ces Rois Payens que nous traitons hautement de barbares et de feroces. Voilà un Empereur Chinois très-persuadé que la Religion des Jesuites est fausse, et tout à fait opposée à celle dont lui et tous ses sujets font profession, qui ne laisse pas de souffrir ces Missionnaires, et de les traiter fort humainement.

May 1685 pp.560-561

Histoire de la Conquête de la Floride par les Espagnols sous Ferdinand de Soto: écrite en Portugais...

October 1685 pp.1160-1163

Histoire de l'Ethiopie Orientale composée en portugais par le R. pere Jean dos Santos...

...il y a bien de l'apparence que si ces bons Indiens, et Japonois sçavoient comment les Chrêtiens se sont traitez les uns les autres pendant mille ans, et comment ils ont traité les sauvages de l'Amérique, ils ne laisseroient pas mettre le pied dans leur país à pas un Chrêtien.

pp.1161-2

January 1686 pp.87-91

Fontenelle, Extrait d'une lettre écrite de Batavia dans les Indes Orientales

Spoof account, apparently accepted as genuine by Bayle, of fighting between two rival queens, Mréo (= Rome) and Eénegu (= Genève).

April 1686 pp.428-9

Extrait d'une lettre écrite de Versailles à l'auteur de ces Nouvelles...touchant quelques Manuscrits Chinois

Three hundred Chinese manuscripts arrived in Paris for translation.

September 1686 pp.1061-1080

October 1686 pp.1124-1143

Journal du voiage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, aux Indes Orientales par la mer Noire et par la Colchide

October 1686 pp.1151-1161

Liste des Jesuites qui ont été Missionnaires à la Chine après la mort de S.Xavier depuis l'an 1581 jusques à 1681...

Couplet mentions 106 Jesuits - Bayle thinks the real figure is probably higher.

p.1161 mentions Chaumont's account of Siam and letters published by the Abbé de Choisi.

November 1686 pp.1237-1255

Histoire du Monde de M.Chevreau

Pensées Diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne. A l'occasion de la Comète qui parut  
au mois de Decembre 1680

(Rotterdam, Leers, 1683).

Quotations

CLXV pp.499-500: Ricaut, L'Etat de l'Empire Ottoman

References

XVII p.35: Bernier, Relation du Mogol

XIX pp.47-48: Bernier, Voyage dans les Etats du Grand Mogol

XIX pp.48-50: Tavernier (on astrology in Persia).

XIX p.50: della Valle, Voyages... (astrology).

XIX pp.50-51: L'Ambassade de la Compagnie Hollandaise (astrology in China).

XIX pp.51-52: Tavernier, Nouvelles Relations

XLIV pp.113-114: Ricaut, L'Etat de l'Empire Ottoman

LXXIII p.188: Ricaut (superstition in the Orient).

LXXXVIII p.248: Ricaut (many sects among Turks).

LXXXIX p.252: Tavernier, Nouvelles Relations and della Valle (eclipses of the Moon).

CXXXII p.387: Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes des Provinces Unies (the Chinese worship and insult their idols in order to get what they want).

CXXXII p.387: Maffeus, Hist. Indicarum

CLXXIV pp.537-538: Ricaut (atheist Turks no less moral than others).

CLXXXII p.571: Ricaut (Turkish atheist willing to die rather than retract).

CCXLIV p.737: Ricaut (tolerance of Christianity by Islam).

CCLVI p.783: Spon, Voyage du Levant

No source

LXXIII p.188: superstitious beliefs in China, Japan, les Indes.

CIV p.316 : do atheist peoples exist?

CXXIX p.377: atheist nations could exist.

CXLV p.435: evidence for atheists?

Continuation des Pensées Diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la  
Comete qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680. Ou Reponse à plusieurs difficultez que  
Monsieur \*\*\* a proposées à l'Auteur

(Rotterdam, Leers, 1705).

Quotations

XIV pp.57-58: Le Gobien, Histoire des Iles Marianes (no belief in god, but belief in the immortality of the soul).

XVIII p.68: Ricaut, Etat present de l'Empire Ottoman (atheists in Turkey).

XXIV p.107: Bespier, Remarques sur Ricaut

There is no such thing as a universal morality - each nation has its own form of acceptable behaviour (e.g. the Druzes may marry their own daughters and exchange wives).

XXVIII p.136: Le Gobien, Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine

XXX p.144: Tachard, Voyage de Siam (Christians should not meddle in the affairs of other nations).

LXXVII pp.392-393: Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (atheists and idolaters in America).

LXXXV p.427: Sagard, Histoire du Canada

LXXXV pp.428-9: Lescarbot (atheism in some Americans, appearance of religion in others).

LXXXVI pp.430-435: Sagard (religious beliefs of some Americans).

CXIII pp.537-539: Le Gobien, Préface de l'Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine en faveur de la religion Chretienne

CXIII pp.539-541: Le Comte, Nouveaux memoires sur l'état present de la Chine (atheism of Chinese philosophers).

CXVIII pp.572-573: Le Gobien, Iles Marianes (atheist societies function very well).

CXLV p.728: Le Comte, Nouveaux memoires (Chinese god Fo).

CXLV pp.729-730: Le Gobien, Edit de l'Empereur

CXLV pp.730-732: Dapper (notions of morality amongst atheist Africans).

CXLIX pp.750-752: Tachard (contradictions of Siamese religion).

Letter from Jesuits in China in 1598. Atheist 'lettrés' more virtuous than idolatrous Bonzes.

### References

VI p.20: Jean de Léri, Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la terre du Brésil...

Existence of atheist societies destroys the argument of those who say that knowledge of God is innate.

XIX p.75: Relation de Canada de l'année 1642 - 'sauvages' converted to Christianity think they can sin as much as they like, since they will in any case be pardoned.

XXVII pp.126-132: Journal historique des assemblées tenues en Sorbonne pour condamner les memoires de la Chine

XXVIII pp.132-138: Le Comte. Debate over whether or not the Chinese were atheist - a way of attacking 'universal consent.'

XXXII p.158: Le Gobien, Iles Marianes

LXIX p.354: Bernier, Memoires de l'Empire du Grand Mogol

LXXXV p.427: Léri and Lescarbot (existence of atheist peoples).

LXXXVII: Sagard, Histoire du Canada

LXXXVIII pp.441-442: Dapper, Description de l'Afrique

Le Gobien, Iles Marianes

Idolatrous nations not proved to be any better than atheists.

CXVIII p.572: Dapper ('Cafres' are atheist, but have a highly organised society).

CXLIX p.751 and p.752: Abbé de Choisi, Journal

M. de Rochefort, Histoire des Iles Antilles

### No source

Avertissement, p.6: some people prefer to reject the evidence of récits rather than believe in the existence of atheist nations.

VI p.19: many discoveries have been made, but our knowledge is still not complete.

XIII p.55: Travellers have found atheists in Africa and America.

XV p.59: 'les peuples de l'Amérique que l'on a contraints barbarement à recevoir le baptême, et à renoncer à leurs idoles sans avoir ni convaincu, ni éclairé leur esprit.'

XVIII pp.68-69: 'parmi les Chinois, la nation la plus savante et la plus ingénieuse de l'Orient, il y a une secte d'Athées qui est celle de la plupart des lettrés ou des Philosophes.'

XIX pp.72-76: Missionaries claim to convert through persuasion.

LXXXVIII p.442: lack of 'civilisation' in the Americas.

CXVIII p.571: 'Des peuples athées divisés en familles indépendantes se sont maintenus de temps immémorial dans l'Amérique sans aucune loi.'

Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial (Rotterdam, Leers, 1704).

Quotations

T.I ch.XI p.79: Guillet, Lacedemone Ancienne et Nouvelle

T.I ch.LXIV p.596-600: Ricaut (Turks used to despotism).

T.II ch.XCIX p.381: Ambassade de la Compagnie Hollandaise vers l'Empereur du Japon  
and Chardin.

T.III ch.CLVI pp.982-3: Description de l'Ile Formosa

T.IV ch.XI pp.141-145: Apologie des Dominicains Missionnaires de la Chine  
Le Comte, Nouveaux Memoires

T.IV ch.XII pp.156-162: Le Gobien, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses

Bayle says he 'ne marque quoi que ce soit concernant la religion de ces Insulaires...Il semble qu'il y ait quelque mystere dans le silence qu'il a gardé sur un article que les nouvelles relations d'un peuple n'oublent jamais' (p.159).

T.IV ch.XVIII pp.254-255: Recueil des Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses

T.IV ch.XX: Recueil des Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses

T.IV ch.XX p.296: Bosman (also pp.367-371 and pp.372-374).

T.V pp.236-237: La Hontan, Suite du Voiage de l'Amerique (crime not controlled by religion alone).

References

T.I ch.LXV p.615: du Vignau, Etat présent de la puissance Ottomane

T.IV ch.XI: Tavernier and Dapper on atheists.

T.IV ch.XI p.143: Longobardi and Navarette on Chinese religion.

T.IV ch.XI pp.145-6: Aleonissa, Conformité des ceremonies Chinoises avec l'Idolatrie Grecque et Romaine

T.IV ch.XI pp.148-9: de Vallone, acceptance of atheism in récits.

T.IV p.155: Fabrice, list of atheists in Bibliotheca Graeca

T.IV p.445: Guillet (Turks think it is acceptable to mistreat non-Turks).

No source

T.I ch.XXXVII p.347: 'Les decouvertes du nouveau monde en Orient, et en Occident nous ont appris qu'elle [la superstition] s'est fourrée par tout.'

T.I ch.XLIV p.429: Chinese and Japanese strike and insult statues of their gods.

T.I ch.LXIV p.593: 'bonheur des Peuples qui n'ont pour regle que les Loix de la Nature.'

T.II ch.XCIV p.268: 'Un Sultan qui se marie à une esclave, ne perd rien de sa dignité; mais si une Sultane veuve se marioit à un bourgeois, elle ne seroit qu'une bourgeoise.'

T.II ch.XCVI p.292: 'Si la religion étoit un attribut essentiel à l'espèce humaine, on n'auroit besoin ni de voïages, ni de relations de voïages, pour pouvoir dire veritablement que tous les peuples du monde reconoissent la Divinité, et l'ont toûjours reconuë, et la reconoîtront toûjours.'

T.II ch.XCVI p.296: We do not know all the nations on earth.

T.II ch.XCVI p.298: Atheist peoples have been discovered, so perhaps not all undiscovered nations have a religion.

T.II ch.XCVII pp.299-300: Are accounts of atheist nations true?

T.II ch.XCIX p.323: Long history of the Chinese.

T.IV ch.XI pp.140-150: Positive atheism of the Chinese.

...le grand nombre de relations qui assûrent que l'on a trouvé des peuples athées dans le Nouveau Monde, et le merite des Auteurs qui ajoûtent foi à cela, font beaucoup de peine aux Theologiens.

p.140

T.V pp.147-148: discretion needed for baptism of Chinese women.

Authors referred to or quoted by Bayle in works other than the DHC

Americas

Author of the Conquête de Floride (NRL)

La Hontan (ROP)

Léri (CPD)

Lescarbot (CPD)

Recueil des Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses (ROP)

Rochefort (CPD)

Sagard (CPD)

Africa

Bosman (ROP)

Dapper (CPD, ROP)

Dos Santos (NRL)

Ludolf (NRL)

Near/Middle East

Bespier (CPD, ROP)

Chardin (NRL, ROP)

Guillet (ROP)

Moni/Simon (NRL)

Ricaut (PD, CPD, ROP)

Spon (PD)

Tavernier (PD, ROP)

della Valle (PD)

Far East

Ambassade de la Cie Hollandaise (PD, RQP)

Apologie des Dominicains Missionnaires de la Chine (RQP)

Bernier (CPD, PD)

Choisi (CPD)

Author of the Description de l'Ile Formosa (RQP)

Fontenelle (NRL)

Le Comte (CPD)

Le Gobien (CPD, RQP)

Maffeus (PD)

Tachard (CPD)

Verbiest (NRL)

References to recits in Bayle divided by subject and area of the world

	<u>COC</u>	<u>CP</u>	<u>PDC</u>
<u>Historical/geo.</u>			Americas: 0
<u>precision</u>			N/M East: 1
			F.East: 0
			Africa: 0
<u>Religion</u>	Americas: 1	Americas: 0	Americas: 0
	N/M East: 0	N/M East: 2	N/M East: 5
	F.East: 4	F.East: 13	F. East: 2
	Africa: 0	Africa: 0	Africa: 0
<u>Government</u>			
<u>Moeurs</u>			
<u>Ceremonies/</u>			Americas: 0
<u>superstitions</u>			N/M East: 6
			F. East: 6
			Africa: 0

	<u>CPD</u>	<u>RQP</u>	<u>DHC</u>
<u>Historical/geo. precision</u>		Americas:0 N/M East: 0 F. East: 1 Africa: 0	Americas: 7 N/M East: 28 F. East: 0 Africa: 0
<u>Religion</u>	Americas: 12 N/M East: 1 F. East: 16 Africa: 4	Americas: 2 N/M East: 2 F. East: 10 Africa: 4	Americas: 2 N/M East: 18 F. East: 22 Africa: 0
<u>Government</u>		Americas: 0 N/M East: 2 F. East: 0 Africa: 0	Americas: 0 N/M East: 3 F. East: 1 Africa: 0
<u>Moeurs</u>	Americas: 1 N/M East: 1 F. East: 0 Africa: 0	Americas: 1 N/M East: 2 F. East: 0 Africa: 0	Americas: 2 N/M East: 8 F. East: 0 Africa: 0
<u>Ceremonies/ superstitions</u>	Americas: 0 N/M East: 0 F. East: 1 Africa: 0		Americas: 0 N/M East: 6 F. East: 0 Africa: 0

References to récits in Bayle, expressed as percentages

	<u>COC</u>	<u>CP</u>	<u>PDC</u>	<u>CPD</u>	<u>ROP</u>	<u>DHC</u>
<u>Americas</u>	20%			36.1%	12.5%	11.3%
<u>N/M East</u>		13.3%	60%	5.5%	25%	64.9%
<u>Far East</u>	80%	86.6%	40%	47.2%	45.8%	23.7%
<u>Africa</u>				11.1%	16.6%	

General references to no specific area of the world have been omitted here, and for the DHC only references to particular authors are included (ie. not articles which have been 'influenced' by récits).

	<u>COC</u>	<u>CP</u>	<u>PDC</u>	<u>CPD</u>	<u>ROP</u>	<u>DHC</u>
<u>Hist/geo. precision</u>			5%		4.2%	36%
<u>Religion</u>	100%	100%	35%	91.6%	75%	43.3%
<u>Government</u>					8.3%	4.1%
<u>Moeurs</u>				5.5%	12.5%	10.3%
<u>Ceremonies/ Superstition</u>			60%	2.7%		6.9%

## **Appendix D**

**Use of Travel Writers in Bayle's contemporaries and successors**

Comparisons between articles in Bayle containing references to récits and the same articles

in several editions of the Moréri

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Abaris</u>	Appears	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Doesn't appear
<u>Abdas</u>	No ref. Siam	No ref. Siam	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	No ref. Siam
<u>Abudhahe</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	<u>Abuthahe</u> or <u>Abudhahe</u> . Ref. to B.	<u>Abou-Thahe</u> : Herbelot. <u>Abuthahe</u> or <u>Abudhahe</u> : ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Abumuslimus</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	<u>Abu-Meslem</u> or <u>Abumuslimus</u> or <u>Aboumolsem</u> : Herbelot+B.	<u>Abu-meslem</u> or <u>Aboumoslem</u> : Herbelot+B.	Ref. to B.

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Acuña</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	<u>Acugna</u> : ref. to B.(similar phrases).	Ref. to B.
<u>Adam</u>	No refs. to récits	Appears	Appears	No refs. to récits	No refs. to récits
<u>Apafi</u>	<u>Abaffi</u> : no refs.to récits	<u>Abaffi</u> or <u>Apaffi</u> : no récits	<u>Abaffi</u> or <u>Apaffi</u> : no récits	<u>Abaffi</u> or <u>Apaffi</u> : no récits	<u>Abaffi</u> :no refs. to récits.
<u>Blomberg</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Bourgogne</u>	General article: no récits	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits
<u>Brachmanes</u>	Kircher,Lord, Bernier	Kircher,Lord, Bernier	Le Gobien,Lord, Tachard,Kircher, Bernier,Bayle	Kircher,Lord, Bernier,Le Gobien,Tachard, Bayle	Le Gobien, Tachard,Lord, Kircher,Bernier,Bayle

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Braunbom</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Doesn't appear
<u>Busbec</u>	<u>Busebec</u> or <u>Boesbec</u>	<u>Busebec</u> or <u>Boesbec</u>	<u>Busbec</u> or <u>Boesbec</u>	or <u>Boesbec</u>	Appears
<u>Claude(Emp)</u>	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits
<u>Combabus</u>	<u>Combade</u> Short art.	<u>Combabe</u> No details	Longer art. Details from B.	No refs. to récits	No refs. to East
<u>David</u>	No récits	'La Critique que <u>M. Bayle</u> a faite de cet article a donné lieu de rectifier la mauvaise narra- tion du Sr Morery, en quelques en- droits'	No récits	No récits	No récits
<u>Fatime</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	<u>Fathmé</u> and <u>Fatime</u> : Chardin,Herbelot.	DellaValle, Herbelot,Chardin, Tavernier	Herbelot

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Gymnosophistes</u>	<u>Gimnosophistes</u> Ref. <u>Bramines</u>		Ref. <u>Bramines</u>	Ref. <u>Bramines</u>	Ref. <u>Bramines</u>
<u>Golius</u>	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Hali-Beigh</u>	<u>Hali-Beg</u> Spon	<u>Hali-Beg:</u> Spon	<u>Hali-Beg:</u> Spon,Bayle	<u>Hali-Beg:</u> Spon,Bayle	Spon,Ricaut, Bayle
<u>Hercule</u>	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits
<u>Hipparchia</u>	No récits	No récits	<u>Hipparchie</u> No récits	<u>Hipparchie</u> No récits	No récits
<u>Japon</u>	or <u>Japan</u> Maffée,Thevet, Amb. des Holl.	or <u>Japan</u> Maffée,Thevet, Amb. des Holl.	or <u>Japan</u> Engelbert, Kaempfer, Crasset	or <u>Japan</u> Maffé,Thevet, Amb. des Holl. Kaempfer	Tavernier,Maffé, Thevet, Amb. des Holl.
<u>Job</u>	Ref. Ricaut	Ref. to Ricaut	Ref. to Ricaut	Ricaut	Doesn't appear

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Jonas</u>	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B.	No récits	No récits
<u>Jonas(Arn)</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Lemnos</u>	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B. + <u>Stalimène</u>	Ref. to B. + <u>Stalimène</u>	Ref. to B.
<u>Leon</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B. Short art.	Ref. to B. No quotations
<u>Leonclavius</u>	Appears	Appears	<u>Leunclavius</u>	<u>Leunclavius</u>	Appears
<u>Léri</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	'..le Dictionnaire de M.Bayle... nous fournit cet article'	Appears	<u>DHC</u> 'nous fournit cet article'
<u>Lescarbot</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B. (similar phrases)	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Lucrèce</u>	No récits	No récits	Appears	Ref. to B.	Appears

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Macédoine</u>	No récits	No récits	Appears	Appears	No récits
<u>Mahomet</u>	No récits	No récits	Herbelot, Chardin,Bayle	Herbelot, Chardin,Bayle	Herbelot,Bayle
<u>Majus</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.
<u>Maldonat</u>	No récits	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Manichéens</u>	<u>Manes</u> No récits	<u>Manes</u> No récits	<u>Manes</u> No récits	<u>Manes</u> No récits	No récits
<u>Marets</u>	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	No récits
<u>Mariana</u>	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B.	No récits	No récits
<u>La Mecque</u>	Davity,Bellon	Davity,Belon	Davity,Chardin, Bayle	Davity,Chardin, Bayle	Daviti,Bayle
<u>Milton</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Little on toler- ance

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Nephes Ogli</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	'Si tout cela est vrai, c'est une grossière imitation de la naissance de J.C. et si cela n'est pas vrai...ils ont perdu leur peine; car tous ces contes faits en l'air n'infirmen en aucune manière la vérité de l'Histoire de l'Evangile.'	Appears	Appears
<u>Osman</u>	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits
<u>Patin</u>	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	No récits
<u>Rapin</u>	No récits	No récits	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Richer</u>	Critical of Prots.	Critical.	Ref. to B.	Paraphrase/ quotation from B.	Not whole story

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Rimini</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	<u>d'Arimini</u> or <u>de Rimini</u>	Doesn't appear
<u>Rorarius</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Ruggeri</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Sainte-Maure</u>	Coronelli	Coronelli	Coronelli	Coronelli	No récits
<u>Sommona-Codom</u>	<u>Sommonokhodom</u> Tachard <u>Thevathat</u>	Tachard	Tachard,la Loubère,de la Croze, <u>Thevathat</u>	Tachard,la Loubère,de la Croze, <u>Thevathat</u>	Tachard
<u>Spinoza</u>	<u>Spinosa</u> No récits	<u>Spinosa</u> No récits	<u>Spinosa</u>	<u>Spinosa</u> or <u>Spinoza</u> Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Tavernier</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.	Ref. to B.
<u>Taulerus</u>	Doesn't appear	<u>Thaulere</u>	<u>Taulere</u> Ref. to B.	<u>Taulère</u> Ref. to B.	<u>Thauler</u>

	<u>Moréri 1694</u>	<u>Moréri 1702</u>	<u>Moréri 1731</u>	<u>Moréri 1740</u>	<u>Moréri 1759</u>
<u>Tenedos</u>	<u>Tenedo</u> Grelot	Grelot	Grelot,Spon	Grelot,Spon	Spon
<u>Torquato</u>	Doesn't appear	Doesn't appear	Leunclavius,Bayle	Leunclavius,Bayle	Ref.to Bayle
<u>Villegaignon</u>	<u>Villegagnon</u> Richier,du Verdier	Richer,du Verdier	Lery,Bayle	<u>Ville-gagnon</u> Léry,Bayle	Anti-Prot.
<u>Xenocrate</u>	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits	No récits
<u>Zoroastre</u>	No récits	Hyde Ref. to 'Persans d'aujourd'hui'	Ref. <u>Gaures</u>	Ref. <u>Gaures</u> 'Les Disciples de Zoroastre, qui sont encore en Perse, y sont appelez <u>Gaures</u> ou Infidèles.'	No récits

Examples of articles on travel appearing in the 1694 and 1702 Moréris but not in Bayle

Amerique: Maffée, Champelain, Cieca, Rochefort, de la Vega

Chine: Grueber, Martini, Couplet

Golconde: Bernier, Tavernier, Sanson, du Val

Inde: Pyrard, Davity, Tavernier, Bernier

Siam: Tachard, la Loubère, Choisi

Thevathat: Tachard

Tonquin: Tavernier, Martini

In order to permit a direct comparison between Bayle and Moréri, we give from the DHC (1720) and the GDH (1740) the article Fatime.

This article did not appear in the Moréri until the eighteenth century, and the similarities with Bayle's text indicate his influence at work. Despite this, however, there are notable differences between the two - Bayle's is longer, with authors of récits quoted and references to their works meticulously given, the Moréri gives less discussion and fewer quotations. As we have noted, Bayle gives long footnotes with additional details, whereas in the GDH all the information is contained in one main text.

A similar pattern is observed in other articles - Leon occupies just a few lines in the Moréri, but in Bayle contains long notes and quotations, Lemnos covers five pages in the DHC, with 'remarques' up to M, marginal notes in the text up to (t) and in the footnotes marginal notes reaching (88).

### Dictionnaire Historique et Critique (1720)

#### Fatime

Fatime, fille de Mahomet, et femme d'Ali. Quelques Relations portent qu'elle est la grande Sainte qu'on vénere avec tant de dévotion à Com (a) (A) : mais la plupart des Voyageurs sont d'un autre sentiment. Les uns disent que la Sainte de Com est fille d'Ali et de Fatime (B). Selon Pietro della Valle elle est leur petite-fille (C). D'autres disent qu'elle est fille de Mousa fils de Dgafer. Cette dernière opinion est soutenue par une preuve authentique, je veux dire par les titres que l'on donne à la Sainte de Com dans les Prières solennelles que les pèlerins lui adressent (D). Ce sont des Prières de Formulaire, et par conséquent elles fournissent une bonne preuve, qui ne nous donne pas une grande idée de l'exactitude des Voyageurs, puis que quelques-uns des plus célèbres rapportent si mal les qualitez d'une telle Sainte. Il paroît par ce Formulaire de Prières que Fatime, fille de Mahomet, femme d'Ali, mere de quelques enfans, est néanmoins vénérée comme une vierge (E).

(a) C'est une Ville de Perse.

(A) 'Quelques Relations portent qu'elle est la grande Sainte...de Com.' Herbert, dans son *Voyage de Perse*, aiant dit que la Mosquée de Com est magnifique, ajoûte (1): 'La devotion que l'on a pour ce lieu l'a enrichie de plusieurs grands presens que l'on y a portez au sepulcre de Fatime femme de Mortis Ali, et fille de Mahomet le grand Prophete de tous les Musulmans, laquelle y est enterrée. Le bâtiment de la Mosquée est rond et fait à l'Epirotique. La tombe de la pretendue Sainte est élevée de douze pieds de terre, et est couverte d'un draps de velours blanc, et l'on y monte par quelques marches faites d'argent massif.'

(1) Pag.339, cité par Bespier, *Remarques sur l'Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman* par Ricaut, Tom.I, pag.23

(B) 'Les uns disent qu'elle est fille d'Ali et de Fatime.' C'est ce qu'on trouve dans la Relation de Figueroa: on m'aprit, dit-il, (2), 'qu'il y avoit' à Com 'une Mosquée fort celebre, dediée à la memoire d'une grande Sainte nommée Lela, petite fille de Mahomet, et fille d'Ali et de Fatima.' Le Sieur Bespier avance une Conjecture qui n'est pas sans beaucoup de vraisemblance: 'Le nom de Lela,' dit-il (3), 'se donne ordinairement aux grandes Dames de l'Afrique, et c'est aussi le titre d'honneur qu'on y donne à la bienheureuse Vierge, mere de nôtre Seigneur JESUS, pour laquelle les Mahometans ont beaucoup de respect et de veneration, aussi bien que pour son fils.' Il cite Diego de Torres qui assûre (4) 'qu'ils apellent la Sainte Vierge Lela Mariam, qui signifie la Dame Marie, et que (5) toutes les filles du Cherif prenoient le titre de Lela, et les nomme toutes quatre, à savoir Lela Mariam, Lela Aya, Lela Fatime, et Lela Lu.' Après cela Bespier ajoûte, qu'il a 'quelque panchant à croire que Lela n'étoit pas le nom propre' de la Sainte dont Figueroa fait mention, 'mais seulement le titre d'honneur qui le precedoit, et qu'elle avoit un autre nom que Figueroa a omis, ou qu'on ne lui aprit point. Les habitans de Com, 'qui tenoient cette fille-là pour une Sainte, s'étant contentez de l'appeller par excellence Lela ou la Dame : à peu pres de même qu'on dit aujourd'hui Nôtre-Dame parmi la plûpart des Chretiens, pour dire la Sainte Vierge Marie.

(2) Ambassade, pag.220, citée par Bespier, le même.

(3) Là même, pag.22.

(4) Histoire des Cherifs, Chap.LXXIV

(5) Là même chap.CVII

(C) 'Selon Pietro della Valle elle est leur petite-fille.'

'Il y a un beau pont à Com, et on voit auprès du pont une belle Mosquée, dans laquelle on me dit qu'une soeur d'Iman Riza qu'ils ont en veneration, et qui fut un des successeurs des plus estimez de Mahomet, est enterrée, et laquelle ils considerent aussi pour une Sainte à leur mode, tellement qu'ils ont beaucoup de respect et de veneration pour le lieu de sa sepulture.' (6) Iman Riza étoit fils d'Hossein, qui étoit fils de Fatime (7) :disons donc que la soeur d'Iman Riza est petite-fille de Fatime. Les Relations de Tavernier s'accordent ici avec celles de Pietro della Valle. 'Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable à Com est une grande Mosquée...où l'on voit les sepultures de Cha-Sefi et de Cha-Abas second, et celle de Sidi-Fatime fille de Iman-Hocen, qui étoit fils d'Ali et de Fatima Zurha fille de Mahomet (8).'

(6) Pietro della Valle, pag.58 du II Vol. de ses Voiages, cité par Bespier, Remarques sur l'Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman pag.23, 24.

(7) Bespier, là même, pag.24.

(8) Tavernier, Voiag. Livr.1, pag.75, d'Edit.de Hollande, 1679.

(D) 'Les Prieres solennelles que les pèlerins lui adressent.' Mr. Chardin a raporté les 'deux principales Oraisons qu'on fait dire aux Pelerins' de Com. La première commence ainsi: 'Je visite Madame et maitresse Fathmé, fille de Mousa, fils de Dgafer, sur qui soit le salut et la paix éternellement.' Il y a une chose considérable dans ces Prieres, c'est qu'on s'y recommande à l'intercession de cette Sainte, et que l'on y fait des voeux pour elle. Vous avez déjà vu qu'on lui souhaite la paix et le salut éternel; voici un autre morceau de formulaire: 'Je te souhaite le salut éternel, ô Fathmé fille de Mousa, Vierge Sainte, vertueuse, juste, directrice de verité, pieuse, Sanctifiée, digne de toutes nos

loüanges, qui aime souverainement les fidelles, et qui en est souverainement aimée: Fille sans tache et exempte de toute impureté. Dieu veuille prendre son plus grand plaisir en toi, t'avoir pour agreable et t'affermir dans le Paradis, qui est ta demeure et ton refuge éternellement.' (10) Mais voici de quelle maniere on se recommande tout aussitôt à ses prieres (11): 'Je te suis venu chercher, ô Dame et Maîtresse de mon ame, dans la vue de m'approcher de Dieu très-haut par cet acte de pieté, et de son Apôtre et de ses enfans. La misericorde de Dieu soit sur lui et sur eux éternellement. J'abhorre et deteste mes pechez, dont j'ai fait un malheureux fardeau qui m'accable, et je fais mes efforts pour briser le joug de l'Enfer. Daigne m'accorder ton intercession, ô sainte Vierge, au jour que les bons seront separez d'avec les mechans. Sois moi propice alors; car tu es d'une race et sortie de parens qui ne laissent tomber dans le malheur nul de ceux qui les aiment, qui ne refusent jamais rien à quiconque les vient prier, qui detournent toute sorte de mal de dessus ceux qui les cherissent, et de qui les ennemis au contraire ne sauroient jamais prosperer.

Mr Chardin nous apprend (12) que le tombeau de cette Fathmé a été rebâti trois fois: 'Son père,' continue-t-il, 'l'amena à Com à cause de la persecution que les Califes de Bagdad faisoient à sa famille, et à tous ceux qui tenoient d'Ali et ses descendans pour seuls legitimes successeurs de Mahammed. Elle fit faire de beaux édifices en cette ville, et y mourut. Le peuple croit que Dieu l'enleva au Ciel, et que son tombeau ne renferme rien, et n'est qu'une representation.' L'Eglise Romaine n'est donc pas la seule qui honore l'assomption des Vierges. Nous allons voir que la Conception immaculée, et la Virginité d'une mere, semblent être deux dogmes du Mahométisme. Il manque une chose au narré de Mr.Chardin. Il faloit nous dire en quel tems vivoit Mousa pere de Fathmé.

(9) Journal du Voiage de Perse, pag.464 d'Edition d'Amsterdam chez Wolfgang, 1686.

(10) Journal du Voiage de Perse, pag.465.

(11) Là même.

(12) Là même pag.468.

(E) Quoique 'femme d'Ali, et mere de quelques enfans, elle est néanmoins vénérée comme une vierge.' Les pèlerins doivent dire selon de Formulaire des Prieres entre autres choses celle-ci: 'Je te souhaite le salut éternel, ô Vierge très pure, très juste et immaculée, glorieuse Fathmé fille de Mahammed L'Elu, femme d'Ali le bien aimé, mere des douze vrais vicaires de Dieu d'illustre naissance.' (13)

(13) Journal du Voiage de Perse, pag.464

Grand Dictionnaire Historique (1740)Fatime

Fatime, fille de Mahomet, et femme d'Ali, Chef d'une Secte des Musulmans, appelée la Secte des Fathimites, a été et est encore en vénération parmi ceux de cette Secte qui la regardent comme une Vierge, quoi qu'elle ait eu plusieurs enfans. Quelques Relations portent qu'elle est la grande Sainte qu'on vénère avec tant de dévotion à Com; mais la plupart des Voyageurs sont d'un autre sentiment. Les uns disent, que la Sainte de Com est fille d'Ali et de Fatime. Selon Pietro della Valle, elle est leur petite-fille. D'autres disent qu'elle est fille de Mousa, fils de Dgafer. Cette dernière opinion est soutenue par une preuve authentique, savoir par les titres, que l'on donne à la Sainte de Com dans les prières solennelles, que les Pélerins lui adressent. Ce sont des prières de Formulaire, et par conséquent elles fournissent une bonne preuve, qui ne nous donne pas une grande idée de l'exactitude des Voyageurs, puisque quelques-uns des plus célèbres racontent si mal les qualitez d'une telle Sainte. Il paroît par ce Formulaire de prières, que Fatime, fille de Mahomet, femme d'Ali, mère de quelques enfans, est néanmoins vénérée comme une Vierge. 'Je te souhaite,' lui dit-on, 'le Salut éternel, ô Vierge très pure, très juste et immaculée, glorieuse Fathmé, fille de Mahammed l'Elu, femme d'Ali le bien-aimé, mère des douze Vrais Vicaires de Dieu d'illustre naissance.' Peut-être que le mot de Vierge, signifie aussi une Femme chaste. Elle mourut à Médine six mois après son père, âgée de 28 ans.

Herbelot

Tavernier

Chardin

Fontenelle

	<u>De l'Origine</u> <u>des fables</u>	<u>Digressions sur</u> <u>les Anciens</u>	<u>Entretiens sur</u> <u>la Pluralité...</u>
<u>Americas</u>	2	0	3
<u>Africa</u>	0	0	3
<u>N/M East</u>	0	1	3
<u>Far East</u>	1	1	4
<u>General</u>	2	1	2

La Mothe le VayerLa Vertu des Payens

<u>Americas</u>	2
<u>Africa</u>	1
<u>N/M East</u>	5
<u>Far East</u>	12
<u>General</u>	4

Madame de Sévigné

Ayez une vue du Canada comme d'un bien qui n'est plus à portée...Mais quoi que votre philosophie vous fasse imaginer, c'est une triste chose que d'habiter un nouveau monde, et de quitter celui qu'on connaît et que l'on aime, pour aller vivre dans un autre climat, avec gens qu'on serait fâché de connaître en celui-ci. 'On est de tout pays': ceci est de Montaigne; mais en disant cela, il était bien à son aise dans sa maison.

6 April 1672

Je vous ai vue longtemps à décider d'une couleur; c'est la marque d'une âme trop éclairée, qui voit si clairement toutes les difficultés qu'elle demeure comme suspendue, comme le tombeau de Mahomet.

12 January 1674

J'approuve vos résolutions de préférer toujours l'eau à la terre; mais n'allez pas pour cela vous embarquer au voyage des Sevarambes: je ne vous en trouve pas trop éloignée.

23 June 1677

Vous n'irez pas en Barbarie, mais il y aura bien de la barbarie si cette fatigue vous fait du mal. Il est vrai...que ces deux bouts de la terre où nous sommes plantées, est une chose qui fait frémir, et surtout quand je serai près de notre Océan, pouvant aller aux Indes, comme vous en Afrique.

20 March 1680

Le Journal des Sçavans (1665-1710)

- 19/01/1665, pp.41-42: Voyage fait au Levant par M.Thévenot
- 01/03/1666, pp.304-7: L'Histoire des Indes Orientales du R.P. Maffée...
- 29/03/1666, pp.354-8: Journal des Voyages de M. de Monconys
- 10/05/1666, pp.445-9: Monconys
- 10/05/1666, pp.450-1: L'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Provinces-Unies vers l'Empereur de la Chine
- 17/05/1666, pp.465-6: Relation de l'isle de Tabago...par le Sieur de Rochefort
- 02/08/1666, pp.619-20: Relation du Voyage de Mgr.l'Evesque de Beryte, par M. de Bourges, Prestre
- 09/08/1666, pp.627-31: Relation de divers voyages curieux (Thévenot)
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1665	1				1
1666	2	3	1		6
1667	1		1		2
1668		1			1
1669					0
1670					0
1671					0
1672		2	4		6
1673					0
1674					0
1675	3	1			4
1676	2	1	1		4
1677	2	1			3
1678	1				1
1679	1	1			2
1680	1	1			2
1681	1		1		2
1682	1		1		2
1683		1	1		2
1684	2			2	4
1685	2	3			5
1686	1	1			2
1687		1		1	2
1688	1	5			6
1689		2	1	2	5
1690	1	1			2
1691		1	2		3

1692		2	1		3
1693		1			1
1694	2				2
1695	2			1	3
1696	4				4
1697		2	1		3
1698	1	4	1	1	7
1699		2			2
1700		2	2		4
1701		3			3
1702	1	1			2
1703		1			1
1704	1				1
1705		3			3
1706	1	3		1	5
1707	1	5	2		8
1708	1	3	1		5
1709		1	2		3
1710	2	1		1	4
Total	39	60	23	9	131

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	<u>Africa</u>	<u>Americas</u>	<u>Far East</u>	<u>N/M East</u>
1687	0	0	1	1
1688	0	0	3	1
1689	1	1	0	2
1690	0	0	0	0
1691	1	0	1	1
1692	0	1	1	0
1693	0	0	1	0
1694	0	0	0	0
1695	0	0	0	1
1696	0	0	0	0
1697	0	0	0	1
1698	0	0	1	0
1699	0	0	1	0
1700	0	0	2	1
1701	0	0	1	0
1702	0	1	3	0
1703	0	0	0	0
1704	1	1	1	0
1705	0	0	0	1
1706	0	0	0	0
1707	<u>HOS</u> not published			
1708	0	0	0	0
Total	3	4	16	9

Total number: 32

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p.245-294: Voiages de M. de Thevenot, en Asie et en Afrique...

Tome XIV

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1686	1	2	2	1		6
1687	0	1	1	4		6
1688	1	0	3	0	1	5
1689	0	0	4	1		5
1690	0	2	0	0		2
1691	0	0	1	1		2
1692	0	1	0	1		2
1693	0	0	1	1		2
Total	2	6	12	9	1	30

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	<u>Americas</u>	<u>N/M East</u>	<u>Far East</u>	<u>Africa</u>	<u>General</u>
1703	0	0	0	0	0
1704	0	0	0	0	0
1705	1	0	0	0	0
1706	0	0	0	0	0
1707	0	0	0	0	0
1708	0	0	0	0	0
1709	0	0	0	0	0
1710	0	1	0	0	0
1711	0	1	0	0	0
1712	1	0	0	0	1
1713	0	0	0	0	0
1714	0	1	0	0	0
1715	0	0	0	0	2
1716	1	0	0	0	0
1717	1	2	0	0	0
1718	0	1	1	0	0
1719	0	1	0	0	0
1720	0	1	0	0	1
1721	0	0	0	0	0
1722	1	0	0	0	0
1723	1	3	2	0	0
1724	2	1	0	0	0
1725	0	1	0	0	0
1726	0	0	0	0	0
1727	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	13	3	0	4

Total number of récits: 28

Occurrence of récits in Bayle, journals and a bibliography of récits

	<u>Africa</u>	<u>Americas</u>	<u>N/M East</u>	<u>Far East</u>	<u>General</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Bayle</u>	4(7.7%)	10(19.2%)	23(44.2%)	15(28.8%)	0	52
<u>IdS</u> (1665-1710)	9(6.9%)	23(17.5%)	39(29.7%)	60(45.8%)	0	131
<u>HOS</u> (1687-1708)	3(9.4%)	4(12.5%)	9(28.1%)	16(50%)	0	32
<u>BUH</u> (1686-93)	2(6.6%)	6(20%)	12(40%)	9(30%)	1(3.3%)	30
<u>BC/BAM</u> (1703-14 and 1714-27)	0	8(28.6%)	13(46.4%)	3(10.7%)	4(14.3%)	28
<u>Bourgeois/</u> <u>André</u> (1610-1715)	18(10.7%)	53(31.7%)	58(34.7%)	28(16.8%)	10(6%)	167
(1610-1706)	13(11.1%)	30(25.6%)	46(39.3%)	24(20.5%)	4(3.4%)	117

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	No. of titles (in brackets no. pub. after 1706).	No. of these referred to by Bayle.
<u>France et l'Europe</u> (only 'Le Levant, inc.)	20 (4)	3(3/16, c.1/5)
<u>Asie/Afrique</u>	94 (23)	7(7/71, c.1/10)
<u>Amerique</u>	53 (22 + 1 MS)	3(3/30, 1/10)
<u>Terres Polaires du Nord</u>	4(1)	2(2/3)

Thus Bayle refers to approximately 20% of the titles on Le Levant recorded by Bourgeois and André, 10% of titles on Asia and Africa, 10% on America and 65% on the Terres Polaires (titles published after 1706 omitted).

He also uses works which do not appear in Bourgeois and André, though - five on the Americas, eight on the Far East, fifteen on the Middle East, four on Africa.

	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	Mod.
<u>Americas</u>	2	2		1	2	4	2	4	5	5	2	5	17
<u>Africa</u>				2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	4
<u>N/M East</u>		2	2	1	2	5	7	13	7	4	3	6	6
<u>Far East</u>				2	3	1	4	3	4	2	6		3
<u>General</u>		1					1		2				6
<u>Total</u>	2	5	2	6	8	12	15	22	20	13	12	12	36

Total 165(minus 4 undated and 4 on the 'Terres Polaires').

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February 1717: Woodes Rogers, Voyage autour du Monde

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June 1765: Mémoires militaires et voyages du R. de P. Singlande...

January 1768: Voyage autour du monde fait en 1764 et 1765

November 1772: Journal d'un voyage autour du monde en 1768-71

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April 1720/January 1721 /March 1721 :Troisième voyage du sieur Paul Lucas fait en 1714...dans la Turquie, l'Asie...

July 1726: Voyages de J.Ovington

April 1735/May 1735: Mémoires du Chevalier Arvieux...

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- August 1701 : Voyage du Levant par Corneille le Bruyn
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- July 1701 : Beaugrand, Relation nouvelle et très-fidèle de la terre sainte
- February 1705: Morisson, Relation historique d'un voyage nouvellement fait au Mont Sinai et à Jerusalem...
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June 1767: Voyage de Robertson aux Terres-Australes

	<u>No. titles</u>	<u>No. articles</u>
<u>Americas</u>	20	27
<u>Africa</u>	1	1
<u>Near/Middle East</u>	22	30
<u>Far East</u>	7	10
<u>'Autour du monde'</u>	11	13
<u>Total</u>	61	81

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