## CONTENTS

**introduction**

**timeline of principal events and publications**

**note on the texts**

1. Dissertation on the Innocence of Errors of the Mind  
2. Anti-Machiavel, or a Study of Machiavelli’s *The Prince*  
3. Preface to *History of My Age*  
4. Dissertation on the Reasons for Establishing or Repealing Laws  
5. Epistle XVIII: To Marshal Keith, on the Vain Terrors of Death and the Fears of Another Life  
6. Epistle XX: To My Soul (*À mon esprit*)  
7. Preface to Extracts from Bayle’s *Historical and Critical Dictionary*  
8. Preface to *Abridgement of the Ecclesiastical History by Fleury*  
10. Letter on Education  
11. Examination of the *Essay on Prejudice*  
12. Critical Examination of *The System of Nature*  
13. Dialogue of the Dead between Madame de Pompadour and the Virgin Mary  
14. Essay on the Forms of Government and the Duties of Sovereigns  

**acknowledgements**

**notes**

**index**
Dissertation on the Innocence of Errors of the Mind

I consider myself obliged, Monsieur, to justify to you my present inactivity and to give you some account of the use I am making of my time. You know my interest in, and indeed my passion for, philosophy, which attends, faithfully, my every step. A number of my friends, who know this to be my overriding predilection—and either to humour me, or because they themselves take pleasure in it too—often engage me in speculative talk on questions of physics, metaphysics, or ethics. Our conversations are usually of little interest, since they revisit well-known topics that are either commonplace or unworthy of the enlightened attention of true scholars. The conversation I had yesterday evening with Philante, however, appeared to me to be worthier of note: it concerned a subject that both interests and divides almost the whole of the human race. I thought at once of you. It seemed to me that I owed you this conversation. On my return from my walk with him, I went straight up to my room; and, with my thoughts still fresh and my mind still full of our own, earlier, discussion, I recorded it on paper, as faithfully as I was able. I beg you, Monsieur, to tell me what you think of it, and if I am fortunate enough to have earned it, the sincerity of your response will be the reward for my efforts. I will, if you do not find my work displeasing, be amply rewarded.

Never was weather lovelier than yesterday: the sun blazed more beautifully than usual, the sky was so tranquil that no trace of a cloud, however distant, was to be seen. I had spent the whole morning studying, after which, to refresh my ideas a little, I joined Philante for a walk. We spent quite some time agreeing as to the great good fortune enjoyed by the human race, to which, however, the majority of them are quite oblivious, insensible as they are to the pleasures of beautiful sunshine and air that is tranquil and pure. Having passed in this way from one consideration to another, we noticed, at last, that our conversation had prolonged, infinitely, our walk, and that it was imperative we curtail it if we were to reach home before darkness fell. Philante, who noticed this first, blamed me; I defended myself by saying that his conversation...
always seemed to me so agreeable that I took no account of time when I found myself in his company, and that I had believed there would be time enough to think of returning home when we saw the sun go down.

‘What? See the sun go down?’ he replied. ‘Are you a Copernican? And are you going to adopt popular forms of expression, not to mention Tycho Brahe’s errors?’

‘Wait a moment!’ I retorted, ‘You’re going a bit too fast. For a start, this is a conversation between friends, not a philosophical debate, and if I have sinned by misrepresenting Copernicus, my error must be forgiven me as readily as was Joshua’s, who stops the sun in mid-course, and who, being divinely inspired, must certainly have been conversant with the secrets of nature. At that particular moment, moreover, Joshua was speaking as ordinary mortals do, whereas I am talking to an informed and enlightened man, who, for his part, understands me, in one way or another, quite as well as I do him. But since you are attacking Tycho Brahe, please allow me, just for a moment, to attack you in return.

‘It seems to me that your enthusiasm for Copernicus is very marked indeed: for a start, you call down curses upon all those who find themselves thinking differently from him. I should like to think that he is right; but can we be quite sure of this? What guarantee do you have? Has nature, has its author, persuaded you of the infallibility of Copernicus? As for me, all I see is a system, an arrangement, in other words, of what Copernicus observed, so adjusted as to match the workings of nature.’

‘Whereas I,’ replied Philante warmly, ‘what I see there is truth.’

‘Truth? And what do you mean by truth?’

‘I mean’, he said, ‘actual evidence, as it is provided by things and facts.’

‘And what is it to know the truth?’ I continued.

‘To know the truth’, he replied, ‘is to have succeeded in establishing an exact correlation between our ideas and things that really do exist or that have existed, between facts past or present, and the ideas we have of them.’

‘In that case, my dear Philante,’ I said, ‘we can hardly flatter ourselves we know any truths at all, since they are, almost all of them, in doubt; and, according to the definition you yourself have just offered me, there are only, at the very most, two or three truths that are indisputable. The evidence of our senses, which is the nearest thing we have to certainty, is not without its own uncertainties. Our eyes deceive us when they present to us, from a distance, a tower that is round, but which we find, as we draw near it, to be square. We sometimes think we hear sounds that are, in fact, a mere product of our imagination, and which depend on nothing more than some faint impression
made upon our ears. The sense of smell is no less deceptive than are the other senses: we sometimes imagine, while walking in the woods and the fields, that we catch the scent of flowers, when, on the contrary, there are none. And even now, while I am talking to you, I notice, from some blood that is oozing from my hand, that a midge has stung me; the fervour engendered by our conversation has made me oblivious to pain, the sense of touch has let me down. If, then, the least unreliable of our faculties proves to be so powerfully so, how can you speak with such certainty of those abstract matters with which philosophy is concerned?

‘Because’, retorted Philante, ‘they are plain for all to see; because Copernicus’s system is confirmed by experience: the movements of the planets are charted there with admirable precision, eclipses are calculated with wonderful accuracy; in other words, it is a system that explains, perfectly, the mysteries of nature.’

‘But what would you say,’ I replied, ‘if I showed you a system that is clearly very different from yours, and which, according to a principle that is obviously false, explains the same miraculous events as does that of Copernicus?’

‘By which I assume you mean the mistakes made by the Malabars’, said Philante.

‘It was of their mountain, indeed, that I was going to speak to you. But, however many inaccuracies it involves, this system, my dear Philante, illustrates perfectly the astronomical workings of nature; and it is astonishing that, on the basis of a belief as absurd as is that of supposing the sun to be wholly occupied in encircling a large mountain situated within the lands of these barbarians, their astronomers were able to predict so accurately the same revolutions and the same eclipses as your Copernicus.4 The mistake made by the Malabars is crude, that made by Copernicus is perhaps less obvious. But perhaps we will see, one day, a new philosopher, full of self-importance and puffed up with arrogance over some wholly insignificant discovery he claims to be the basis of a new system, dismiss the Copernicans and the Newtonians as a mere swarm of miserable little creatures who do not even deserve to have their errors corrected.’

‘It’s quite true’, said Philante, ‘that new philosophers have always had the right to supplant their forebears. Descartes demolished the sainted schoolmen and was, in turn, demolished by Newton, who himself only awaits the appearance of some worthy successor to suffer the same fate.

‘Might it not be the case’, I continued, ‘that all we need in order to establish a new system is self-love? From this elevated sense of his own merit there emerges, in the philosopher, a conviction as to his own infallibility, out of
which he forges his system. He starts by believing blindly in whatever it is he wishes to prove; he seeks reasons that will give it an air of plausibility, and from this there emerges an inexhaustible source of error. He ought, on the contrary, on the basis of various observations he has made, to begin by retracing his steps from one consequence to the next, and then to observe, quite simply, where these would lead, and what the result would be. One would be less taken in by such a process and, through following in the timid footsteps of circumspection, would learn, wisely, how to doubt.'

'Your philosophers would have to be angels,' objected Philante vehemently, 'for where would one find a man without prejudice and perfectly impartial?'

'In other words,' I replied, 'to be in error is our lot in life.'

'God forbid!' retorted my friend, 'We are made for truth.'

'If you have time and patience enough to listen to me,' I replied, 'I will easily persuade you of the contrary. And, since we are very close to home now, let us sit down on this bench, for I fear that our walk has tired you.'

Philante, who is not a good walker, and who had made progress rather as a result of absent-mindedness and habit than from any deliberate intention, was delighted to sit down. We settled ourselves calmly and quietly, and I continued, more or less as follows.

'I have told you, Philante, that to be in error is our lot in life; I must now persuade you of this. The error that afflicts us has more than one source. It seems that we were not destined by the Creator to possess much learning, nor to advance very far into the realms of knowledge; he has placed the truths we seek in chasms so deep that our feeble minds cannot reach them, and has surrounded them with a dense thicket of thorns. The road to truth is bordered with precipices on every side; it is impossible to know, if one is to avoid such dangers, which path to follow; and if one is fortunate enough to have passed beyond all of this in safety, one finds further along one's way a labyrinth, so sinuous and convoluted that even Ariadne's magic thread would be of no assistance there, and from which there is no escape. Some chase after a ghost, an impostor, who deceives them with false promises, and offers them, as valid currency, money that is counterfeit; they lose their way, like travellers who, as night falls, follow, lured on by their light, mere will-o'-the-wisps.

Others guess at these secret truths; they believe they have stripped nature of her veil, they conjecture and they suppose; and this is, it must be conceded, an area in which the philosophers have made great advances. But these truths are located so far from our sight that they become doubtful, and acquire, through their very distance from us, an equivocal air. There is scarcely one that has not been disputed. This is because there is not one of them that is not two-faced: looked
1. innocence of errors of the mind

at from one side, such a truth appears incontestable; looked at from the other, it is falsehood itself. Summon up every argument for and against that your reason offers you, weigh them all up carefully, consider, reflect; you will still not be able to reach a decision, so certain it is that the only thing that lends substance to opinions arrived at by men is the number of probabilities involved. If some probability, whether for or against, escapes their notice, they choose the wrong course of action, and since the human imagination can never offer them, with equal force, both the arguments for and those against, they always decide out of weakness, and are blind to the truth.

‘Let us suppose that a town is situated on a plain, that this town is quite extensive, and that it consists of a single street; let us suppose, too, that a traveller who has never heard of this town arrives there, and from such a direction that all that he notices, initially, is its great length: seeing it, as he does, from one angle only, he will judge it to be immense, a judgement that is completely false, because, as we have seen, it consists of only one street. The same holds good for truths: if we consider them piecemeal and leave aside the ensemble they form, we will reach a sound judgement as to this or that particular part, but will be in considerable error as to the whole. If we are to arrive at some knowledge of an important truth, we must first have assembled a good supply of simple truths that lead us to, or serve as stepping stones that take us towards, the composite truth we seek: it is this, once again, that evades us. It is not of mere conjecture that I speak, but of evident, certain, and irrevo-
cable truths. Looking at things from a philosophical point of view, we know nothing at all; we can only guess at certain truths, we form the vaguest notion of them; and we adopt a particular tone of voice when speaking of or using certain terms we call scientific, terms whose resonance pleases our ears, and which our minds believe they understand. But, taken all in all, they offer the imagination only confused and convoluted ideas, so that our philosophy is reduced to a habit we have of employing expressions that are obscure, terms we scarcely understand, and to a profound meditation as to effects whose causes remain perfectly unknown to us and completely hidden. The pitiable totality of these musings is dignified with a grand title, that of most excellent philosophy, which its author presents to the world, with all the arrogance of a charlatan, as a discovery of the greatest rarity and of the greatest value to humankind. Should curiosity prompt you to inform yourself further as to this discovery, you would expect to find things of great import. What injustice that you should even entertain such a hope! No, this discovery, so rare, so precious, amounts to nothing more than the invention of a new word, more barbarous even than any that has so far appeared; this new word, according
1. Innocence of Errors of the Mind

to our charlatan, explains marvellously some as yet undiscovered truth, and reveals it to be more brilliant than daylight itself. Observe, examine, divest his idea of the trappings of the terms that cover it, and you will find nothing there: only, as before, darkness, only shadows. It is mere ornament, which disappears, and which destroys, along with itself, its illusory, its wholly false, glamour.

‘True knowledge of the truth must be quite different from what I have just described to you. It ought to be possible to identify the causes of everything; it ought to be possible, by returning to first principles, to know them and to discover their essence. This is what the philosopher-poet Lucretius understood so well, and it is what led him to say, "Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas!" But the number of first principles of existing entities and the resources of nature are either too immense or too small to be observed by and known to philosophers. From this there follow disputes about atoms, about the infinite divisibility of matter, about plenitude or the void, about movement, about the manner in which the world is governed: so very many and such very thorny questions, which we will never resolve. It would appear that a man’s life is his own; it seems to me that I am master of my own person, that I can sound my own depths, that I know myself. But I do not know myself; it has not yet been decided if I am a machine, an automaton set in motion by the Creator’s hands, or if I am a free being, independent of this Creator. I sense that I possess the ability to move, but I don’t know what movement is, whether it is an accident or whether it is a substance. One learned scholar insists it is an accident, another swears it is a substance; they argue, courtiers laugh at them, the idols of the earth despise them, and the people ignore them, them and the subject of their quarrels. Would you not agree that to employ your reason in matters so incomprehensible and so abstract is to divert it from the proper sphere of its activity? It seems to me that the human mind is not capable of such vast knowledge. We are like men who, finding themselves drifting slowly along a coast, imagine that it is the mainland that is moving, and do not suspect that it is they themselves who are moving. Matters are, however, quite the opposite of what they believe to be the case: the shore is immobile, and it is they who, driven by the wind, are in motion. Our self-love will always prevail; we attach to everything we cannot understand the epithet of obscure, and everything becomes unintelligible to us, once it is beyond our grasp. It is nevertheless this, it is the way our minds work, that renders us incapable of acquiring any great knowledge.

‘There are eternal truths, that is beyond dispute. But, if we were truly to understand these truths, if we were to know them in every detail, we would need a million times more memory than mankind possesses; we would need
to be able to devote ourselves entirely to the study of a single truth. This would require a life the length of Methuselah’s, and even longer, a life of speculation, rich in experience; it would require, in short, an attentiveness that is beyond our capabilities. Consider, in view of all this, if it was the Creator’s intention to fashion us as people possessed of intelligence and skill, given, in particular, the obstacles to this that also seem to emanate from his will; while experience teaches us that we possess little ability, little application, that our genius is not sufficiently transcendent to penetrate the first, the eternal truths, and that our memory is neither capacious nor reliable enough to be burdened with all the knowledge required for this noble and exacting study.

‘There is another obstacle, too, that prevents us from arriving at a full knowledge of the truth, one with which men themselves have encumbered the path that leads there, as though this path were in itself too easy. This obstacle derives from the prejudices instilled by education. The greater part of mankind adheres to principles that are clearly false: their physics is faulty, their metaphysics worthless, while their morality derives from a sordid self-interest, and from a boundless attachment to worldly things. But there is one great virtue that they do have, and that is the wisdom of foresight, which makes them look to the future, and thus to provide, well in advance, for the well-being of their family. As you can imagine, the logic employed by this kind of person is consistent with the rest of their philosophy, and therefore pitiable. The art of reasoning resides, for them, in being the only one to have a voice, in deciding everything themselves, and in permitting no reply. These small-time family legislators busy themselves, from the start, with ideas that they wish to inculcate into their progeny; father, mother, all the relatives, strive to perpetuate their own misapprehensions: no sooner are the children out of the cradle than their elders are at pains to give them some notion of the ghostly monk and the werewolf.8 These priceless pieces of knowledge are usually followed by others that are equally important: schooling plays its part here, too; you must work your way through the visions of Plato in order to arrive at those of Aristotle, while with a single leap and a bound you are initiated into the mysteries of the vortex. You leave school, your memory laden with words, your mind stuffed with superstition and filled with respect for a great deal of ancient nonsense. The age of reason arrives, at which point either you shake off the yoke of error, or you even surpass your parents. If they were one-eyed, you become blind; if they believed certain things because they imagined they believed them, you will believe them out of obstinacy. In due course, the example of so many people, all of whom adhere to a particular opinion, is enough to carry you along with them; their approbation lends them authority in your
Innocence of Errors of the Mind

eyes; their very number adds weight to this; so that popular error makes converts, and prevails. Over the course of time, these errors become ineradicable, as deeply rooted as those of a young sapling, whose stem is bent double by the force of the wind, but which, in the fullness of time, raises its lofty head to the clouds above and presents to the woodman’s axe an unassailable trunk. “Quite so!” you will reply, “My father always said as much, as I have myself for some sixty, no, seventy years now; why on earth would you suppose that I begin, after all this time, to argue differently? As for the suggestion that I become a schoolboy again and work as your apprentice, I would rather creep along, earth-bound, as we mortals have always done, than become a second Icarus and rise with you into the air. Don’t forget his fall: such are the wages of new-fangled ideas and such is the punishment that awaits you. Obstinacy is often accompanied by prejudice, while a certain barbarousness, also known as false zeal, never fails to broadcast, far and wide, its tyrannical maxims.”

Such are the effects that attend the prejudices acquired in childhood; they take deeper root then, thanks to the pliability of the brain at this tender age. The earliest impressions are the most lasting and the most vivid, and all subsequent reasoning, however powerful, can only appear cold in comparison.

‘So you see, my dear Philante, that to be in error is the lot of mankind. You no doubt understand, after all that I have just explained to you, that one would have to be very full of oneself and of one’s own opinions if one were to believe oneself above error, and very secure in one’s own saddle if one were to dare to attempt to unseat others.’

‘I begin to see, to my great astonishment,’ replied Philante, ‘that human error cannot, for the most part, be overcome by those who are infected with it. I have listened to you attentively and with pleasure, and have taken careful note, unless I am much mistaken, of the causes of error that you have pointed out to me. These are, so you said, the great distance beyond our sight where truth resides, our lack of knowledge, the weakness and inadequacy of our minds, and the prejudices instilled by education.’

‘Spoken to perfection, Philante, you have a truly divine memory, and if God and nature deigned to form a mortal capable of embracing their sublime verities, that mortal would assuredly be you, who combine with this vast memory a lively mind and a sound judgement.’

‘No more compliments, thank you,’ replied Philante. ‘I prefer philosophical argument to praise. This is not the moment to indulge in panegyrics, but rather, on behalf of all scholars, to make a proper public apology and reparation for our pride and a confession of our ignorance.’
‘I will second you with the greatest pleasure, Philante, when we are called upon to acknowledge our profound and crass ignorance. I confess to this most willingly: I would even go so far as to embrace Pyrrhonism, for it seems to me that one does well to have no more than an equivocal faith in what we call the truths of experience. You’ve made a good start, Philante. Scepticism does you no disfavour. Pyrrho, at the Lyceum, would not have spoken differently from you.10

‘I have to confess to you, for my part,’ I continued, ‘that I am something of an adherent of the Academy;11 I consider things from every angle, I remain undecided and in doubt, which is the only way to guard oneself against error. Such scepticism does not help me to advance by gigantic—by truly Homeric—steps towards the truth I seek; but it saves me from the pitfalls of prejudice.’

‘And why are you so afraid of error,’ retorted Philante, ‘you, who are its most eloquent apologist?’

‘Alas!’ I said to him, ‘There exists error that is of such sweetness that one prefers it to truth itself; these errors fill you with pleasing thoughts, they shower you with good things that you do not possess, that you will never enjoy, they sustain you in the midst of adversity and, at the point of death itself, when you are about to lose all that you have and life itself, they offer you still, as though these were within your grasp, blessings greater than those you are losing, and torrents of pleasures whose joys and delights are capable of sweetening even death itself, and making it lovable, if such a thing were possible. I remember, as to this, a story I was told about a madman; perhaps it will be of some compensation to you for my long and didactic discourse.’

‘My silence’, Philante replied, ‘is no doubt in itself sufficient indication that I am listening to you with pleasure, and that I am curious to hear your story.’

‘I will do as you wish, Philante, on condition that you will not regret having caused me to prattle.

‘There was once, in a mental asylum in Paris, a madman—a man of very good birth, who caused his whole family the utmost distress because of the derangement that afflicted his brain. He was perfectly sensible on every subject except that of his own beatitude: in which happy state—surrounded by hosts of cherubim, seraphim and archangels, with whose immortal souls he sang all day long in concert—he was blessed with beatific visions, paradise was his dwelling-place, the angels his companions, and manna from heaven his only food. This most contented of lunatics continued to enjoy perfect happiness in the asylum, until, most unfortunately for him, a doctor or surgeon came to pay a pastoral visit to the insane. This doctor suggested to the family that he cure this blessed man. As you can well imagine, he was engaged at
once, and no expense was spared that would enable him to surpass himself, and, indeed, to perform miracles. In the end, to cut a long story short, either through bleeding or by means of other remedies, he succeeded in restoring the madman to a state of perfect good sense. He, however, amazed at finding himself no longer in heaven, but in an apartment not unlike a dungeon, and surrounded by people bearing no resemblance at all to angels, took against, and indeed completely lost his temper with the doctor. “I was happy in heaven,” he said, “and you had no right to make me leave it; I hope that, for your pains, you find yourself condemned to inhabit, really and truly, the land of the damned in hell.”

‘From which you can see, Philante, that there are such things as auspicious errors; and I could easily persuade you that they are harmless.’

‘I should like that very much,’ said Philante, ‘and, besides which, we are dining late this evening, so that we have, at our disposal, another three hours at least.’

‘I won’t need quite as long as that’, I replied, ‘to say all that I have to tell you; I will tax my own time rather than your patience.

‘You agreed, a moment ago, that error is involuntary in those who are infected by it; they believe themselves to be in possession of the truth, and they are mistaken. They may be pardoned for this, since, according to what they themselves believe, they are certain about the truth; they themselves are of good faith; it is appearances that are against them; they take the shadow for the substance. Consider again, if you would, that the motive of those who fall into error is laudable: they seek the truth, they lose their way, and if they fail to find the truth, it was not their wish to do so: they lacked guides, or, which is worse, had bad guides. They sought the path that leads to truth, but their powers were insufficient for them to arrive there. Could one blame a man who drowns while fording an immensely wide river that he would not have had the strength to cross? Only someone without a vestige of humanity would not mourn his sad fate; rather, we should pity a man so full of courage, capable of a plan so generous and so bold, for not having received sufficient help from nature; his boldness would seem worthy of a happier fate, and his ashes would be watered with tears. Every thinking person must make an effort to know the truth; such efforts are worthy of us, even when they surpass our powers. It is a great enough misfortune for us that these truths are impenetrable. We must not exacerbate this by pouring scorn on those who are shipwrecked while discovering this new world: they are noble Argonauts, who expose themselves to danger for the greater safety of their compatriots, while the lot of those who wander in lands of the imagination is certainly very hard. The
air in these countries does not suit us, we do not speak the language of the inhabitants, and we do not know how to cross the quicksands we find there.

'Believe me when I say, Philante, that we must be tolerant of error: it is a subtle poison, one that slips into our hearts without us noticing. I, who am talking to you, am not sure of being free of it. Let us never fall prey to the ridiculous pride of those infallible scholars whose every word must be taken as an oracle. Let us be full of indulgence for the most palpable errors, and let us show tolerance for the opinions of those with whom we live in society. Why would we disrupt the sweetness of the ties that unite us, simply for the sake of an opinion about which we ourselves lack conviction? Let us not set ourselves up as champions of an unknown truth, and let us leave to the imagination of each person the freedom to construct the story of his own romance. The days of legendary heroes, of miracles and chivalrous exploits are over. Don Quixote is still admired in the pages of Miguel de Cervantes; but as to the Pharamonds, Rolands, Amadis, Gandalins: they would now attract the ridicule of all reasonable people, while the knights who would like to follow in their footsteps would suffer the same fate.13

'Reflect again that, if we were to banish error from the universe, we would need to exterminate the whole of the human race. Believe me, I continued, it is not our way of thinking on speculative matters that could influence the happiness of society, but, rather, the way in which we act that does so. By all means be an advocate of Tycho Brahe’s system, or of that of the Malabars; I will gladly forgive you, as long as you retain your humanity. But, were you to be the most orthodox of all doctors, if your character were cruel, harsh, and barbaric, I would always detest you.'

'I am in entire agreement with your views on this matter,' Philante replied.

As he spoke, we heard, quite close by, a muffled noise, like that of someone muttering abusive words. We turned round and were astonished to see, by the light of the moon, our chaplain, not two steps distant from us, and who had probably heard the greater part of our conversation.

'Ah! It's you, Father,' I said. 'How comes it that we encounter you so late?'

'Today is Saturday,' he replied. 'I came here in order to compose my sermon for tomorrow, when I heard something of what you were saying, which led me to listen to the rest. Would to heaven, and for the good of my soul, that I had heard nothing! You have aroused righteous anger in me, you have scandalised my believer’s ears, sacred sanctuaries, as these are, of our ineffable truths. Non-believers, profane, as you are, who prefer—alas for bad Christians!—humanity, charity, and humility, to the power of faith and to the sanctity of our belief. As for you, you will be cursed and thrown into the
cauldrons of boiling oil that are ready and waiting for you and your kind, that is, for the damned.’

‘Oh! but if you please, Father,’ I replied, ‘we did not so much as touch on matters of religion just now; we were concerned merely with philosophical topics that are of no particular importance; and, unless you were to promote Tycho Brahe and Copernicus to the ranks of the Fathers of the Church, I do not see that you have any grounds for complaint.’

‘Away with you; that’s quite enough for now,’ he said. ‘I’ll be preaching to you tomorrow, and God knows with how glad a heart I’ll be sending you to the devil.’

We were about to reply, but he left us abruptly, continuing all the while to mutter something under his breath that we could not quite make out. I thought it was a saintly sigh of regret, but Philante fancied he had heard various eloquent curses drawn from one of the Psalms of David.14

We came away from this encounter, mortified by what had happened, and troubled as to what we should do now. It seemed to me that I had said nothing that need shock anyone, and that what I had advanced on behalf of human error was in conformity with pure reason, and, in consequence, with the principles of our most sacred religion, which commands us to suffer one another’s shortcomings, and not to shock or upset the weak. I felt at ease as to my own feelings; the only thing that gave me cause for anxiety was the manner of thinking among the deeply devout. One knows only too well how far they will go when carried away, and how capable they are of being prejudiced against innocence itself, especially when they take it upon themselves to spread alarm against those to whom they have taken a dislike. Philante reassured me as well as he could, and we retired after supper, both of us reflecting, I think, on the subject of our conversation and on our unfortunate encounter with the priest. I went straight up to my room, and spent the better part of the night relating to you all that I was able to remember of our conversation.
INDEX

absolutism, viii, xi, xiv, xix, xx, xxi, xxxv.
See also Enlightened Absolutism
Académie des inscriptions, 236n29
Académie française, 228n6, 236n29, 237, 239n3
Académie of Sciences, Paris, 228
Academy of Sciences and Belles-Lettres, Berlin, xii, 224, 225, 226, 228, 228n1, 229n13, 230n2, 232, 234
agriculture, xxv, 63, 203; societies based on, xxiii, xxvii, 63
amour-propre, xxxiii, 125, See also self-love
animals, 44, 45, 114, 180
Anti-Machiavel, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, 212nn13 and 14, 213, 218n58, 225nn6 and 8, 226n4, 228nn6 and 4, 229n12, 231n1, 232nn5 and 6, 233n9, 234nn12 and 3, 235nn4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 15, and 18, 236nn21, 24, 26 and 30, 237nn7, 238n18, 240nn1, 3 and 7; Saint-Pierre’s response to, 226n9
antiquity, xxxiv, 16, 27, 36, 80, 98, 127, 140, 195
Aristotle, 7, 126, 130, 152, 240n11
armies, xxv, 16, 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 80, 81, 84, 85, 135, 163, 173, 176, 188, 201, 222n90, 227n1, 228n5, 232n7, 234n3; of auxiliary troops, 41–42, 79; comprising foreigners or mercenaries, 38–41; and discipline, 19, 36; in peacetime, 16, 19, 33.
See also military, the
artillery, 36, 60, 201
arts, the, ix, xxvi, xxvii, xxx, xxxii, xlix, 38, 46, 63, 64, 65, 123, 155, 173, 222n100, 233n10
asylum, xii, 134
Augustus (Roman emperor), 56, 64, 93, 99, 120, 220n80, 222n99
Augustus II of Saxony, 28, 54, 55, 86, 216n23, 219n73, 225n8
Austria, xiii, xiv, xlv, 153, 172, 201, 219n71, 225nn3, 5 and 7, 235n13; House of, 83, 170, 171
authority: of the Caesars, 132; clerical, 158, 185; divine, 177; of the law, 55; papal, 134, 135, 137; paternal, 158; political, xix, 52; princely, 133; royal, vii, xv, xviii, xx, xxii; sovereign, 54, 90, 173, 196, 197; supreme, xxvii, 196, 198
authorship (Frederick’s), ix, xvii, xxx, xxxv
battlefield, 43, 107
Bayle, Pierre, xxiv, 125, 126, 127, 212nn11 and 14, 229, 230n5, 234n1
beer, 203
Berlin, ix, x, xii, xiii, xxxvii, xxxix, xl, 150, 213, 223n120, 226n9, 227, 228n1, 229, 230, 233, 233n2, 239n2
Berlin Academy. See Academy of Sciences and Belles-Lettres, Berlin
Bible, the, xxi, xxii, xxvii, xxix, xxx, 44
bishops, 36, 131, 134, 135, 136, 137
Bodin, Jean, xxi
books, 126; on history, 14, 42, 82; on logic, 127
borders, xxxix, 16, 23, 63, 173, 188, 201, 219n62
Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne, xxi, xxii, 216n24
Brandenburg, ix, xii, xiii, xiv, 150, 222n97; House of, 171
Brandenburg-Prussia, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xxxviii, xl, 222n100, 240n5
Caesar, Julius, xxxvii, 22, 40, 45, 54, 61, 62, 72, 94, 114, 120, 121, 123, 187, 195
Calvinism, x, xxiv, xlii, calvinists, 164, 240n5
Catherine II, Empress of Russia, viii, xv
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholicism</td>
<td>xii, 55, 137, 164, 165, 205, 215n18, 232n3, 236n20, 240n5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caro</td>
<td>118, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlemagne</td>
<td>56, 80, 130, 132, 161, 220n84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles I, King of England</td>
<td>33, 215n16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles II, King of England</td>
<td>55, 215n16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles V, King of Spain</td>
<td>174, 187, 218n59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor</td>
<td>83, 171, 224n3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles XII of Sweden</td>
<td>20, 30, 42, 61, 86, 214n7, 216n28, 221n91 and 92, 225n8, 229n12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châtelet, Émilie du</td>
<td>xxix, 222n101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>19, 81, 129, 130, 132, 139, 140, 145, 161, 184, 185, 192, 220n79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church, the</td>
<td>xv, 37, 96, 129, 130–35, 137, 138, 164, 165, 166, 185, 186, 213, 231; of Milan, 18; of Rome, 28, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Fathers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>62, 64, 65, 104, 105, 125, 221n96, 222n99, 226n5, 229n1, 230n1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cities</td>
<td>34, 36, 111, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citizens</td>
<td>xix, xx, xxv, xxvii, xxix, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxix, xli, 23, 40, 58, 62, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 97, 98, 100, 129, 141, 149, 170, 172, 176, 184, 186, 196, 197, 198, 199, 202, 204, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civility</td>
<td>32, 63, 94, 96, 102, 106, 155, 157, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clergy</td>
<td>the, 36–37, 96, 130, 131, 133, 136, 137, 164, 166, 167, 178, 184, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonies</td>
<td>19, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commerce</td>
<td>xxii, xxv, xxvii–xxiii, 38, 48, 63, 80, 85, 97, 98, 196, 197, 200, 201, 202, 204, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common good</td>
<td>xxxii, xxv, xxvi, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix–xxv, xxxxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contracts</td>
<td>88, 97, 99, 103, 176, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contract theory.</td>
<td>See social contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantinople</td>
<td>xxiii, 132, 134, 157, 231n2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constitution</td>
<td>xlii, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contradictions</td>
<td>xvi, 14, 53, 71, 105, 179, 181, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corneille, Pierre</td>
<td>xxvii, 64, 222n10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corruption</td>
<td>xxiii, 32, 37, 56, 67, 95, 103, 134, 186, 187, 197, 202, 206, 226n5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>countryside</td>
<td>xxvii, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criticism</td>
<td>vii, xv, xxxv, xxxvi, xlii, xliii, 160, 171, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crime</td>
<td>13, 15, 20, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 41, 51, 52, 55, 66, 69, 71, 90, 93, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 121, 146, 165, 184, 186, 187, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromwell, Oliver</td>
<td>25, 51, 56, 187, 215n16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culture</td>
<td>xxiv, xxvi, xxvii, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxvii, 203, 237, 238, 239n2, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'Arlens, marquis de</td>
<td>xii, 121, 229, 229n13, 239n5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death</td>
<td>9, 41, 48, 107–114, 120, 146, 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death penalty</td>
<td>100, 101, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debt</td>
<td>85, 89, 90, 91, 92, 97, 153, 157, 166, 174, 175, 176, 187, 199, 203, 236n25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>despotism</td>
<td>xxxv, xxxvii, xxv, 15, 20, 22, 32, 105, 133, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'Holbach, Paul-Henri Thiry, Baron</td>
<td>234, 237, 237n3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diderot, Denis</td>
<td>236n27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogs</td>
<td>44, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Marsais, César Chesneau</td>
<td>177, 234, 236n27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duties</td>
<td>vii, xix, xxviii, xli, 36, 45, 65, 118, 139, 151, 155, 156, 158, 189, 199, 200, 205, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Republic.</td>
<td>See Holland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Prussia</td>
<td>ix, xiii, xiv, xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economy</td>
<td>the, xxx, xxix, 199, 201, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edict of Nantes</td>
<td>x, 205, 240n5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>x, xxiv, 7, 8, 21, 90, 149–59, 164, 167, 177, 183, 186, 205, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>56, 79, 80, 88, 89, 93, 101, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elisabeth of Russia</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern, xi–xiii</td>
<td>eloquence, 65, 103, 104, 119, 121, 125, 128, 134, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encyclopédie</td>
<td>xiv, xxvii, 236n27, 239n2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>xxi, xxviii, 30, 41, 46, 50, 55, 56, 59, 63, 73, 85, 94, 95, 96, 102, 103, 136, 152, 166, 170, 172, 173, 174, 192, 197, 201, 203, 204, 223n116, 224n1, 235n12; commerce of,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

63; parliament of, xxi, 56, 96, 235n12; people of, 58
Enlightened Absolutism, xv–xvi
enlightenment, ix, xxxix, xl, 102, 104, 135, 161, 234
Enlightenment, the, vii, xv; European, 229; French, xvii; German, 233n4
Epicureanism, xxix, xxxiv, 230n6, 238n10; ataraxia in, xxxiv
Epicurus, 123, 230n6
Essay on German Literature, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix
Eugene of Savoy, 41, 45, 61, 72, 73, 113, 172, 218n51, 228n5
Europe, x, xiii, xiv, xxxix, 18, 23, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36, 40, 54, 56, 57, 73, 77, 78, 82, 83, 85, 133, 134, 136, 149, 166, 167, 170, 188, 203; balance of power in, 34, 169, 172; Christianity in, 18, 26, 57; fate of, 73; peace in, 78, 106, 200; Russia and, 23; war and unrest in, 28, 82, 85
evil, 14, 55, 76, 80, 84, 104, 134, 138, 140, 142, 146, 170, 177, 181, 189, 198, 199, 217n37; and good, 13, 144, 145, 147, 160

fables, 59, 188, 221n89, 238n17
faction, 20, 59, 60, 73, 129, 135, 173, 188
falsehood, 5, 51, 55, 162, 165
fanaticism, xxxiv, 26, 37, 55, 137, 140
Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe, xxiii–xxv, xxvi, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, 27, 177, 216n22, 232n3
finance, 175, 200
finances, xiv, 118, 202
firepower, 201
Fleury, Cardinal, 45, 138, 175, 218n50, 231 flute-playing, Frederick’s prowess at, xi
food, 9, 23, 78, 147, 195, 197, 202, 204, 221n89
foreigners, xxxviii, 22, 39, 89, 94
fortune, xxi, 1, 16, 24, 25, 27, 57, 66, 72, 73, 74, 75, 85, 86, 99, 101, 105, 120, 126, 134, 142, 143, 171, 188, 191, 192, 205, 215, 223
France, x, xiii, 20, 42, 63, 73, 77, 85, 94, 100, 101, 102, 107, 132, 133, 137, 164–68, 171–78, 188, 192, 197, 201, 202, 204, 205, 219n71, 235n5, 236nn20 and 25, 238n13; nobility of, 21; parlements of, 55; persecution of authors in, xii; royal despotism in, 22; venality in, 166, 174
Francis I, Holy Roman Emperor, 47, 174, 213n4, 218n52, Frederick I, King in Prussia, ix, 105, 233n4.
Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg. See Frederick I, King in Prussia
Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, 156, 222n97, 234n12, 240n5
Frederick William I, ix, x, xi, 105, 233n7
freedom: civil, xxiii, xxxviii, xli, 32, 79, 93, 98, 205; of conscience, ix, 80; definition of, 182–83; of expression, vii, xxxvii–xl; individual, xli, 11, 14, 32, 58, 165, 205, 237n6; philosophical, 168; political, xli, 24, 32, 54, 58, 77, 79, 205; of thought, vii, xx, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxix, xli, 137; universal, 80; of will, 67, 71, 72, 114, 237n6; of worship, xlii Fürstenbund. See League of Princes
gold, xxxi, 88, 89, 97 101
goodwill, 49, 55, 65, 70, 78
government, xviii, xix, xxxvi, xl, 23, 64, 65, 80, 91, 96, 97, 99, 100, 129, 151, 155, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 175, 184, 185, 186, 196, 199, 202, 203, 207; arbitrary and despotic, 213n1, 216n31; aristocratic, 196; character of, 38, 173; citizens’ participation in, xli; constitution of, 20; corruption of, 187, 198; democratic, 97; ecclesiastical, 36, 37, 130; of England, 56; feudal, 133, 197; forms of, xxii–xxiii, 56, 88, 108, 120, 126, 134, 142, 147, 160

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
government (continued)
167, 188, 189, 196, 197; of France, 55, 171, 227, 228n6; good, 63, 149, 184; mixed, 56, 95, 197; modern, xx; monarchical, xxi, xxiii, xxv, 59, 88, 197, 198, 206; overthrow of, 21, 188; philosophers’ ignorance of, 167, 169, 171, 173, 177, 183, 186, 187; powers of, ix, 59, 98; republican, 32, 54, 59, 97, 130, 132, 197, 199, 202, 218n58, 220n80; science of, 169; of the world, 27
Grotius, Hugo, 170, 235n8

Habsburg, House of, xiii, 83, 224n3, 224n3. See also Austria
Halle, University of; x, xii, xxvii, 150, 152, 233n4, 233n7

happiness, xxiv, xxx, xxxi, 9, 87, 99, 114, 129, 142, 143, 158, 196; greatest possible, 196; of nations, xxvi, 207; of one’s subjects, xx, xxvii, 84, 166; as peace of mind, xxxiv, 114, 142, 143; public, xxxv, 87, 97; the pursuit of, xx, xxvi, xxxi; of society, 11; of the state, 78; of the world, 50, 76, 139, 160
Helvétius, Claude Adrien, xxiii

historians, 46, 68, 92, 13, 178
history, xi, xvi, xxxiv, 50, 52, 57, 73, 83, 86, 87, 95, 111, 120, 126, 140, 189, 224, 224n1; ancient, 30, 195; books of, 14, 42, 67, 120; of Christianity, 145; of the church, 37, 137, 138, 195, 231; of France, 105; Frederick’s philosophy of, 224; of the human mind, 30; of Italy, 69; of medicine, 151; of Rome, 170; secular, 88; writing of, 14, 82–83
Hobbse, Thomas, xix, xxi, xxiii, xxvii

Holland, 23, 41, 63, 85, 137, 201, 202, 203, 204, 219n65, 221n87, 222n100, 225nn6, 228n6; the Dutch, 16, 85, 170

Holy Roman Emperor, xiii, xi, xii, xxvii, 43, 213n4, 218nn52 and 59, 224n3, 225n3, 225n8, 231n6
Holy Roman Empire, ix, xiii, 226n8
Holy Sea, the, 38, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137
Hubertusburg, Treaty of, xiv

humanity, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 22, 24, 28, 31, 52, 67, 69, 81, 101, 102, 103, 106, 128, 129, 144, 147, 165, 169, 184, 203, 206. See also mankind
Hyne, David, xxvi, 224n1
hypocrisy, 51, 53

imperial cities, 36
Indies, the, 23, 204
industry, xxvi, xxx, xxii, 47, 48, 197, 203
inequality, xxv, xxii

Italy, 46, 65, 69, 72, 85, 96, 129, 134; city states of, xxv; princes of, 27

James VI and I of Scotland and England, xxi
Jesuits, 24, 215n14
Jews, xxxviii–xxxix, xlii, 25, 36, 96, 101, 139, 192
Joseph II, xv
judges, xi, 15, 43, 88, 90, 94, 95, 102, 103, 105, 106, 127, 135, 166, 174, 178, 188, 200, 202

Kant, Immanuel, xxxvii–xxxviii
Keith, James Francis Edward (Marshal), 108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 227
kingship, viii, xviii, xxxii, xxiv, xxxix, xxxv, xli, xlii; religious aspects of, xvi–xxii
knowledge, xxxi, 4, 5, 6, 7, 21, 36, 43, 45, 57, 65, 77, 87, 126, 127, 147, 150, 151, 152, 155, 156, 195, 197; common, 38; of the human heart, 99, 141; lack of, 8, 84, 169, 206; limits of, 4, 136, 151; of one’s states, 43, 198–99, 201; perfect, 57, 116; of the truth, 5, 6, 7
Kunersdorf, Battle of, xiii

La Mettrie, Julien Offray, xii, 233n4
land, 18, 70, 75, 86, 134, 173, 195, 201, 203; acquisition of, 96; cultivation of, 40, 63, 64, 89, 113, 127, 147, 195, 202, 204; division of, 88, 89; extent of one’s, 23; possession of, 17, 70, 203; redistribution of, 97

language, xxxvii, 11, 41, 48, 55, 95, 100, 119, 152, 167; public use of, xxxvii

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
languages: French, xi, 117, 150; German, xxxvii; Romance, xxxvii
lawgivers, 24, 25, 87, 88, 89, 90, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106, 139, 195, 196
laws: divine, xxi; precise, 103; of the realm, xxi
League of Princes, xiv
learning, xxx, xxxi, 4, 116, 131, 156; man of, xli
legislation, xxxviii, xli, xlii
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, x, 125, 152, 161, 181, 183, 230n3, 233n7, 234n1
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, xxxix–xl
Leszczyński, Stanisław, 20, 30, 171, 214nn4 and 7, 216n28, 217n47, 235n15, 240n9
lies, 108, 168, 172, 173, 192
literature, xi, xxi, 65
Locke, John, 109, 152, 182, 237n6
logic, 127, 145
Louis XIV, x, xxi, xxiii, xxiv, 34, 35, 41, 54, 55, 64, 68, 73, 86, 94, 105, 174, 175, 187, 188, 214n9, 222n100, 228nn6 and 7, 238n16, 240n5
Louis XV, 171, 172, 174, 175, 192, 235n15, 236n25
luxury, xxi, xxv–xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxv, xlii, 47, 63, 135, 156, 198, 205, 218n8
Lycurgus, 88, 89, 97, 104
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 213, 217n43, 218n62, 219n66; corruption of politics by, 13, 22, 29, 46, 51; deceptive use of language by, 26, 41; vs. Fénelon, 27; Frederick’s agreement with, 40, 55, 61, 62; immorality of, 31, 41, 76; maxims of, 21, 32, 41; mistakenness of, 22, 24, 25, 36, 47, 56, 57, 61, 76; vs. moralists, 13; necessity of thoroughly refuting, 22, 27, 29, 31, 50; poor reasoning of, 20, 51; promotion of crime by, 29, 31
Mandeville, Bernard, xxvi, xxix
mankind, xxiv, 6, 7, 8, 16, 29, 37, 65, 76, 87, 109, 114, 115, 128, 134, 139, 157, 161. See also humanity
Manteuffel, Ernst Christoph von, xxviii
Marcus Aurelius, viii, 26, 56, 57, 65, 114, 147, 169, 183, 206, 215n20, 222n103
Maria Theresa, xiii, 153, 224n3, Maupertuis, Pierre Louis Moreau de, xii, 121, 229n13, 230n2
meat, 70, 203
Meiners, Christoph, vii
Mellon, Jean-François, xxix
Mendelssohn, Moses, xlv
metaphysics, 1, 7, 72, 127, 130, 140, 152, 179, 230n1 and 3
military, the, ix, x, xv, xxv, xxxii, xxxix, xli, 7, 19, 97, 105, 153, 155, 172, 174, 176, 198, 201, 202. See also armies
ministers, viii, 22, 56, 59, 62, 65, 66, 67, 70, 73, 76, 77, 83, 170, 178, 192, 198, 199
Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, Comte de, xxviii, xxi, xl
monarchies: absolute, xlii, xxi, xxi; elective, xxi, 26, 59, 189; hereditary, viii, xxi, xxxii, 16, 59, 77, 213; large commercial, xxxii; modern, xxxii
monarchy, xxi, xxii, xxxii, xli, 23, 59, 60, 78, 91, 94, 170, 176, 177, 189
money, xxvii, xxxii, 4, 34, 37, 47–48, 64, 74, 85, 86, 174, 202, 205, 236n25
monks, 20, 45
Montesquieu, Charles Louis Secondat de, xxvi, xxvii, xxxii, xxxii, 225
morality, viii, xvii, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxv, 7, 13, 14, 18, 31, 41, 65, 129, 139, 140, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 163, 166, 167, 179, 183, 185, 198, 205, 206; of Christianity, xlii, 129, 134, 135, 184
natural law, xv, xxi, 233, 233n5, 235n8
nature, xxviii, 2, 4, 6, 10, 38, 92, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 126, 133, 140, 144, 180–81, 185; and artifice, xxx, 180; and God, 8, 179; human, xxv, xxviii, xxxii, 10, 27, 32, 75, 108, 147m 180; imitation of, 46; laws of, 123, 164, 169; of a people, 58; secrets and mysteries of, 2, 3; of things, 168, 204; workings of, 2, 3
Nicolai, Friedrich, xl–xli
nobility, the, x, 21, 44, 70, 94, 95, 149, 152, 167, 191, 203
orators, 104, 125, 126, 127, 128, 232n1
INDEX

Paris, x, xii, 9, 173, 174, 191, 219n69, 227, 238
party. See faction
passions, the, xxvi, 24, 52, 68, 71, 79, 128, 143, 147, 153, 186, 232n4
patria, xxii, xxiv
patriotism, xxxv
peace, 31, 56, 65, 73, 74, 77, 80, 93, 107, 142, 169, 192, 194; agent of, xxvii, 76; brief moments of, xxv, 176; establishment of, 56, 65, 74, 78, 79; in Europe, 78; love of, 172, 177; maintenance of, xxv, 58, 78, 87, 169, 176; of mind, xxxiv, 14, 15, 20, 124, 143, 147, 174; perpetual, 170, 226n9; public, 139; of the state, 60, 78, 93; times of, xxv, 19, 33, 45, 176; of the world, 24, 34
peasants, vii, 40, 58, 95, 176, 203
people, the, xxxvii, 15, 16–17, 23, 24, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 46, 47, 53, 54, 59, 63, 64, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97, 99, 104, 109, 111, 118, 129, 131, 135, 137, 163, 166, 173, 185, 187, 188, 191, 197, 199, 202, 204, 205; consent of, 91, 92, 96; deception of, 163; and king, 56, 96, 168, 175, 199, 235n12; and the learned, 6; love of, 55, 70, 91; master of, 15, 16, 69, 95; nature of, 58, 87, 97, 136; and nobility, 55, 88, 92; oppression of, 19, 86, 118, 169, 175, 176, 202; prejudices of, 161; rights of, xl, 92; self-government of, 15–16, 88, 92, 196–97; as source of royal authority, vii, xx, 96, 168; sovereignty of, xix, xx; as subject of 1780 prize contest, 234; suffering of, 169, 203; superstitions of, 130, 168; terror of, 163; well-being of, xx, 15, 59, 99, 103, 200, 202; will of, xx
philosophers, xvii, 3, 4, 6, 53, 71, 72, 73, 126, 127, 128, 145, 147, 152, 161, 163, 164, 168, 169, 187, 190, 222n102, 234; of antiquity, 127, 130, 140; and the church, 166, 167; errors of, 161, 169; and government, 169; and language, 163; qualities of, 128; and the state, 168; and truth, 160
philosophy, viii, ix, xi, xxviii, xxx, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxix, xli, 1, 3, 5, 7, 63, 123, 126, 136, 139, 140, 147, 152, 161, 164, 186
physics, 1, 7, 72, 109, 230n2
Plato, viii, 7, 75, 130, 160, 192, 212n11
Platonists, 139, 140
poetry, xxx, 63, 117, 119
politicians, 28, 38, 70, 73, 169, 204
politics, xii, xvi, xviii, xxiv, xxxvi, xxxix, xxxv, xxxviii, xxxix, 13, 14, 19, 22, 26, 30, 34, 37, 43, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 62, 69, 70, 72, 74, 76, 77, 83, 97, 99, 133, 155, 166, 186, 200
Poland. See Poland-Lithuania
Poland-Lithuania, ix, 20, 23, 26, 30, 42, 54, 56, 59, 61, 85, 86, 170, 171, 189, 197, 201, 214nn4 and 7, 215n20, 216n23, 220n83, 221n91, 225n31, 235n13; First Partition of (1772), xiv–xxviii, xxxviii, 235n13
Poniatowski, Stanisław August, viii, 235n13
Pope, Alexander, xxix
Pope, the, 18, 25, 27, 28, 29, 85, 132, 170, 222n105, 231n5–7
popes, 37, 52, 132, 133–5, 137, 138; despotism of, 36, 134–5
Potsdam, xiii, xxxi, 227, 239n2
power, xv, xvi, xx, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 28, 33, 38, 44, 56, 57, 62, 67, 71, 74, 78, 79, 85, 92, 94, 130, 131, 132, 134, 163, 174, 177, 188, 196, 198, 205, 237n6; absolute, xxxvii; balance of, 34, 169, 172; despotic, 60, 121; executive, xv; of law, 57, 87; legislative, xv; of life and death, 94, 101; maintenance of, 57; papal, 38, 135; princely, 19, 22, 26, 40, 48, 63, 149; royal, xxi, 14, 34, 96, 120; seizure of, 55, 69; sovereign, xxi, 14, 16, 23, 36, 60, 63, 88, 105, 168; spiritual, 37; supreme, 32; temporal, 37, 132; unlimited, 43, 56, 90, 235n12
powers, xix, xxv, 36, 42, 171, 176, 196, 200, 204, 213; of the clergy, 164, 166, 168; European, xiii, xiv, 82, 83, 216n28, 218n51; of government, ix, 98; land-based, xiv; maritime, 77, 201; of nations or people, xxvii, 16; of the nobility, 21; of parliament, 235n12; of persuasion, 104; of reasoning, 10, 44, 154; of the state, vii; that-be, 167
Prades, Abbé de, xii, 231
Pragmatic Sanction, xiii, 85, 171, 224n3
prejudice, 4, 5, 9, 98, 105, 160, 161, 162, 167, 206
priests, 36, 37, 44, 65, 130, 133, 138, 166, 168, 183, 184, 186
professors, 104, 150, 152; self-interest and idleness of, 151
progress, xxvii, xl, 109, 136
Prussia, ix, xiv, xxxvi, xxxix, xl, xli, xlii, 83, 103, 104, 201, 231, 233n4, 235n13, 236n19.
See also Brandenburg-Prussia; East Prussia
public, the, viii, xviii, xxiv, xli, xl, xli, 14, 31, 46, 50, 51, 53, 66, 70, 83, 99, 105, 125, 126, 127, 165, 167, 174, 178, 189, 204, 206, 234
classical, xxii, 104, 149; degeneration of, xxxii, 32, 33, 163; Dutch, 170, 219n65; English, 170, 235n12; emergence of, 33, 88; Greek, 104, 149, 170, 196; and the laws, 98; of Lucca, xxiii; maintenance of, 59, 93; military, 89, 97; Plato’s, 160; Roman, xxxii, xliii, 19, 90, 92, 104, 114, 121, 149, 163, 170, 219n74, 237n7; self-governing, xxv; small, xxx, xxxii, 23; Swedish, 170; Venetian, 170; and war, 23, 93, 170. See also republicanism
reason, xxvi, xxviii, 5, 6, 12, 13, 58, 71, 109, 111, 119, 127, 128,136, 140, 143, 148, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 162, 164, 170, 181, 182, 229; acting without the use of, 185; age of, 7; public and private use of, xl–xl
reasoning, 8, 20, 23, 29, 44, 78, 79, 125, 147, 148, 150, 154, 160, 182, 184; art of, 7, 20; faulty or unsound, 20, 41, 62, 144, 161, 178
reason of state, xvi, xxiv, xxxv
reforms, ix, xii, xv, xxi, xlii, 100, 104, 151, 154, 174, 233
religion, xi, xxviii, xxxix, 12, 13, 21, 26, 37, 54, 56, 61, 90, 129, 130, 135, 138, 144, 145, 147, 161, 163, 165, 166, 169, 179, 185, 204; Christianity; Wars of Religion
republic of letters, viii
republicanism, xix, xxii, xxiv, xxxvi, xxxiii, xlii, 32, 130; classical, xxii, xxv; Renaissance, xxv
repulsions: classical, xxii, 104, 149; degeneration of, xxxii, 32, 33, 163; Dutch, 170, 219n65; English, 170, 235n12; emergence of, 33, 88; Greek, 104, 149, 170, 196; and the laws, 98; of Lucca, xxiii; maintenance of, 59, 93; military, 89, 97; Plato’s, 160; Roman, xxxii, xliii, 19, 90, 92, 104, 114, 121, 149, 163, 170, 219n74, 237n7; self-governing, xxv; small, xxx, xxxii, 23; Swedish, 170; Venetian, 170; and war, 23, 93, 170. See also republicanism
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, xxiii, xxvii, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, 233n10
Saint-Pierre, Abbé de, 106, 170–71
Saxony, 28, 80, 85, 86, 95, 136, 161, 171, 204, 225nn7 and 8
Sciences, the, viii, xxvii, xxxii, xli, xlii, 63, 65, 153, 239
security: of life, xx; of the prince, 21, 59; of the republic, 93; of the state, 16, 187
self-denial, xxiv, xxxv
self-esteem, xxviii, xxxiii, 184
self-interest, xxiv, xxvi, xxix, xxxiii, xxxiv, 7, 15, 18, 22, 28, 32, 38, 40, 43, 48, 50, 53, 55, 66, 79, 84, 97, 115, 131, 138, 141–46, 151, 184, 197, 200, 206
self-love, vii, xxvii, xxviii, xxxii, xlii, 3, 6, 122, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, 160, 182, 232n4. See also amour-propre
self-preservation, xxxiii, 41, 145, 146, 169
sentiments, xxxiv, 81, 109, 115, 232n3
Seven Years’ War, xiii–xiv, 227, 233, 235nn5 and 12
sexuality, xii
Silesia, xiii, xiv, xviii, 83, 85, 171, 225n3; First Silesian War, xiii, 224n2; laws of, 226n6, 225n7, 227n1; Second Silesian War, xiii, 224, 227n1
slavery, 89, 90, 91, 102, 157, 195; as antonym of liberty, xx, xl, 32, 33, 49, 57, 81, 91, 183, 205
Smith, Adam, xxvi
social contract, xviii–xxii, xxxvi, xxxvi, xlii
Society, v, xx, 11, 76, 87, 97, 129, 140, 144, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 172, 183, 185, 186, 196, 198, 202, 204, 205; commercial, xxiii–xxiv, xxxvi, xlii; at the expense of, xxxiv, 140, 147, 197, 199; usefulness to, 98, 144, 148, 153, 200
Society of Sciences (Berlin), x, xii
Solomon, vii, viii, xxx–xxxii
Solon, 89, 90, 97, 104
soul, the, 81, 110, 111, 145, 155, 185
souverains, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 34, 35, 36, 37, 48, 55, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 98, 105, 121, 132, 133, 134, 137, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179, 185, 186, 188, 189, 195, 196, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206; when new, 58, 59, 69; when weak, 65, 80, 189

sovereignty, xxi, 47, 54, 58, 88; absolute, xxi; in Bodin, xxi; origin of, 196; popular, xix, xxiii; princely, 36

Sparta, 37, 88, 89, 101, 123, 217n40

state, the, ix, xiii, xix, xx, xxi, xxxv, xli, 16; first servant of, xviii, xxxv, xxxvi; service to, viii, x, xxiv, xxxiii

Stoicism, xxxiv, xxxvi, 129, 215n20, 229n1, 230n6

Sulla, xxxiv, 93, 140, 232n1

Sweden, 23, 64, 170, 214n7, 216n28, 218n51, 221n92, 222n97

taxation, 71, 81, 86, 91, 96, 136, 166, 167, 175, 176, 202, 203

theft, 100, 101, 175

theologians, 13, 70, 71, 72, 80, 137, 145, 147, 150, 180, 181, 187, 205

theology, xxxix, 137, 139, 231

thieves, 30, 35, 54, 61, 89, 93, 100

Third Silesian War. See Seven Years’ War

Thirty Years’ War, ix, 218n51, 226n8, 227n4

trade, xxxii, 23, 97, 188, 199, 203, 204, 236n24

trees: oak, 177, 183; orange, 183

truth, the, xxxiv, 7, 9, 68, 70, 81, 142, 162, 164, 179; blindness to, 5; certainty of, 10, 83; concealing of, 68; discovery of, 127; emergence of, 83; establishment of, 83; love for, 67; knowledge of, 2, 5, 7, 10; possession of, 10; seeking of, 10, 127; telling of, 70, 81, 82, 160

truths, 2, 4, 5, 9, 109, 125, 142, 160, 162, 178; dangerous, 130; eternal, 6, 7; of experience, 9, 162, 183; impenetrable, 10; indisputable, 2, 5, 6, 199; ineffable, 11; secret, 4

tyranny, 15, 16, 29, 32, 33, 69, 89, 91, 97, 119, 129, 159, 186; of the church, 135; of the senses, 140
tyrannts, xxi, xxxvii, xxxix, 14, 15, 19, 29, 30, 31, 46, 50, 56, 58, 60, 67, 86, 98, 108, 109, 172, 175, 178, 196, 215n19, 218n54

university, 29, 104, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 186

usefulness, 60

vices, xxi, xxxix, 37, 54, 68, 71, 81, 87, 97, 98, 141, 143, 147, 154, 157, 144, 177, 182, 198

violence, 15, 18, 19, 20, 26, 43, 54, 69, 79, 80, 81, 100, 135, 144, 147, 158, 161, 165, 167, 183, 196, 200, 202, 205

Virgil, xxxii, 48, 64, 114, 120, 212n6, 219n62, 222n99

virtue, xxxiv, 7, 14, 22, 32, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 83, 86, 88, 117, 119, 139–40, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 166, 167, 173, 182; absence of, 66, 67, 69, 144, 162, 206; austere, xxxix, xxxiv, xxxv, 115, 137; in Machiavelli, 26, 29, 46, 51, 76; men of, 122, 206; natural, xxxii; of a prince, 70, 76, 78, 81; republican, xxxiii; simple, xxxiv; and vice, 183, 185

virtues, 17, 27, 30, 62, 68, 123, 124, 127, 139, 141, 147, 148, 154, 158, 165; Christian, 145; pagan, 145; social, 184; and vices, xxi, 177, 182

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de, vii, xxviii, xxxiv, xxxv, 122, 212n7 and 14, 213, 216n28, 227, 229n12 and 13, 230n2, 3 and 5, 231, 232, 234, 237, 238n16, 239n2, 240; and the Anti-Machiavel, 213; Frederick’s correspondence and relationship with, xii, xxvii–xxix, 211, 211n2, 213, 218n58, 230n3, 232, 233n7, 234, 237, 240; and the Jews, xxxvi; on luxury, xxvi, xxxii–xxxiii; on religion, 215n14; in Prussia, xii

war: just war, 16; modern warfare, xxxv; wars of conquest, xiv;

War of the Austrian Succession, xiii, 224n2, 225n3, 6 and 8, 227n1, 2 and 3, 235n16
Index

War of the Bavarian Succession, xiv
War of the Polish Succession, 42, 214n4
   and 7, 216n23, 217n47, 219n71, 224n122,
   235n15
War of the Spanish Succession, 34, 73, 217n45,
   218n51, 221nn90 and 92, 223nn115 and 119,
   225n6, 228n5, 236n24
Wars of Religion, 80, 224n1

wives, 54, 90, 94, 103, 196
Wolff, Christian, x, xii, xxvii, xxviii, 181, 203n3,
   233n7
women, 54, 73, 89, 90, 101, 143, 146, 156, 157,
   158, 198
Zorndorf, Battle of, xiii