

REFERENCES

AS IN THE CASE of *The Roots of Romanticism*, and for the same reasons,¹ I have collected references for quotations together here at the end of the text, identifying the passages to which they refer by page number and opening words.

The reader should be warned that Berlin's quotations from languages other than English are sometimes very free, and can merge into paraphrase. I have not on the whole tried to make them more accurate, since this would often make them less resonant, but I have occasionally given a more literal version in the note. In a few cases, where I happen to know it, I have given a reference for a close paraphrase even though I have withheld quotation marks in the text.

Once again I have recorded my failure to trace a few ostensible quotations. I shall as always be most grateful to any readers who can fill in the gaps, and in future impressions of this book I shall incorporate any information I receive.

The references often depend on the generosity of experts, to whom I am greatly indebted. I fear I may not have kept a record of every single scholar who has assisted me, and I offer my apologies to anyone I have overlooked. Gunnar Beck has helped enormously with Fichte (see the section on that lecture below), Michael Inwood with Hegel, Ralph Locke and Bruce Tolley with Saint-Simon, and Robert Wokler with Rousseau.

¹ See 2nd ed. of that volume (Princeton, 2013), 182.

The Maistre lecture draws again on the invaluable contribution made by Richard Lebrun to ‘Joseph de Maistre and the Origins of Fascism’, recorded in my preface to *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*. For assistance with individual problems I thank John Burrow, Andrew Fairbairn, Steffen Groß, Samuel Guttenplan, Ian Harris, Roger Hausheer, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Andrew Hunwick, Reinhardt Lauth, Richard Lebrun, Ray Monk, T. J. Reed, Philip Schofield, Jonas Steffen and Ralph Walker.

References to multi-volume editions are by volume and page in this form: iv 476.

There are a few editorial remarks interspersed among the references.

Page Reference

INTRODUCTION

- 3 **Bertrand Russell once said**
History of Western Philosophy (London, 1946), 226.
 Berlin greatly enlivens Russell's presentation of this point.

HELVÉTIUS

- 12 **'As one meditates'**
Discours prononcé dans l'Académie Française, le jeudi 21 février 1782, à la réception de M. le Marquis de Condorcet: Oeuvres de Condorcet, ed. A. Condorcet O'Connor and M. F. Arago (Paris, 1847–9), i 392.
- 'As mathematics and physics'**
Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain (Paris, 1795), 365; *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind* (London, 1795), 353. 4–
- 'Morality is the science'**
 Holbach, *Système de la nature* 1. 11.
- 13 **'I endow thee with sensibility.'**
 Helvétius, *De l'esprit* 3. 9.
- 17 **'Do not fight prejudice; use it.'**
 This formulation untraced, but cf. Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society* (London, 1935), vol. 1, *Non-Logical Conduct*, §§ 72–3.

18 **‘the language of interest’**

De l'esprit 2. 15 (beginning of penultimate paragraph).

‘I do not care if men be vicious’

De l'homme 9. 6.

21 **‘Woe to us if the masses start reasoning’**

Perhaps a paraphrase of ‘when the masses get involved in reasoning, everything is lost’, *The Complete Works of Voltaire*, ed. Theodore Besterman and others (Geneva/Toronto/Banbury, 1968–), cxiv 155.

‘The people are cattle’

‘À l'égard du peuple [... c]e sont des boeufs, auxquels il faut un joug, un aiguillon et du foin.’ Letter to Jean François René Tabareau, 3 February 1769. Cf. *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* [ed. Louis Moland] (Paris, 1877–85) xix 208, 623, xxiv 413. [sentence deleted]

23 **‘Let us flee from those greedy and cruel animals’**

De l'esprit 2. 2.

25 **‘nature binds by an unbreakable chain’**

Condorcet, *Esquisse* (see note to 12 above), 228. 346; *Outlines*, 355

‘education is simply’

Holbach, loc. cit. (note to 12 above).

26 **‘Euclid is a veritable despot’**

[Pierre-Paul François Joachim Henri Le Mercier de la Rivière], *L'Ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* (London, 1767) i 311.

‘bawling upon paper’

Jeremy Bentham, *Rights, Representation, and Reform: ‘Nonsense upon Stilts’ and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, ed. Philip Schofield, Catherine

Pease-Watkin and Cyprian Blamires (Oxford, 2002),
187.

‘nonsense upon stilts’

ibid., 330.

ROUSSEAU

28 **‘Starting from unlimited freedom’**

Dostoevsky, *The Devils* 2. 7. 2.

‘had produced more effect with his pen’

Herbert Paul recalling Acton in *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary, Daughter of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone*, ed. with an introductory memoir by Herbert Paul (London, 1904), xii.

‘Rousseau said nothing new’

Madame de Staël, *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*, ed. Paul van Tieghem (Geneva, 1959), ii 280–1.

34 **‘slavery [...] is against nature’**

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes* (183/1) [hereafter OC], iii 243.

delete

‘To renounce liberty’

OC iii 356.

‘death is not an event in life’

‘Der Tod ist kein Ereignis des Lebens’: Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. C. K. Ogden, (London, 1922), proposition 6.4311.

37 **‘the law of nature’**

OC iii 973.

- 37 **‘graven on the hearts of men’**
OC iii 1001; similarly he says that the laws of custom, morality and public opinion are ‘graven, not on tablets of marble or brass, but on the hearts of citizens’ (ibid. 394).
- ‘to find a form of association’**
OC iii 360.
- ‘in giving himself to all’**
OC iii 361.
- In a letter to Malesherbes**
OC i 1134–8; cf. ibid. 350–1.
- 42 **‘As long as several men in the assembly’**
OC iii 437, 440.
- ‘penetrates into a man’s innermost being’**
OC iii 251.
- 46 **‘Man is born free’**
OC iii 351.
- 47 **‘the surrender of each individual’**
OC iii 360.
- 49 **the right of society to force men to be free**
OC iii 364.

FICHTE

At some point after he had broadcast his lecture on Fichte, Berlin annotated the transcript with a view to incorporating numerous additional quotations from Fichte’s works. He probably used this annotated version, and the sheets of quotations to which his annotations refer (though only some of these sheets, it appears,

survive), in lecturing on Fichte on other occasions. When I came to edit the transcript, I discussed the annotations and quotations with Gunnar Beck, an expert on Fichte, who with Berlin's encouragement checked them, and suggested further relevant quotations. He also recommended a reordering of the transcript at one point so that it would follow Fichte's intellectual development more perspicuously. Berlin accepted this recommendation, which is therefore adopted here; but he did not revise the text to include more quotations.

I have not attempted to incorporate the additional quotations myself, if only because this would unbalance this lecture by comparison with the others, and indeed in its own terms; it would also go beyond the limits of my self-imposed general remit. But I give the quotations below, cued by the last few words of the passage on which they bear. An asterisk in the text at the relevant point indicates that supplementary quotations are given hereunder.

References to Fichte's works are to the following editions: *Johann Gottlieb Fichte's sämtliche Werke*, ed. I. H. Fichte (Berlin, 1845–6), and *Johann Gottlieb Fichte's nachgelassene Werke*, ed. I. H. Fichte (Bonn, 1834–5). These editions are referred to hereafter as SW and NW.

54 **'It is the individual's right'**

Benjamin Constant, *De la liberté des anciens comparée à celle des modernes*: op. cit (187/1, on 188), 593–4.

'My system, from beginning to end'

Letter to Karl Leonhard Reinhold, 8 January 1800: J. G. Fichte, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Hans Schulz (Leipzig, 1925), ii 206.

55 **'To men as they are in their ordinary education'**

NW i 4.

56, 65 **'The nature of things'**

loc. cit. (183/1): more literally 'it is in the nature of man patiently to endure the necessity of things, but not the ill will of others'.

60 **'desires what he is able to perform'**

OC iv 309.

67 **'I am wholly my own creation'**

SW ii 256.

'I do not accept what my nature offers me'

ibid. Cf. 'Every animal *is* what it is. Man alone is originally nothing. What he ought to be, he must become; and since he must be a being for himself, he must become so through himself' (SW iii 80).

they must serve me

'I want to be master of nature, and she must be my servant; I want to have causal power over her, but she must have none over me' (SW ii 192–3). 'The self is to be absolutely independent, whereas everything is to be dependent upon the self. Hence what is required is the identity [Übereinstimmung] of the object with the self' (SW i 260). This self-determination by the self for itself is defined by Fichte as 'absolute independence from all nature' (SW iv 131). 'Autonomy, our ultimate goal, consists [...] in that state of affairs in which everything is dependent upon me and I am not dependent upon anything, where everything that I will occurs in my sensible world simply because I will it to be so, just as in the case of my body, the starting-point of my absolute causality. The world must become for me what my body is for me. To be sure, this goal is unattainable, but nevertheless I should always advance towards it – that is, I should

work upon [bearbeiten] everything in the sensible world so that it comes to be a means for the attainment of this final purpose' (SW iv 229). 'Only through voluntary submission of our prejudices and our opinions to the law of truth [i.e. the law of morality] do we first learn to bow and be silent before the idea of a law as such; this law first restrains [bändigt] our selfishness, which the law of morality has to govern. Free and unselfish love for theoretical truth – because it is truth – is the most fruitful preparation for the ethical purification of our convictions' (SW vi 14). The moral law is revealed to each man by his conscience (*Gewissen*). Each man possesses this basic moral faculty, and it 'commands him to will this and not that, and this freely and of his own accord, independent from all external force' (SW vi 11).

70

lovable but silly

Cf. Berlin's *The Roots of Romanticism* (London and Princeton, 1999; 2nd ed., Princeton, 2013), 2nd. ed., 9–10, 139–41. Indeed, in general these later lectures usefully expand the views on romanticism expressed here thirteen years earlier.

nature is simply a collection of dead matter

SW i 412–13.

naturam sequi

'To follow nature', the Stoic principle: see, e.g., Cicero, *Laws* 1. 56, Seneca, *Letters* 66. 3. 9.

71

not impinged upon by anything else

'This pure form of our self' alone 'is wholly opposed to the nature of experience' (SW vi 59). Man's will is governed by the inner self if it is 'something original [ein Erstes] which is grounded absolutely in itself and in nothing outside the self' (SW iv 24: 'Das Wollen,

als solches, ist ein Erstes, absolut in sich selbst, und in nichts ausser ihm Gegründetes). ‘Our sole happiness [Glückseligkeit] on this earth [...] is free unencumbered self-activity [Selbstthätigkeit], activity [Wirken] springing from our own causal power [eigener Kraft] and according to our own ends’ (SW vi 29). ‘[Man] is and must remain free; no authority may prescribe anything to him other than this law [the moral law – Sittengesetz] within him; it is his sole law, and it contradicts this law if he allows himself to be governed by another – the humanity within him will be annihilated and he will be relegated to the status of an animal’ (SW vi 12). ‘No one may determine his choice, his direction and his limits other than man himself’ (SW vi 23). ‘I cannot allow any law to be thrust upon me without thereby forfeiting my humanity, personhood and freedom’ (SW vi 13).

71 **has a date and a place**

‘Human life and any historical epoch are themselves only necessary epochs of the One time and the One eternal life, [...] the life of the *Gattung* [translation problematic: roughly group, community, species, race]’ (SW vii 7). ‘[The plan of history] is *this*: that the *Gattung* freely transform itself through history into the pure expression of reason’ (SW vii 17). ‘Individuals now disappear completely from the view of the philosopher, and all fall together into the one great community [Gemeine]’ (SW vii 14). The thinking self is ‘not that of the particular thinking individual, which could never be independent, but the one and eternal thinking in which all individuals are mere thought’ (SW vii 55). ‘*Religion* consists therein, [...] that all life is viewed and accepted as the necessary development of the one, authentic, perfect, moral and blessed life [of the *Gattung*]’ (SW vii 240–1).

72

The group – *Gattung* – alone exists

SW vii 37–8: ‘looking at the matter in truth and as such’ we find ‘that the individual does not exist, he should not count for anything, but must vanish completely; the *Gattung* alone exists’.

‘Man becomes man’

SW iii 39.

‘Man is destined to live in society’

SW vi 306. Cf. ‘The concept of individuality is [never the concept of an isolated being but] a *reciprocal concept* [which] is never merely *mine* but [...] always *mine and his, his and mine*; a common consciousness in which two consciousnesses are united into one’ (SW iii 47–8).

73

the moral orders [...] of its inner self

Freedom, man’s liberation from necessitation by natural causality, is no longer the rational self-determination of the individual, but that process ‘whereby the *Gattung* gradually liberates itself through a succession of individuals’ (SW vii 20). ‘Man’s rational capacity [Vernunftinstinct]’, man’s drive to liberate himself from domination by the blind forces of nature, ‘is manifest only in the life of the *Gattung* as such. It is never manifest in the existence of the mere individual, whose natural drive aims at self-preservation and personal well-being’ (SW vii 22). ‘This one and unchanging life of reason [Leben der Vernunft] [...] is divided, from an earthly perspective, into a multiplicity of individuals, and therefore appears in its totality only in the one life of the whole *Gattung*’ (SW vii 25). ‘It is the greatest error and the true basis of all other errors [...] when an individual imagines that he can exist and live, think and act for himself, or when someone believes that he

himself, the particular person, is the thinking in his thought, since he is merely a single thought in the one general and necessary thought' (SW vii 23–4). 'Reason is manifest solely in the one life of the *Gattung*; if reason does not guide our life, only individuality and selfishness remain. Thus rational life consists in this: that the individual forgets himself in the *Gattung*, ties his life to the life of the whole and sacrifices his life to the whole; and irrational life consists in this: that the individual thinks of nothing but himself and in relation to himself, and seeks nothing but his own well-being; [...] so that there is but one virtue – to forget oneself as an individual – and only one vice – to think of oneself [...]. Whosoever [...] seeks enjoyment for himself and thinks of himself and of a living and being apart from *within* and *for* the *Gattung* is [...] merely a base, little, evil and wretched man' (SW vii 34–5). 'To devote one's life to the *Gattung* means to devote one's life to the idea [by which Fichte refers, interchangeably, to reason or freedom]; [...] consequently, the only rational and thus right, good and truthful life consists in man forgetting himself in the pursuit of the idea and seeking no enjoyment other than that of the sacrifice of all other pleasures for the sake of the idea' (SW vii 37).

73 **race, nation, mankind**

'Nothing individual can exist in and for itself; everything can exist only within and for the whole' (SW vii 63). 'The truth of the whole [of the *Gattung*] is confirmed by the fact that its parts are explicable and meaningful solely by reference to the whole, [...] solely through this whole do the parts exist at all' (SW vii 118). 'The continuation [of life as such and not as the continuation of evanescent existence] [...] is promised solely by the

independent continuation of his nation: to save her, he must be prepared to die, so that she can live, and he can live in and through her, which is the only life he has ever desired' (SW vii 383).

'Either you believe in an original principle'

SW vii 374–5. Berlin, as so often, slightly improves on the quotation, though in essence wording and meaning are accurate. Cf. 'To have character and to be German are indubitably the same' (SW vii 446).

75

'What we need is a leader'

SW vii 565 (somewhat amplified). Cf. 'Each man who has the knowledge and the power does not only have the right, but the sacred duty, to subject men to the yoke of law by force; a single man [coercing] the whole of mankind, if it so happens' (SW iv 436). 'Who has the right to be Oberherr? [...] The man with the greatest rational insight of his time and people' (SW iv 444). 'Some day one will come and must come who, as the most righteous man of his people, is also their leader; he will find the means to establish a succession of the best' (NW ii 635).

by a so-called 'organic' process

'The multitude of individuals must be construed as one indivisible organic whole' (SW vii 157). The true essence of art, Fichte says, lies in 'its organic unity, as indeed anything that is of genius, limitless and inexhaustible' (SW vii 95). The creative, moulding process whereby man's will and wishes as an individual are brought into unison with his ethical vocation is placed by Fichte in the hands of the State. 'The absolute State [...] is an artefact, designed to direct all individual forces to the life of the *Gattung* and fuse them into one within it'

(SW vii 144). ‘The end of the State is [...] none other than that of the human *Gattung* itself, namely that all men’s relations be ordered according to the law of reason’ (SW vii 161). In the perfect State ‘the individuality of all is dissolved in the totality of the *Gattung*’ (SW vii 146). ‘The end [of the State] is that of the *Gattung*’ (SW vii 145). ‘The end of the State [...] is no other than that of mankind [der menschlichen *Gattung*] itself, namely, that all human affairs be governed by the law of reason’ (SW vii 161). ‘The State, as the highest governor [Verweser] of all human affairs, and as the [...] guardian of the ignorant and recalcitrant [Unmündiger], has the perfect right to coerce the latter for the sake of their own salvation’ (SW vii 436).

75 **the shape of a great nation, or of history**

The State now becomes something more than the mere sum of its parts: ‘the conception not merely of an *imagined* totality, [...] but of a genuine totality [...]; not merely of all single individuals, but of their indivisible union [nicht bloß Aller, sondern einer Allheit]’ (SW iii 202). In and through the State ‘all flow together into One, united no longer in an abstract conception, as a compositum, but truly united, as a *totum*. [...] Reason is only one, and its representation in the sensuous world is also only one; mankind is one organised and organising totality of reason. Reason was divided into several independent parts, but already the natural institution of the State ends this independence provisionally and melts the separate parts into one whole, until finally morality recreates the whole species into one.

‘The posited conception [of the State] can best be illustrated by the conception of an organised product of nature, for instance, that of a *tree*. [...] [Each part],

as much as it wills its own preservation, must will the preservation of the whole tree, because on that condition only is its own preservation possible. [...] The whole, therefore, is to be protected first and foremost' (SW iii 203). Each single individual is part of the greater organic whole of the State: 'In the organic body each part continually preserves the whole, and, in preserving the whole, preserves itself; in this way, too, the citizen relates to the State: [...] every part, and every citizen, in preserving himself in the position assigned to him by the whole, preserves the whole in its position; the whole returns into itself, and preserves itself' (SW iii 209).

77 **'The idea tries to become action'**

Heine, *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, book 3: vii 294–6 in *Heinrich Heines sämtliche Werke*, ed. Oskar Walzel (Leipzig, 1911–20).

'The world is the poem'

Josiah Royce, *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy: An Essay in the Form of Lectures* (Boston and New York, 1892), 162.

'Kantians will appear'

Heine, op. cit. (note to 77 above), vii 351.

'Don't try to suppress or to extinguish the flame'

ibid., 352.

78 **'Thought precedes action'**

ibid.

'For you liberated Germany'

ibid., 353–4.

'amidst the nude deities'

ibid., 354.

HEGEL

- 97 **a slave dragged by the Fates**
Seneca, *Letters* 107. 11, after Cleanthes fr. 91 Pearson.
- ‘slaughter-bench’**
Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Hermann Glockner (Stuttgart, 1927–51) [hereafter HSW], xi 49.
- ‘history is not the theatre of happiness’**
HSW xi 56.
- 98 **‘the cunning of reason’**
HSW v 226, vi 127, viii 420, xi 63.
- ‘sets the passions to work for itself’**
HSW xi 63.
- 99 **‘civil society’**
See especially HSW vii 262–328.
- 100 **‘the world-historical’**
See especially HSW xi 59–65.
- 101 **‘God’s march through the universe’**
HSW vii 336.
- a myriad invisible threads**
Probably derives from Taine’s ‘myriades de fils’ in *Discours de M. Taine prononcé à l’Académie française* (Paris, 1880), 24, quoted in Berlin’s *Concepts and Categories* (London and New York, 1978; 2nd ed., Princeton, 2013), 2nd ed., 123, though Berlin usually ascribes the image (often ‘myriad strands’) to Burke.

the living and the dead and those yet unborn

Edmund Burke, *loc. cit.* (196/1).

102 **‘concrete’**

See especially HSW xvii 52–6.

103 **iron ring**

Untraced.

104 **‘Gangrene is not cured with lavender water’**

The German Constitution (1802) [not in HSW], § 9: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Schriften zur Politik und Rechtsphilosophie* [*Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Georg Lasson, vol. 7] (Leipzig, 1913), 113.

‘not from the peaceful time-hallowed tradition’

HSW xi 60.

Having quaffed the bitter draught of world history

Paraphrase of HSW xi 119.

105 **‘the Emperor – that world soul’**

Hegel to Immanuel Niethammer, 13 October 1806: *Briefe von und an Hegel*, ed. Johannes Hoffmeister (Hamburg, 1952–60), i 120.

SAINT-SIMON

117 **‘I write because I have new ideas’**

Introduction aux travaux scientifiques du dix-neuvième siècle (1808): *Oeuvres de Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon* (Paris, 1966) vi 16; cf. ‘Épître dédicatoire à son neveu Victor de Saint-Simon’, *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d’Enfantin* (Paris, 1865–78) [hereafter *Oeuvres*] i 98.

118 **'Rise, M. le Comte'**

For this anecdote see Louis Reybaud, *Études sur les Réformateurs ou socialistes modernes: Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen* (Paris, 1840), chapter 2, 'Saint-Simon et les Saint-Simoniens', 43. It also appears in M. G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon: sa vie et ses travaux* (Paris, 1857), 9.

He had been a pupil

Or so Saint-Simon claimed. According to Frank E. Manuel, *The New World of Henri Saint-Simon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 13, 'there is not a scrap of evidence' for this boast.

132 **Therefore (he says very firmly)**

This sentence and the next, which are exceptionally problematic in the BBC transcript, presented difficulties of reconstruction sufficiently severe to justify reproducing them here in their original form.¹

oppressive and unnecessary, and so he says very firmly what we need is simply a State which has become a kind of industrial enterprise, of which we are all members, a kind of enormous limited liability company, unlimited liability perhaps precisely what Burke who in a sense was also historically minded, St. Simon demanded not merely a partnership in all virtue, a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, although he believes that of course dispassionately, but also a partnership in the most literal sense, in the sense in which Burke statement so to speak decide it was not a partnership - a partnership yes and trade in calico, exactly what Burke denied, a partnership in trade, in commerce, a partnership in industry, a partnership in industry and in the sales of all the human needs of knowledge, without which men cannot get anything done at all.

I am unconfident about my conjectural version of this passage, but I hope at least that the argument is not seriously impaired. If any reader can supply a better solution I shall incorporate it gratefully in any reprint.

¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Berlin 595, fol. 265 (detail): scan © Bodleian Library 2014.

‘a partnership in all science’

Burke, loc. cit. (196/1).

‘the best application’

Oeuvres iv 193–4.

135 **‘From everyone according to his capacity’**

This is the first part of the epigraph that appeared on the title page of *Le Globe* when the Saint-Simonians owned it. It continues ‘to every capacity according to its work’ (which became ‘to each according to his needs’ in the Marxist version). See Georg G. Iggers, *The Cult of Authority* (The Hague, 1958), 151/3.

‘engineers of human souls’

In a speech on the role of Soviet writers made at Maxim Gorky’s house on 26 October 1932, recorded in an unpublished manuscript in the Gorky archive – K. L. Zelinsky, ‘Vstrecha pisatelei s I. V. Stalinyim’ (‘A meeting of writers with I. V. Stalin’) – and published for the first time, in English, in A. Kemp-Welch, *Stalin and the Literary Intelligentsia, 1928–39* (Basingstoke and London, 1991), 128–31; for this phrase see 131, and, for the Russian original, ‘inzhenery chelovecheskikh dush’, I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniya* (Moscow, 1946–67) xiii 410. Gorky used the phrase (without ‘human’) in a 1934 speech to the Writers’ Congress: ‘the proletarian State must bring up thousands of excellent “mechanics of culture”, “engineers of the soul”’. The idea behind the phrase dates back to the early 1920s, when Mayakovsky made analogies with engineering in discussing the role of the writer.

136 **‘the divine Smith’**

Untraced. Possibly a misremembering of the use of the phrase by Ludwig von Vincke.

in his diary for 6 August 1769, where he wrote: ‘Ich weihte diesen Morgen der Lektüre des göttlichen Smith’ (‘I dedicated this morning to reading the divine Smith’). E. von Bodelschwingh (ed.), *Ludwig von Vincke, Leben des Ober-Präsidenten Freiherrn von Vincke: nach seinen Tagebüchern bearbeitet*, part 1, *Das bewegte Leben (1774 bis 1816)* (Berlin, 1853), 96.

136 **the administration, not of persons, but of things**

See *Oeuvres* xviii 182–91. This way of putting it is due rather to Engels: see Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke* (Berlin, 1956–83) xix 195; Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works* (London, 1975–2005), xxv 246–7, where the relevant passage reads: ‘In 1816, [Saint-Simon] declares that politics is the science of production, and foretells the complete absorption of politics by economics. The knowledge that economic conditions are the basis of political institutions appears here only in embryo. Yet what is here already very plainly expressed is the idea of the future conversion of political rule over men into an administration of things [eine Verwaltung von Dingen] and a direction of processes of production – that is to say, the “abolition of the State”, about which recently there has been so much noise.’ (In *Oeuvres* Saint-Simon’s remarks are dated to 1817.)

137 **‘You are an aspect of me’**

P.

Literally ‘*you are* an aspect of *my* LIFE, and *I am* an aspect of *yours*’. See Enfantin and H. Saint-Simon, *Science de l’homme: physiologie religieuse* (Paris, 1858), 199.

140 **‘There is one thing I wish to say to you’**

63

All except the first sentence of this ‘quotation’, like the next, is taken from Reybaud, *op. cit.* (note to 118 above), ~~7th ed., i 84~~. See also ‘Notices historiques I: Saint-Simon’, *Oeuvres* i 121–2. (The first part of the injunction in the first sentence seems to be the familiar Christian principle, which Saint-Simon endorsed, but which appears not to have been attributed to him on his deathbed.)

loc.

MAISTRE

- 142 **‘a fierce absolutist’**
Émile Faguet, *Politiques et moralistes du dix-neuvième siècle*, 1st series (Paris, 1899), 1.
- ‘his Christianity is terror’**
ibid., 59.
- ‘a slightly touched-up paganism’**
ibid. (“un paganisme un peu “nettoyé”).
- ‘Praetorian of the Vatican’**
ibid., 60.
- ‘Christianity of terror’**
S. Rocheblave, ‘Étude sur Joseph de Maistre’, *Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 2 (1922), 312.
- ‘inexorable God aided by the hangman’**
E. Quinet, *Le Christianisme et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1845), 357–8.
- ‘slaughter-house’**
[el] matadero del difunto conde José de Maistre’. Miguel de Unamuno, *La agonía del cristianismo*: see *Obras completas*, ed. Manuel García Blanco (Madrid, 1966–71), vii 308.
- 148 **‘the heavenly city of the eighteenth-century philosophers’**
The title of a book (New Haven, 1932) by Carl L. Becker.
- 149 **‘In the vast domain of living nature’**
References for quotations from Maistre are to *Oeuvres complètes de J. de Maistre* (Lyon, 1884–7 and later

unchanged impressions). The reference for this quotation is v 22–5. The French original is printed in full in *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* (xxx/2), 2nd. ed., 178–80, together with a somewhat different translation (181–3, excerpted at 115–16).

151 **‘Five or six kinds of intoxication’**

v 34.

154 **The Assyrians invented the nominative**

iv 88.

155 **‘What does he mean?’**

ii 338.

sheep, who were born carnivorous

‘Dire: les moutons sont nés carnivores, et partout ils mangent de l’herbe, serait aussi juste.’ op. cit. (note to 142 above, ‘a fierce absolutist’), 41.

Who is this lady?

iv 132–3.

156 **‘In the course of my life’**

i 74.

‘the two anchors of society’

viii 284.

Nobody can want as violently

viii 288.

‘Pugachevs of the University’

viii 291.

159, **‘la secte’**

162–3 e.g. i 407, viii 91, 222, 223, 268, 283, 292 (‘une secte détestable qui ne dort jamais’), 311–12, 336, 345, 512–13.

- 161 **‘Who is this inexplicable being?’**
iv 32–3. The Biblical quotation at the end of this passage is from 1 Samuel 2: 8. The French original is printed in full in *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* (xxx/2), 2nd. ed., 183–5, and a somewhat different translation *ibid.* 119–20.
- 162 **‘It is as if all his works’**
Letter of 8 October 1834 to the Comtesse de Senfft: **Félicité** de Lamennais, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Louis le Guillou (Paris, 1971–81), **letter 2338**, vi 307.
- 163 **the perpetual hideous grin**
iv 208–9: ‘Ce *riktus* épouvantable, courant d’une oreille à l’autre, et ces lèvres pincées par la cruelle malice’.
- 164 **‘The principle of the sovereignty of the people’**
ix 494.